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THE HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

THE AGE OF
IMPERIAL
UNITY

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FOREWORD

By THE HON'BLE DR. K. M. MUNSHI

This second volume, unlike the first, has been printed in India and published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, as the President of which I have planned and organised the publication of this series of 'History and Culture of the Indian People' in eleven volumes. On account of printing difficulties in England, the arrangements with Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. were terminated by mutual agreement. Since the Bhavan as the sponsoring institution has undertaken the publication of the series, it has become unnecessary to interpose the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti which, in fact, was a part of the Bhavan, between the sponsor and the publisher. It is hoped that under this arrangement further volumes will be published expeditiously.

This volume deals with the history and culture of India from the beginning of what is termed 'The Historic Period'. It furnishes us with the basis for the structure of early Indian chronology like the dates of the death of Buddha, the rise of Chandragupta and the reign of Aśoka. Just as a dynastic treatment of history gives but an incorrect historical perspective, so, to some extent, does any treatment which arbitrarily cuts history into sections of time. The history of a people having a common culture, I believe, flows as a running stream through time, urged forward by the momentum of certain values and ideas and must be viewed as such. It is necessary, therefore, that I should give my reading of this section of the flowing stream. The attempt by its very nature would be open to the charge of over-simplification; but without such an attempt, the past would have no message and the future no direction.

I

Long before the dawn of the 'Historic Period', the land, as we know it now, had been formed. For millions of years, the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush had risen; mighty rivers had brought down deposits to form the rich alluvial belt of the Sindhu and the Gaṅgā; geographical determinants had been stabilized. Early man had wandered on the banks of some of the great rivers and disappeared.

Over five thousand years ago, aboriginal dwellers generally lived in forests; some of them, however, were slowly driven to the valleys before the pressure of more civilised migrants. Then a numerically vast people, with a culture of which the Mohenjo-daro ruins are the physical relics and the base of the Tamil language perhaps the intellectual trace, over-spread the country.

In this land the Aryans, with their Nature Gods, their sacrifices, their cows and horses and their conquering zeal, came into conflict with the Dāsas and Dasyus. They were invincible; for they had what their forerunners had not—cultural cohesiveness, powerful social institutions like the patriarchate, and a faith in their superiority. These bonds were further strengthened by a race of intellectuals who sang in sacred chants, worshipped their Gods through varied sacrifices and pursued the quest of higher things. The cohesive force in this community was furnished by the basic idea of an all-pervading law—*Ṛita*—which sustained the universe and regulated the conduct of men; and the law was presided over by mighty god Asura—'the Great'—Varuṇa.

Vast conflicts were waged by the Aryan tribes with the non-Aryans. During their victorious march through the country the races mingled, customs and beliefs were adjusted, a new harmony was evolved. Despite the fusion, the collective consciousness that the Aryans—whether by descent or by adoption—were the elect and their ways God ordained, and hence unalterable, persisted. 'The Aryanisation of the entire world' remained the inspiring urge.

An unshakable collective consciousness had already taken deep roots in the racial mind, when Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra—participants in the *Dāśarājña,* the Battle of Ten Kings, the echoes of which are found in the *Ṛigveda,*—lived on the banks of the holy Sarasvatī; when Paraśurāma led the Aryans to the banks of the Narmadā; when Agastya and Lopāmudrā crossed the Vindhyas and the seas; when Bharata, possibly the eponymous ancestor of the main tribes who fought in the Bhārata War, held sway and gave his name to the land.

The several centuries, from the Battle of Ten Kings to the Bhārata War (c. 1500 B.C.), the central theme in the *Mahābhārata,* were filled with incessant Aryan activities. The Aryans spread far and wide in the country. They opened up jungles, established large-scale settlements, and founded cities. Before the Bhārata War, the Aryan Tribes, ethnically mixed, had already established powerful kingdoms. Their culture had become a conscious instrument of providing a social pattern based on a kind of traditional common law, elaborate rituals, a background of heroic tradition preserved in epic recitals, a powerful language and literature and a philosophy of thought and of life. The fundamental law *Ṛita*—now called Dharma—however, continued by the general acceptance of the people to be recognised as supreme; for *Esha Dharmaḥ Sanātanaḥ* in the *Manu-smṛiti* is an echo of an ancient, unalterable principle; this law was eternal. The race of ṛishis, Aryan intellectuals, multiplied. They founded their *āśramas* or hermitages all over North India; some pushed their way even to the trans-Vindhyan South. They settled in forests, preached Dharma; interpreted it afresh wherever necessary; laid down canons of conduct. They taught the fundamental values of Aryan culture wherever they went, their character and moral influence being their only source of power. They enriched literature, ethics and philosophy. The most aspiring of them continued in the quest of the 'Absolute', often in the wilderness or on mountain tops. With the growth of kingdoms, a section of these intellectuals, the Brāhmaṇas, became priests, ritualists, men of learning, ministers, even generals and social and political mentors. But at all times, the law prescribed that a true Brahmaṇa should learn and teach, and not hanker after possessions; if he did, he fell from his high status. The kings were the protectors of the Dharma. They were invested with the right to conquer and destroy enemies, but there was no right to destroy what they willed. Their duty to protect the people was inalienable; if they failed to fulfil it, they forfeited the people's allegiance.

Of the peoples with whom the Aryans came in conflict, the most powerful were the Nāgas in the West and Magadhas in the East. The Haihayas, perhaps of mixed descent, broke the Nāga power in the West, and in their turn were broken by the Aryans under Paraśurāma. Later, when the Aryan tribe of Bharatas dominated the Madhyadeśa, the Magadhas aspired to hegemony; the break-up of the Magadha Kingdom is possibly symbolised by the death of Jarāsandha, its king, by Bhīma the Bhārata, who was assisted by Śrī Kṛishṇa. To the latter more than to anyone else, if the *Mahābhārata* records facts, belongs the honour of being 'the worshipful among men', and the credit of achieving for his friends, the Pāṇḍavas, the overlordship over North India. Thus, a little before the Bhārata War the way was cleared for the Aryanisation of the eastern provinces.

Then came the Bhārata War (*c.* 1500 B.C.). All the kings in North India with their armies congregated in the Punjāb to participate in this fratricidal war between the members of the most influential royal house in Madhyadeśa. In a battle lasting for eighteen days, they mingled their blood and created for the first time an all-India consciousness. At the end, Yudhishṭhira was acclaimed by the whole of North India as a Chakravartin.

This struggle left a tremendous impression on the collective consciousness of the people. Racial memory, through text, sermon, story and epic recital, was focussed on two great personalities of the time who became shining lights illumining the Indian mind for all time; Vyāsa, the learned and venerable Brāhmaṇa, the seer and ascetic, the saviour of the Vedas, and Śrī Kṛishṇa, the warrior and statesman, the ever-triumphant Kshatriya, the Superman. One taught Dharma, the other upheld it.

From these memories sprang the *Mahābhārata,* destined to become the expression and the instrument of India's will to unity and collective strength.

Between the Bhārata War (c. 1500 B.C.) and the rise of Magadha (seventh century B.C.), when the dawn of recorded history begins, the social elements were fusing fast. Large kingdoms, like that of Janamejaya Pārikshita, had been founded and dissolved. Elaborate rituals, observed for years, had strengthened the sacerdotal class. Sacred literature had been assiduously developed. The quest of the Absolute was continued by ardent ṛishis.

From the Nature Gods of the Aryans, Indians had travelled very far. Their intellectual audacity had ranged over the meaning and purpose of life and expressed itself in the Upanishads. These aspirations moulded values, ideas and forms of discipline which percolated through religious teachings, and epic recitals and a well-regulated system of education. They were taught and learnt in a hundred schools of learning, moulding life in all its aspects, for they were the urge behind Dharma, which upheld life.

Long before the dawn of the 'Historic Period' a central idea was already becoming clear from a mass of incoherent urges which went under the generic name of Dharma. Man was not a struggling worm but a 'self', of an essence with a supraphysical destiny, which can only be attained by a mastery over the misery which was man's lot on earth; this mastery, in its turn, can only be achieved by integrating personality by self-discipline so as to raise the 'self' above the flux of passing sense-experience. The discipline implied a double process, the relinquishment of the greed for life and the broadening of the personal self into a universal self. The end of this discipline was variously named,—self-realisation *(Siddhi)*, emancipation *(Mukti, Moksha)*, freedom *(Nirvāṇa)*, enlightenment *(Jñāna)*, bliss *(Ānanda)*. In substance it was absolute integration of human personality *(Kaivalya)* freed from the limitations of attachment and fear.

Before this Age began, the Vedic cults had begun fading away and giving rise in turn to new and powerful religious currents. The first current was dominated by the resuscitation of a pre-Vedic God, Paśupati, honoured even in the days of the Sindhu Valley Civilization and accepted by the *Brāhmaṇas* as the great god 'Īśāna'. Invested with the majesty which later generations saw in a godhead, he retained his original unsophisticated and loving character, but without losing the awesomeness which evoked terror in unlettered hearts in bygone ages.

The second was the emergence of a personal God, with many characteristics of the Vedic gods, individualised and yet universal, and surrounded by a halo of rich magnificence.

The quest of the Absolute which was pursued before the dawn of the 'Historic Period' had led to a great idea, which was to become predominant in Indian culture. The Absolute descended on earth in human form; the aspirant, by absolute surrender, attained Him. Nārāyaṇa, an ancient sage, who 'became all beings' had come to be worshipped as God Himself. Slowly as the Vedic God, Vishṇu, attracted to Himself the characteristics of the other gods, the new conception of *Avatāra* identified Vishṇu with the sage Nārāyaṇa. Similarly, Vāsudeva, who was till then just a hero, was accepted as God, descended on earth—*Avatāra*. Later, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Vishṇu, all three became Hari, the 'Deity Eternal and Supreme Lord', the Supreme Spirit; 'Vāsudeva comprehending all'.

The apocalypse in Canto XI of the *Bhagavadgītā* which, following some scholars, I consider part of its original and pre-Buddhistic version, was of this 'God of gods', *Śāśvata Dharmagoptā*, the Protector of Eternal Dharma, born to re-establish Dharma, who over-shadowing all older gods, except perhaps Śiva, emerged as 'God Himself'. Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa, the hero of the *Mahābhārata* and a deity of the Yādava cult, was identified with this earlier Vāsudeva, possibly by the end of this period.

Social relations and the duties arising from them were integral parts of the Dharma. Nothing was a greater negation of Dharma or a greater danger than social chaos and a sweeping denial of social duties. About the close of the Vedic period, as a result of racial and cultural adjustment, Varṇāśrama Dharma was conceived as the divinely ordained social framework. Chāturvarṇya, the Four-fold Order of society, ensured to some extent the supremacy and purity of the Aryan way of life. In that age of tribal struggles and in later ages as well, it gave to society both solidarity and resilience. It envisaged: first, the division of society into two classes—(i) the *dvijas*, the twice-borns, those who conformed to the Aryan way of life; and (ii) the Śūdras, that is the Rest, the yet-to-be-reclaimed. The *dvijas* had three functional groups, the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas. Besides, a well-conducted individual life was divided into four states, viz., that of a student, a householder, a detached onlooker pursuing a high purpose, and lastly, an ascetic. Though often disregarded in practice, this aspect of Dharma shaped life, philosophy and institutions throughout the centuries that followed.

For such a planned social life stability was essential. Stability implied protection but without slavery. Power also was therefore conceived as moving and having its being within the framework of Dharma. Kingship was to be a religious trust. Rājadharma, Smṛiti and tradition, interpreted from time to time, were to regulate life. The learned and the pure, vowed to poverty, were to be the indispensable guides. The ambition and rapacity of kings were, therefore, controlled by a fundamental law, the bases of which were: first, the Smṛiti or tradition codified; second, Parishad, the Assembly of the learned, the interpreter. And lastly, a military overlord was considered necessary as the country grew larger, a Rājādhirāja or Chakravartin—the protector of Dharma. The last in reality was to come in the succeeding epoch.

II

During the dawn of the 'Historic Period', placed between the tenth and the seventh centuries before Christ, there was a mighty upheaval of the human spirit. Waves of intense activity passed over many lands where man had emerged from the Bronze Age. Zoroaster gave a new creed to Iran; Confucius and Lao-tse taught in China; Jews in their Babylonian captivity developed their tenacious faith in Jehova; Greece emerged as the pioneer of European culture, and her philosophers began tackling the problems of life; Rome was founded. At this time, a highly complex civilization and a noble culture had already been flourishing in India for centuries.

The Age of Imperial Unity from the seventh century before Christ to A.D. 320, covered by this volume, falls into two distinct period: (i) the period of organisation (seventh century before Christ to 150 B.C.) in which there was an aggressive upheaval of strength and spirit, an all-sided efflorescence, when the fabric of Indian culture was well and truly woven; and (ii) the period of international contacts and cultural expansion (150 B.C. to A.D. 320), during which the culture first assimilated the foreign elements and then reasserted its values with new vigour and intensity.

The first period was the age of Magadhan Imperialism; it saw the realization of the dream of centuries, the political unification of India under a Chakravartin. When the process began, the sixteen mahājanapadas were organised either into monarchies like Magadha and Avanti or republics like the Lichchhavis and the Yaudheyas, all struggling for survival, fighting each other, absorbing weaker states.

So far, there was India, the geographical unit, but as yet no India as a well-accepted unit of homogeneous life and culture. To Iran and the outside world, India represented an undefined territory across the Sindhu. Āryāvarta was a small part of Madhyadeśa. A distinct sense of unity had already been born in the popular mind. In the later injunction 'Declare Dharma wherever the black antelope flourishes,' there is an echo of the much earlier recognition of the territory in which Dharma prevailed and life was one; and it stretched from the boundaries of Iran to the boundaries of Assam. It included parts of the Deccan too. Here, Dharma was taught in centres established in ever-widening frontiers by Brāhmaṇas as priests, linguists and literary men, physicians, philosophers and ministers, and by large groups of wandering ascetics seeking and imparting the meaning of life. And inspired by the vast literature and tradition which had accreted to the story of the Bhārata War, men's minds were slowly being impressed with the dictum that wherever Dharma prevailed, there was Bhāratavarsha.

Magadha, now Aryanised for well nigh eight hundred years, was virile with the energy of unsophisticated power. Through a succession of powerful monarchs from 544 B.C. to 150 B.C., it gave the land of Dharma a series of Chakravartins, who made of India a single unit, 'alike the ideal and despair of later ages' as Dr. Majumdar aptly puts it, and willed into being its collective consciousness.

Bimbisāra (c.544-493 B.C.) the first of these Chakravartins, by conquest and matrimonial alliances, enlarged his influence and power. Ajātaśatru (c.493-462 B.C.) the strong and implacable, crushed the great republic of Lichchhavi after sixteen years of struggle, vanquished Kosala and annexed Kāśī.

This period is lit up by the personality of two great reformers, Buddha and Mahāvīra. Both were Kshatriyas; both organised wandering ascetics; both ignored God and denied the Vedas; and while admitting the fourfold order of society, both led a revolt against the superiority of Brāhmaṇas over the Kshatriyas and derided the four stages of life, stressing only the life of an ascetic.

Buddha's was a flaming personality; and a vast canonical literature has presented to posterity its faithful portraiture. But he was not a solitary peak of greatness and grandeur in an arid desert. Sāṅkhya and Yoga, the Upanishads, were the sources of his inspiration; the goal of integrated personality by the conquest of human weaknesses, the gospel of freedom from misery and even the theory of Karma were borrowed by him from contemporary religious thought and merely systematised. He was undoubtedly the product of Aryan culture and represented the ascetic orders against the social ideals of those who took life as a whole. The lure of renunciation or other-worldliness was very much in the air at the time.

He proclaimed the supremacy of Dharma; but stressed only the pre-eminence of the positive, heart-moving message of universal compassion, which was already an integral part of it. He assumed the role of wielding the Dharma-chakra as a Chakravartin of the world. Buddhism was not a church standing apart as in later times; it was a protestant movement within the fold of Dharma; its ready sympathy for suffering was its refreshing attraction. The large majority of the people followed their ancestral creed and culture, only their interpreters being influenced by the leaders of the new revolt. Aśoka alone appears to have been deeply influenced by Buddha's teachings; but the attempt of Buddhists to make of him a bhikkhu is a patent exaggeration. Within a few years of Aśoka's death, under Pushyamitra, the old cultural forces are found in full vigour all over the country.

Buddha, in spite of his heterodoxy, however, left a lasting influence on Dharma. First he was revered as an ascetic reformer; in the process of general acceptance by the masses, he became a divinity. Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa was '*Śāśvata Dharmagoptā*', the Protector of Eternal Dharma; Buddha also proclaimed the Dharma and asked people to surrender themselves to it. Śrī Kṛishṇa of the *Mahābhārata* wielded no sceptre and yet was worshipped by the rulers of the day as the 'worshipful among men'. Buddha assumed without royalty the role of a Chakravartin ruling by Dharma.

Buddha made no break in cultural continuity. By his influence the older creeds were revitalised and purified; at the same time Buddhism had to develop its Mahāyāna aspect to win the people's hearts. Later still, the process of absorption was completed when Buddha became an *avatāra* of Vishṇu, and Mahāyāna Buddhism was absorbed in Vaishṇavism and Śaivism.

Buddha made little impression on the power and strength of contemporary Magadha. Its rulers upheld the Dharma as prevalent and went on enlarging their empire.

Śiśunāga (c. 430 B.C) and his successors followed Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, and annexed Kosala, Avanti and other important states in North India to Magadha.

Mahāpadma Nanda (c. 364 B.C.) inherited the power of Magadha, but disowned the supremacy of Dharma. By destroying Aryan kings he earned the appellation of a 'Second Paraśurāma'. Ruthless, miserly, regardless of the sacred tradition or Dharma though he was, he was the first great historical emperor of North India. But hated or despised by his people, he sat on a volcano. Old values were breaking up completely. Kshatriyas of high birth repudiated the Brāhmaṇas and founded sects, Śūdras established an empire on the ruins of Kshatriya kingdoms, while the ancient culture and its protagonists, reintegrated and possessed of fresh vigour, were waiting round the corner.

III

Since the days of Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) parts of India to the west of the Sindhu and some parts of the Punjāb off and on formed part of the Achaemenian empire. During Mahāpadma's time in 326 B.C. Alexander, the Macedonian, with his thundering legions, entered North-West India, the erstwhile satrapy of the Iranian empire. In a few months, however, he retreated from India. He could neither face the Nanda empire nor leave any impression on the people. The Indians fought him heroically; yielded for the time being only to the superior military organisation of the Macedonians; and soon after under Chandragupta drove out the Greeks from the Punjāb in a brilliant war of liberation. The successful war against the Greeks awoke Chandragupta (c. 324-300 B.C.) to a consciousness of his strength. To Chandragupta and to his master, the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya, we owe a gorgeous phenomenon—a swift war of liberation; a vast empire; India politically and administratively unified; the re-establishment of Dharma as the supreme law; and the organisation of life on which was founded the invulnerable culture-consciousness of Indians in succeeding ages. Consolidating his position in the Punjāb, and inspired by his teacher Chāṇakya, Chandragupta marched on Pāṭaliputra; killed Dhana Nanda, assumed the sovereignty of Magadha; vanquished Seleucus, the Greek, who was moving towards India to recapture Alexander's lost possessions; and started on a career of becoming the architect of an all-India empire. For the first time the writ of one emperor ran in the country through a hierarchy of centrally appointed officers.

Aśoka (c. 273-236 B.C.), the grandson of Chandragupta, styled 'the beloved of the gods' and 'of lovable appearance,' succeeded to the throne of Pāṭaliputra by winning a fratricidal war. Nine years after his accession he rounded off the empire which he inherited from his grandfather by annexing Kaliṅga.

The Kaliṅga war brought to the emperor a violent reaction, no doubt under the influence of Buddha's teachings. He regretted the vast numbers of men killed or taken prisoner; he bemoaned the lot of pious men and women to whom befell 'personal violence, death or banishment from loved ones'; and he eschewed for ever war as an instrument of governance. 'If any one does him wrong, the "beloved of the god" must bear all that can be borne.' He embarked on a career of Dharma Vijaya, conquest through Dharma. He set up a network of missions to preach Dharma; declared that all men were his children; 'and what little effort I make,—what is it for?—(in order) that I may be free from debt to the creatures, that I may render some happy here and that they may gain heaven in the next world', said he. The Emperor constituted himself as the guardian of the moral and material welfare of the world. From Afghānistān to Mysore and Kurnool District, and from Saurāshṭra to the boundaries of Assam, the Dharma-Chakra was proclaimed. Dharma-Mahāmātras were in charge of Dharma; a Strī-Adhyaksha-Mahāmātra looked after women; other officers were in charge of cattle and birds. Ordinances proclaiming the importance of family as the basis of morality, liberality and charity towards all, the toleration of all religious sects, the sanctity of all life and the organisation of international relation for enduring peace, were promulgated.

Aśoka was the first founder of a welfare state, not a godless state, but a state permeated by a broad-minded approach to all religions. He insisted, as his inscriptions show, that all religions were to be respected; that criticism of religion was to be forborne; that the divinity of all religious truths was to be recognised; that religions of all sects were to be studied. No higher gospel of tolerance has been propounded since the dawn of the world and no greater harm has been produced than by its neglect. And in pursuance of his tolerant policy he did not try to subvert social order or the religious belief in the interest of the teachings of Buddha which had so impressed him.

The material achievements of the Mauryan era and particularly of the reign of Aśoka were in no way less important. Stone was substituted for wood in important structures. Art assumed a form and grandeur not known before; engineering reached a high level of perfection. The royal palace of Pāṭaliputra was recognised by posterity as 'the work of superhuman hands.' Great cities grew up; gigantic *stūpas* and cave *chaityas* were carved out of massive stone, expressing power and majesty. The Mauryan column is a piece of precision, accuracy and power unsurpassed even in ancient Athens; one of them, later, required 8,400 men pulling a 42-wheeled cart for transport. The sculptures like the Sārnāth lion or the Dhauli elephant or the Rāmpurwā bull exhibited living naturalism. Irrigation projects like the well-known Sudarśana lake were carried out with enduring thoroughness.

But welfare states, which eschew armed coercion of recalcitrant elements, are not known to survive. As soon as Aśoka, 'the greatest of kings', as H. G. Wells called him, died, his Buddhistic leanings and pacific policy evoked open resistance. Due to lack of a vigorous military policy, the outlying provinces rose in revolt. The Greeks invaded India and advanced into the country up to Ayodhyā and Chitor. Further disintegration was halted only when Pushyamitra (187-151 B.C.), the Brāhmaṇa minister of Śuṅga dynasty, took over what was left of the empire.

Pushyamitra and his successor carried forward the pre-Aśokan tradition of Magadha. Dharma Vijaya was no longer to be achieved by abjuring war but by building up military strength; politics became real. The Śuṅgas maintained their hold over a vast part of North India, vanquished Greek invaders and were respected by foreign kings. They fostered a revival of art, literature and architecture. In Madhyadeśa and among the wise and the intellectual, the ascetic outlook lost its attraction; Dharma was strengthened; the authority of the Smṛiti law was completely restored. The new wave of collective enthusiasm found its expression in a combative attitude against Buddhism in a search for a fuller and richer life; in the cult of Kārttikeya, the god of war; in the resurgence of Bhāgavata cult; and in the unchallenged supremacy of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa in the Hindu Pantheon.

IV

The second period from 150 B.C. to A.D. 320 divides itself into two epochs. The first era saw the rise of the North-West and Western India and the adjoining regions of Madhyadeśa as an empire under foreign conquerors. The foreign Kushāṇa power, which held sway over nearly the whole of North India as also considerable territories beyond as far as Central Asia, shifted the centre of political gravity from Pāṭaliputra to Peshāwar. In the second period, Indian powers inspired by a giant wave of resistance, overthrew foreign rule and influenced and re-established the Dharma; though called Sanātana it was in fact a renaissant Order, which, while it retained the fundamental values of Aryan culture including the social pattern, had a new meaning, content and modes of expression.

During this period, Buddhism was evidently influential in the North-West. Its freedom from the rigid rules of social conduct had an appeal for the foreigners, who soon came under its heterodox but humanistic influence. But, once the resistant mind was softened, the varied richness of Sanātana Dharma and its social inhibitions which provided every fresh group with qualified autonomy, a secure place in the social framework, were found irresistible.

While the Bactrian Greeks and Parthian rulers quarrelled among themselves, the people led their own lives; the social pattern accepted as of divine origin, persistently reorganised social groups; the orthodox cults, revivified by a resistance to heterodoxy, were active. In the end, social and religious tenacity developed a mighty absorptive power.

The power and influence of these cults can easily be traced in Kadphises I, the first Kushāṇa king, who was a Buddhist; in his son Kadphises II, who was a Śaivite; in Kanishka, the founder of the Kushāṇa Empire (A.D. 78-101), who was a devout Buddhist; and his son or successor who was a Bhāgavata.

By the middle of the second century of the Christian era, the Kushāṇa imperial power disintegrated. Western and Central India threw off its yoke. Many Governors of Provinces declared independence. The tribes which in Alexander's time lived in the Punjāb had slowly moved southwards, possibly under pressure of fresh arrivals. They had retained their autonomy and independence, yet submitted occasionally to the might of some powerful conqueror. When the empire of the Kushāṇas grew weak, the tribal states like those of Ārjunāyanas, Uddehikas, Mālavas, Śibis, Rājanyas and Yaudheyas became independent. The Śaka Satraps ruled considerable parts of Western India as independent rulers and so did the Ābhīras.

In North-West India where the 'contemptible and fierce' foreigners held sway, cultural purity was more than diluted and in consequence, there was absence of a collective consciousness dominated by Aryan values. The focus of Aryan culture had shifted southwards. The royal Nāga houses, descended from serpent-worshipping, pre-historic non-Aryan tribes which had bowed before conquerors but never submitted, rose to power as the protagonists of resurgent Dharma. The confederacy including the Bhāraśivas ruled over considerable parts of North India. Their guardian god, Śiva, became the great national deity, and they revived epic glory by performing Aśvamedha sacrifices to celebrate their suzerainty.

The Andhras were an equally ancient tribe who once lived on the southern fringes of North India. The last king of the Kāṇvāyana dynasty of Magadha was, by about 30 B.C., overthrown by the Andhra king Simuka of the Sātavāhana dynasty, which claimed Brahmanical descent. Their strength grew in a hundred years. Gautamīputra (A.D. 106-130) extended his sway from Ujjain to the Kṛishṇā and from sea to sea, claiming suzerainty over the whole trans-Vindhyan India. He vanquished the Scythians, the Indo-Greeks and the Parthians; and his descendant, Yajñaśrī, eliminated the Śakas from Western India and Saurāshṭra completely. Dharma was vindicated and re-established wherever the Andhras held sway.

About the same time, Kaliṅga (Orissa), under the great conqueror Khāravela, developed a crusading spirit and played a great part in diffusing Indian culture in the lands beyond the seas.

In the Vindhya region arose Vindhyaśakti, a name mentioned with great respect in the Purāṇas. His son Pravīra allied himself with the Bhāraśiva Nāgas, who had founded an imperial power on the ruins of the Sātavāhana Empire. Riding on the wave of a resurgent neo-Hinduism, he extended his sway from Bundelkhand to the Kṛishṇā in the South.

In the south of the Kṛishṇā, the three kingdoms—Chola, Pāṇḍya and Chera, had accepted the culture of the North. Ceylon, which had generally friendly relations with India, was already colonised about the time Buddha attained Nirvāṇa (483 B.C.). At one time, the Chola conqueror Karikāla had invaded the island. But at the close of the epoch, India and Ceylon had been united by intimate bonds.

With the foreign rulers vanquished and foreigners absorbed, the country was ripe for a mighty national revival—military, political and religious.

V

During the whole period, there were several outstanding achievements in the different spheres of life—political, religious, philosophical, literary and artistic. The political unity under Magadha produced a consciousness of solidarity which laid the foundation of the fundamental unity of India. The Mauryan administrative system, the political theories of Kauṭilya, the social system of Manu, in one form or the other, endured in some or the other part of India till the advent of the British. The Aryan, Dravidian and the aboriginals intermarried at all levels. Collective consciousness was created by common tradition, the growing supremacy of Sanskrit, the social pattern of Chāturvarṇya and the epic greatness which flowed from the memory of the Mahābhārata War.

This period produced celebrated poets and scholars like Aśvaghosha, the famous Buddhist poet and author of *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa;* Pāṇini, the renowned grammarian, who stabilised Sanskrit and indirectly influenced the growth of the languages of India; Kātyāyana; Patañjali, the grammarian who stylised Sanskrit; Bhāsa, the dramatist; Bharata, the dramaturgist; and Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛihaspati, the authors of Smṛitis, the sacred texts. Above all, it was the age of the *Mahābhārata*, which has ever remained for India the 'Book of Life', and *Rāmāyaṇa*, the noblest epic in the world's literature.

The *Mahābhārata* was never a single book. It had been growing into a wide literature of epic heroism; of legends of kings and *ṛishis*, sacred rivers and holy places; of wise lessons in practical wisdom and philosophic thought; of theories of society and politics; of man's efforts to attain the divine. The war it described was a mighty occasion; every royal house found in it heroes whom they claimed as ancestors, whether real or adopted. As the *Mahābhārata* grew into a 'scripture of a lakh of verses' the *Gītā* became the greatest of scriptures.

The Bhārata War had been fought about 1500 B.C. Since then, the work growing with every generation had permeated the collective consciousness of the race and has ever remained its principal formative influence.

In the thousand years under review, the social code, prescribed by the Dharma Sūtras, came to be harmonised and elaborated into the Smṛitis. While they gave continuity to social order, they absorbed or altered usages to make them suitable to changing conditions. The *Manu-smṛiti,* the oldest work of this class and the most well-known, is respected even today all over India. Reputed to be of divine origin and considered to be the source of law from time immemorial, it proclaimed: *'Esha Dharmaḥ Sanātanaḥ'*, the Law Eternal, the fundamental law of social relations. Yājñavalkya systematised it, and his work continues to be the authoritative text even today. This basic conception of eternal law which prescribed social institutions, laid down a code of social conduct; while it made society slow-moving, it prevented chaos; while foreigners were after some time absorbed and their ways adopted, it provided a firm foundation to social institutions and ensured the continuity of cultural values.

But the castes were by no means static. New sub-castes were brought into the framework by absorption, fusion or sub-division: many of them rose or fell in status.

The Brāhmaṇa was the head of the hierarchy, but a Śūdra could become a Brāhmaṇa and a Brāhmaṇa devoid of his culture could sink into a Śūdra. In those as in later days, neither Brāhmaṇas nor Kshatriyas stuck, one and all, to their prescribed functions. A Brāhmaṇa sometimes did the job of a soil-digger, a hunter or a menial, a wagon-driver and also a snake-charmer; a Kshatriya was a potter; a Vaiśya a tailor. Yet Chāturvarṇya retained the character of a divine pattern of life and influenced organisation and law, custom and social philosophy. Under the Smṛitis, caste was not merely an inter-connubium group; its function had a purpose, an ethical and religious motive of uplifting the individual and making him fit for his ultimate destiny. Individuality drew its significance from the service it rendered to the group as a whole, and, therefore, group duties were emphasized.

Because of Chāturvarṇya, social control was not concentrated in one body, nor subordinated to the State. Control was distributed among a variety of autonomous groups or associations within a great cohesive framework. Arjuna expressed the dominant mood when he expressed his dread of chaos, the destruction of Varṇāśrama. The *Arthaśāstra* set its face against renunciation of the world by making it dependent on State permission. This sweeping movement against other-worldliness and social instability found expression in the religious movements of which Vishṇu with his spouse Lakshmī, Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa with his brother Baladeva, and Śiva and the members of his family, were the central deities.

At the mass level, minor divinities continued to be worshipped as ever. Śrī or Lakshmī, an ancient Goddess, was, after many transformations, worshipped as the Goddess of fortune, just as Sarasvatī, the sacred Vedic river, came to be worshipped ultimately as the national Goddess of learning. The Vedic fire worship in a simplified form was part of every ritual. The pre-historic worship of the snakes, popular in the Sindhu Valley and the days of *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda,* was another national cult which found an honoured place in every new religious movement. Perhaps the rise of the Nāga power gave this cult a fresh stimulus. Trees were again divinities and living shrines universally worshipped from the Sindhu Valley civilization onwards. Later, they were semi-divine symbols associated with great religious figures, as in the case of the Bodhi Tree and the Tulsi plant. The Vedic belief that Gandharvas and Apsarases lived in trees was replaced by the universal belief that they were divinities themselves.

Intellectual audacity continued to search for higher truths but the problems of knowledge and reality were unchanged. The central idea of human destiny before all the aspiring speculative minds remained the same. Life was full of ills; escape from it was the highest good; this escape could only be secured by meditation on the highest truth; and the highest truth was reached by *bhakti* or *yoga* and the conquest of human limitations like attachment, wrath and fear.

The old menace of renunciation and other-worldliness was met by a new powerful gospel of living in the present; it proclaimed that man can attain his destiny—self-realization, integration or freedom—not in a forest or a cave but in the battle-field of life. In this way, the *Bhagavadgītā,* finally put into its present shape a century or two before the commencement of this period, was accepted not merely as a gospel of life but as a triumphant message that the highest destiny of man can be fulfilled only in the performance of the duties of life.

Literary tradition continuously accepted by the elite and providing continuity of aesthetic outlook provides one of the greatest forces of creating and maintaining collective consciousness in a people. The Drama and the Kāvya in Sanskrit literature, traceable to the *Ṛigveda* and the *Mahābhārata*, provided this cohesive force. *Rāmāyaṇa* was accepted as the formal epic, par excellence. Religious and philosophic literature grew in depth and richness. The vast mass of the canonical texts of the Buddhists was again a literature in itself. Folk stories were collected and composed and provided entertainment to people of all grades throughout the country.

The major distinction between those who accepted the Vedas and those who rejected them tended to be narrowed down during this period. At the end of this period, the Vedas, as the ultimate source of all knowledge and truth, won.

VI

The post-Mauryan art gave up the motive of impressing people with power and grandeur; it became natural. The Kushāṇa art of the North-West, exemplified in the art of Gandhāra particularly, was however, a colourless imitation of Greek art. Elsewhere, art was the expression of the popular impulse towards beauty. Isolated objects were bound in one harmonious stream of life and scrupulous exhaustiveness became the main characteristic of the technique. Elephants, deers, antelopes, lotus-creepers, trees and plants added to the beauty and by displaying naturalness, provided the background. The human figure, in every conceivable position and attitude, was the principal object. The body was no longer an integration of limbs; it was portrayed as a living entity; in the hands of the Sānchī artists, it expressed both freedom and joy. The human figure of Yaksha at Sānchī expresses a free, proud, stately and heroic man. Later, this figure was perhaps transformed by the devout artist into the Bodhisattva of Mathurā; the figure and expression were impressed with not only beauty but a spirit of calm transcending physical attractiveness. But art which painted the legendary cycle of Buddha's life aimed at no sublimation or ethical perfection. The Yakshiṇīs as Vṛikshakās and dancing girls with well-developed breasts and hips were carved with infinite love and grace, exhibiting a pagan love of life; their almost living flesh glows with sheer sensuousness; their lineaments express the delicate shades of violent passion or thrilling emotion.

Painting, long in vogue, reached a very high level, as in the Ajaṇṭā frescoes. Terracotta and pottery were also a medium of high art. India had from the earliest times given rise to guilds of master craftsmen in gold and jewellery, in carpentry and ivory carving.

The family, as a fundamental unit, continued to be accepted as the foundation of social structure. The ideal of a devoted wife was held up as the highest value and in spite of widespread lapses, it was indissolubly connected with the sanctity of the family. Women enjoyed a high status in life, though not the same as in the Vedic or epic days; perhaps the narrow outlook of the less advanced communities was corrupting the circles of the cultured. Some women were students of sacred texts and philosophies; some were teachers; others studied till they married; and yet others were trained in fine arts. The lure of renunciation also attracted women and many high born ladies renounced the world in search of salvation. Women rode horses, drove chariots, wielded weapons and some queens acted as regents. About the beginning of the Christian era, however,—perhaps it was under the influence of the foreigners—the spiritual disenfranchisement of women began. Rituals came to be performed for them without the Vedic mantras; Vedic sacrifices were tabooed to the wife. Widow-remarriage and divorce were discouraged. On the other hand, Kauṭilya, in matters of divorce, places man and woman on equal footing. Nārada prescribes punishment for the husband who leaves his wife. Manu in his original version even favours the levirate. But as people with lax morals came into the social framework on account of the expanding frontiers of Dharma, the marital tie assumed great sanctity, and in later verses Manu condemns levirate. Heterae were a highly respected class. Āmrapālī, the mistress of Bimbisāra and later a disciple of Buddha, had a high status in society resembling that of Aspasia in ancient Athens.

The foreigners introduced a sort of trousers, over-coats and blouses. Stitched cloth came into fashion. Even shoes of white leather were in demand; the soles were made extra thick to make the wearer look taller! The people adorned themselves with ornaments and elaborate dresses; with garlands, scents, perfumes and unguents. The body was painted too. Vermilion was placed in the middle of the hair by ladies as they do now in Bengal. Beards and heads were shaved. Houses were furnished with screens, curtains, cup-boards, chairs and sofas with or without arms. Mats, of course, were there and so were bedsteads. Couches were covered with canopies; divans were in fashion too and so were sun-shades, mosquito-curtains, filters, mosquito-fans, flower-stands, and fly-whisks. In spite of Jainism and Buddhism, fish and meat, not excluding beef, were consumed extensively by the people. Fruit juice and juice of herbs and of course various kinds of liquor were freely taken. Singing, dancing and dramatic performances, entertainment by buffoons, mimics, rope-dancers, jugglers and wandering bards entertained the people. Gardening was a favourite pastime. Hunting, chariot-races, archery contests, wrestling, boxing, shooting marbles with fingers and ploughing with mimic ploughs were the common enjoyments of life.

Though India's contact with the outside world was established since prehistoric and proto-historic times, it was during this age that we find definite expansion of Indian culture and influence in Central and South-East Asia and the Pacific Islands. After Aśoka's missionary activity, it was through the Kushāṇas that Indian culture and religion penetrated Central Asia. Colonization became popular. From the southern and eastern ports, however, emanated wave after wave of enterprising colonisers whose efforts resulted not only in influencing cultural and religious fields but also in establishing Hindu kingdoms in Annam, Fu-nan and other places.

With the rise of Vindhyaśakti of Puranic fame, this Age ends, and a new age begins—the Classical Age of the Guptas—taking India a stage higher in many respects.

VII

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PREFACE

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar

The period with which this volume deals (600 B.C.-A.D. 320) offers a great contrast in many ways to the preceding one. We are no longer dependent upon religious literature of a single denomination and uncertain date as the sole source of our historical information. Instead, we have not only literary works of different religious sects which supplement and correct one another, but also valuable literary records of a secular character, both Indian and foreign, of known dates, and the highly important evidence furnished by coins, inscriptions and monuments. In addition, we have a continuous traditional account of states and ruling dynasties whose general authenticity is beyond question. All these enable us to draw an outline of the political history of North India and the Deccan for nearly the whole of the period. They also furnish a mass of highly valuable data for the reconstruction of the social, religious and economic life of the people of the whole region.

As regards South India, however, the position still is far from satisfactory, for we have neither coins, nor inscriptions, nor historical traditions, enabling us to draw even a rough outline of political history. And though the brilliant Śaṅgam age of Tamil literature falls within this period, even if it is not wholly covered by it, we can glean from it only the names of a few isolated kings and their heroic achievements without any connecting link. While the literature and other sources give us glimpses of social, economic and religious conditions of the people, and particularly of their extensive maritime trade with the West, we miss the framework of political history against which alone they can be studied in their true perspective.

South India, therefore, necessarily plays a comparatively insignificant part in this volume. But subject to this limitation, the history and culture of the Indian people unfolded in the following pages may be regarded as unique in many respects, marked both by brilliance and variety for which we look in vain during subsequent ages. First and foremost, the age saw the beginning and culmination of that political unification of India which has been alike the ideal and despair of later ages. We can trace the successive steps by which Magadha, a petty principality in South Bihār, gradually extended its authority till, in the course of two centuries, under the Mauryas, it became the mistress of extensive dominions stretching from beyond the Hindu Kush in the west to the hills of Assam in the east, and from Kāshmir in the north to Mysore in the south. The royal edicts of this mighty realm still lie scattered throughout India from the North-West Frontier Province to Nepāl Terai and the heart of Madras.

The political history of this empire reaches almost an epic grandeur as we trace the story of its growth from stage to stage, till our vision extends over the whole of India and even beyond. Then follows the story of its fall, imbued with a dramatic interest and pathos of almost equal depth. Religious fervour and pacifist ideals lead away a mighty emperor from the policy of blood and iron which created the empire and which alone could sustain it. Then follows an orgy of greed, ambition and lust for power which saps the vitality of the state. The commander of the imperial army seizes the opportunity to strike the final blow at his royal master. The *coup* succeeds, but the traitor wears only a crown of thorns. Nemesis appears in the shape of foreign invaders on the horizon of the distant West. They are lured by the gorgeous wealth of Ind, which treachery and dissensions place within their easy reach. The Greeks, the Parthians, the Śakas and the Kushāṇas move on the chess-board of Indian politics, but leave no permanent traces behind. India, stunned by the blow but not killed, recovers herself. The mighty Sātavāhana rulers bar the gates of the Deccan to the further advance of the foreigners, and the sturdy republican tribes of the north once more unfurl the banner of freedom and uphold the dignity of their motherland. It is at this juncture, when the ground is finally prepared for the foundation of another great Indian Empire, that we close this volume.

The rise and fall of the Empire of Magadha is thus our central theme, and the climax of its imperial pomp and power and the anti-climax of its decline and fall form a drama of intense human interest. This interest is further heightened by the career of the great emperor Aśoka who shines in the dark firmament of Indian history as a bright star whose lustre increases as he recedes further and further into the course of time. His humanism and aversion to warfare cannot fail to strike a sympathetic chord in the heart of a generation, which has passed through two Armageddons shaking the human civilization to its very foundation and is now quailing in fear of a third which threatens to engulf it altogether.

PREFACE

The Maurya empire, which brought about the political unity of India, perished, but left a rich legacy behind it. Though India had to wait for nearly two thousand years for a similar achievement under a foreign yoke, the example of the Mauryas was never lost upon her and inspired successive royal dynasties to emulate it with varying degrees of success. Besides, the political unity ushered in by the Mauryas led to a cultural unity which manifested itself through the development of a uniform type of language, literature, art and religion all over India; and this left a deep impress which the lapse of time has not been able to efface. The age of imperial unity, the title given to this volume, thus fittingly describes the essential characteristic of the period with which it deals.

But the dazzling brilliance of the political achievements of the period should not blind us to its cultural attainments, which are of an unusually high order. It was predominantly an age of that freedom of thought which is now regarded as a peculiar virtue, if not the monopoly, of the West. It led to an outburst of intellectual activity such as has rarely been witnessed in later ages. Although many of the channels through which this activity flowed were dried up or lost in the sands of time, a few broad streams have survived down to our age fertilising, for more than two thousand years, men's minds and hearts over a considerable part of the globe. These comprise Buddhism and Jainism, the theistic religions Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, and the six systems of philosophy which may be regarded as the permanent contributions of Indian culture to the civilization of the world. The influence of all these upon the growth of civilization in India and the outside world has been described in the following pages, and more will be said in the succeeding volumes. For the student of human culture they perhaps constitute a theme of more abiding interest than even the evolution of an all-India empire under the Mauryas.

There are also other aspects of the intellectual activity which characterise the age. These are the developments in language, literature and art. The period saw the rise of Classical Sanskrit as well as the various forms of Prakrit which are the grand-parents of the numerous modern regional languages of India. It almost brought to perfection the analytical study of languages in the grammatical works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, which still remain the standard works on the subject. As regards literature, it was the age of the two great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, which have moulded the character and civilization of Indians in a way which perhaps no other literary work can claim in any part of the world. This period also saw the beginnings of drama and poetry whose efflorescence cast a glamour on the succeeding age. Above all, it saw the evolution of the art of writing, which must be regarded as the principal instrument of the advancement of learning and the diffusion of knowledge for all times. There was also a notable advance in the study of medical science whose influence spread far beyond the borders of India. But perhaps the greatest advance was made in the study of political science and administrative organisation. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the classical work on this subject, which has cast into shade all other texts of this class, was undoubtedly written during this period. It may be regarded as the high watermark of the progress of Indian political thought.

The history of Indian art really begins in this period. There were undoubtedly artistic activities in the preceding age, but no memorials have survived (except those of the Sindhu valley civilization), mainly because they were built of perishable materials like wood or brick. It is in this age that we first come across architecture and sculpture in stone, whose further progress we can trace in detail without any gap till our own time. The most curious thing, however, is that some of these first products of Indian art are also the finest, a peculiarity pithily expressed by Fergusson in his famous dictum that "the history of Indian art is written in decay." But although the monolithic pillars of Aśoka with their wonderful lustre and superb animal figures as capitals still remain unsurpassed as works of art, in India or elsewhere, scholars no longer view the later progress of Indian art as merely a gradual process of decline from its pristine grandeur. Attention has been drawn in the following pages to varieties of later Indian art and their excellence, and a rational view has been put forward to explain their difference from, and inferiority to, the highly developed Aśokan art. Apart from its technical excellence there is one characteristic which distinguishes the art of this period. It fully reflects the life and activities and thoughts and beliefs of the people at large, and may thus be regarded as an integral part of Indian culture.

India's contact with the outside world is another great characteristic feature of the age. Trade and maritime enterprise mark the beginning of this contact, which was further developed by missionary activity. Ultimately we find Indians spreading over a great part of the known world, not only in the mainlands of Asia as far as Syria and China, but also to distant lands across the sea,—over Africa and Europe on the west and Indo-China and the islands of the Indian Archipelago on the east. We also see the beginnings of Indian colonies which developed into flourishing empires and led to the growth of a Greater India in later ages.

At home, Indians came into contact with successive bands of foreigners—Greeks, Parthians, Scythians and Turks (Kushānas)—who came as invaders and were ultimately absorbed in the vast population of India. They were completely merged in Indian society and adopted the language, religion and customs of the land, without retaining any trace of their foreign origin. This reveals to us the catholicity of Hindu society of the period, in sad and striking contrast to the narrow rigidity and exclusiveness which characterised it at a later age. There are other evidences to show that the Hindu society of this age was a living organism which could adapt itself to new environment and changing circumstances. The rise of Buddhism, Jainism and other heterodox religious sects was a great challenge to the old Vedic faith and practices and, as a result, these underwent an almost complete transformation. Although the final form of the new religion is not yet clearly perceptible, its beginnings were marked in this age by the adoption of theistic Vaishṇavism and Śaivism within the fold of Brahmanical religion. The neo-Brahmanical literature in the form of Dharma-śāstras or Smṛitis, which developed in this age, still forms the bed-rock of modern Hinduism in spite of the accretion of silt deposits of later ages.

As a matter of fact the Brahmanical religion, as it developed at the end of this period more than 1,500 years ago, is far more akin to modern Hinduism than it is to the Vedic cult which immediately preceded it. The age is therefore not merely important for the rise of new sects like Buddhism and Jainism, but also for the growth and development of what is now generally known as Hindu religion. It is interesting to note that, like Buddhism, this neo-Hinduism had also its proselytising aspect and was carried to remote lands, even beyond the seas, by missionary activities. Hinduism was not yet a monopoly or accident of birth, and did not lose its purity by crossing the "black water".

Reference may now be made to some of the difficulties with which this volume has had to contend. The first and foremost is the chronological problem, which may be regarded as the chronic weakness of Indian history. There is undoubtedly a great advance over the preceding age, for which we have nothing but the vaguest idea of a few general dates that may be wrong by centuries or even millennia. So far as the present volume is concerned, the chronology of the first period depends upon the date of Buddha's death, which has been fixed at either 544 or about 486 B.C. by two schools of opinion which alone deserve serious consideration. The latter date has been adopted in this work for reasons stated on pages 36-38. This volume has also to deal with the vexed problems of the origin of Vikrama Saṁvat and the Śakābda, the two leading Indian eras which started respectively in 58 B.C. and A.D. 78 and are even now widely used all over India. Indian tradition ascribes the foundation of the first to the hero-king Vikramāḍitya, around whose memory succeeding ages have woven a long string of legends and romances. The vitality of the Vikramāditya tradition is vouched for by the recent celebration of the bimillenary of the Vikrama era. Nevertheless sober history still refuses to recognise the existence of a king Vikramāditya in 58 B.C. for lack of positive evidence. Even eminent scholars treat him as a myth and attribute the foundation of the so-called Vikramāditya era to a foreign ruler. As regards the Śakābda or Śaka era, modern authorities accept the Indian tradition that it was founded by the Śaka king or commemorates the date of his accession. But in the case of both these eras there is no unanimity as to the identity of the foreign rulers who founded them. As regards the Śaka era, there is a consensus of opinion that it commemorates the accession of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka, though this view is open to serious objections and is rejected by some. As regards the foundation of the Vikrama era, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that no two scholars agree on any point except in denying that any king of the name of Vikramāditya had anything to do with it.

In view of these wide differences of opinion the Editor has thought it best to state the general position briefly in Chapter X and then give wide latitude to individual contributors to express their views, sometimes even more firmly than the facts would justify. But as the date of Kanishka is a landmark in the history of this period, the general view that he ascended the throne in A.D. 78 has been accepted as a working hypothesis.

The question of the foundation of the so-called Kalachuri era which started in A.D. 248-49 is beset with similar difficulties, though they are less serious as the era was confined to a small locality. The general view that it was founded by an Ābhīra chief has been adopted in this work, though it is not altogether free from doubt.

Leaving aside the general question of eras, we are also confronted with difficulties in settling the dates of some dynasties and individual kings. The dates, for example, of most of the foreign rulers of Greek or Parthian descent can only be fixed within certain limits, and there have been strong differences of opinion about Menander and Azes. The dates of the Śaka satraps alone are fairly well known, thanks to the series of dated coins and inscriptions issued by them.

As regards indigenous royal dynasties, serious differences of opinion exist only about the date of foundation of the Sātavāhana power. The theory associated with the name of Bhandarkar—father and son—has not been accepted in this work, and the first Sātavāhana king has been placed in the first century B.C. instead of the third century B.C. as advocated by them. As a corollary to this, Khāravela, the famous warrior king of Kaliṅga, has also been assigned to the first century B.C.

In order to give a clear idea of the chronological scheme adopted in this work, a chronological table has been added at the end of the volume. To facilitate comparison, the dates of a few Roman and Chinese emperors as well as of Syrian and Parthian kings have been added in the table, particularly as India came into close contact with all these countries during the period under review. While even approximate dates of important kings have been added, those of minor or local rulers have been included only when they are known with certainty.

The chronology of literary works has been a baffling problem almost throughout the course of Indian history, and we have had more than a fair share of it in the present volume. The dates of the various Dharma-śāstras or Smṛitis, as well as of the original Sūtras of the six systems of philosophy, are among the knottiest problems of the history of Indian literature on which widely divergent views are held by scholars. The date of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* has been a source of polemic discussion, which has grown into a voluminous literature. While some scholars stoutly maintain that it was written by Kauṭilya, the minister of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta (324-300 B.C.), others with equal vehemence relegate it to a date as late as the third century A.D. Even a brief discussion of the merits of the different views on these all-important works, not to speak of lesser ones, would have considerably increased the bulk of this volume without a corresponding advantage. Readers interested in these questions should consult special treatises or articles, of which a select list has been given under General References or Foot-notes. In general, only the different important views have been stated without discussion. In the case of Dharma-śāstra literature, the views of P. V. Kane, the latest writer on the subject, have been accepted as working hypotheses in preference to those of J. Jolly which hitherto held the field, for some idea of the dates of the different Smṛiti texts is necessary in order to utilise their data for the reconstruction of the social and legal system which is principally based upon them. In view of the uncertainty of date, the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* has not been used as a source for the Maurya or any specific period, but the political theory and administrative organisation envisaged by it has been treated as a separate picture complete in itself. This picture must be true of some part of the period between 300 B.C. and A.D. 300, treated in this volume, though we are unable to specify it within still narrower limits.

A special interest attaches to the problem of Kālidāsa, the greatest poet of India. While orthodox section still clings to the view that he flourished in the court of king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī in the first century B.C., modern scholars generally, though by no means unanimously, regard him as a contemporary of a Gupta Emperor, most probably Chandra-gupta II (c. A.D. 376-414) who assumed the title Vikramāditya.

The practical difficulty caused by such differences of opinion was well illustrated in course of the preparation of this historical series. On reading the MSS. of the two chapters on literature in this and the next volume of the series, covering the period 600 B.C. A.D. 750, the Editor found to his utter dismay that there was no reference to the great poet Kālidāsa in either of them. On enquiry it was learnt that the scholar who wrote for this volume held that Kālidāsa flourished in the Gupta age and should therefore figure in the next volume, while the writer for the latter was of opinion that the poet flourished in the first century B.C. and as such must have been dealt with in the preceding volume. Ultimately it was decided to accept the general view and treat Kālidāsa as belonging to the

Gupta age. But the curious omission referred to above shows that scholars are even now strongly divided in their opinion as to the age of Kālidāsa, and no definite opinion can be hazarded until more positive evidence is forthcoming.

As regards the other great dramatist Bhāsa, the difficulty is not confined to the uncertainty of date, bad as it is from every point of view. Doubts have been entertained whether the 13 dramas published from Trivandrum are really the works of Bhāsa, who is mentioned with respect even by Kālidāsa. This problem also defies any final solution, but following the general view, the above-mentioned plays have been accepted as genuine works of Bhāsa.

The whole history of literature is beset with similar difficulties, though of a less serious nature, to which references have been made in the relevant chapters.

Next to the chronological difficulty is the one caused by the wide differences between the Purāṇas and Buddhist texts regarding the genealogies of royal dynasties. The discrepancy is of a fundamental nature in the case of the Purānic Śiśunāgas, who are not only split into two separate dynasties in the Sinhalese Chronicles, but their chronological order is also reversed. The genealogical arrangement of these Chronicles has been adopted in this work. There are similar differences in the case of Nandas and later Maurya kings, but as they do not very much affect the general course of history, the different views have been merely stated without showing preference for any of them.

Among other difficulties of a more serious nature may be mentioned the diversity of opinion on the origin of Indian art, especially Mauryan art. The theory of Marshall that the highclass artistic products of the Aśokan age were really the works of foreign artists provoked a strong challenge at the time it was originally propounded. But, gradually scholarly opinion is veering towards it, though in a modified form. Here again, no dogmatic view, one way or the other, is either possible or desirable, and the treatment of the subject in Chapter XX will perhaps meet with general approbation, if not with general acceptance. The same remarks apply to the perplexing question of the origin of Buddha images on which a more pronounced view has been taken on the basis of data that have accumulated since the time when the Greek artists were credited with their introduction in India.

This brief survey of the characteristic features of the age and the difficulties and uncertainties that its history involves would give the readers a fair idea of the contents of this volume as well as of the great importance of the period covered by it. The necessity of dealing with the beginnings of so many new developments, particularly in the domains of religion, literature and art, has increased the bulk of this volume much beyond the average fixed for each, but some of the subsequent volumes will be considerably shorter.

The general remarks in the Preface to Volume I about the way in which the Editor has tried to deal with the conflicting views of different contributors are applicable to this volume also. In addition, the Editor has occasionally found it necessary to make considerable additions and alterations, partly in order to complete the picture of a subject as he conceived it, and partly to avoid duplication and inconsistency between chapters dealing with the same or allied topics but written by different persons. It has not always been possible to indicate the additions made by the Editor, but in important cases an asterisk has been added to 'sections' in the Table of Contents and at the end of 'paragraphs' in the body of the text to show that the authors are not responsible for the views and information contained in those parts of the chapters contributed by them. Sometimes portions of one chapter have been transferred to another written by a different person, and in all important cases the authorship has been indicated in the foot-notes.

In general, the Editor naturally conceived the idea of the work as a whole and was guided by the sole consideration of the suitability, relevance and due proportion of the different subordinate parts to the main structure. But he has not always succeeded in eliminating duplication, or even inconsistency, to a certain extent, as both were more or less inherent in the arrangement of topics or the nature of the subject. Thus, while the chapter on literature has necessarily to deal with works bearing on law, politics, religion, philosophy, etc., these had again to be dealt with in connection with those topics treated in different chapters.

A typical and extreme instance is furnished by the history of Tamil literature of the period A.D. 300-750. It almost exclusively deals with the religious works of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava saints, which again figure prominently in the history of these two religions. It would have been perhaps more logical to omit the separate chapter on Tamil literature and distribute its contents among the sections dealing with the history of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism in South India. Apart, however, from the fact that such an omission would disturb the general framework of the volume, it was thought desirable to view these works separately as literary works. But as this can hardly be done without some reference, however brief, to their religious contents, a certain amount of duplication could hardly be avoided. To minimise these difficulties as far as possible, purely sectarian literature, such as Buddhist and Jain canons, has been included in the chapters dealing with those two religions.

It has not been possible to follow any uniform procedure about foot-notes. Some of the chapters have detailed foot-notes citing authorities for the views and statements contained in them. In other cases it has been thought sufficient to indicate, under general references, the sources from which most of the information is derived, and to add foot-notes only to deal with a few important points or to indicate sources not covered by general references. In particular references for individual specimens of architecture and sculpture have not always been given in foot-notes. But a select bibliography has been added at the end of the volume which covers all chapters and should enable readers to make a special study of the different topics included in each.

A genealogical list of royal dynasties and a chronological table of important persons and events have been added to facilitate the study of political history, though a great deal, in both of these, is involved in doubt.

The method of transliteration and spelling of proper names remains unchanged. "Gaṅgā", "Yamunā" and "Sindhu" have been used in place of the hitherto common "Ganges", "Jumna" and "Indus". The index-volume of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* has been generally followed in the spellings of geographical names, most of which have been put with proper diacritical marks. New spellings such as Banaras, and new territorial divisions such as Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bhārat, etc. have also been employed.

The Editor expresses his deep obligations to the scholars who have contributed to this volume. Two of them, Dr. Beni Prasad and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, died before the publication of this volume and the Editor takes this opportunity to place on record his deep sorrow at their death and his appreciation of the services rendered by them to the cause of Indian History. As neither of them could revise the chapters in their final form, the Editor had to take the onerous responsibility of making suitable additions and alterations to them without having the benefit of their advice or opinion.

The Editor also likes to place on record the ungrudging services rendered by Dr. A. D. Pusalker at every stage of the preparation of this series. He has worked very hard in checking references and seeing the volume through the press, and has made many valuable suggestions for improving the quality of the book and making it more useful to the public.

Dr B K. Ghosh, one of the contributors to Vol. I, who had seen his chapters in proof, passed away while the book was in press. In his death Indian Linguistics has sustained a serious loss. The Editor takes this opportunity to convey his condolence to the bereaved family.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.	*After the Buddha.*
ABIA.	*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Leyden.*
ABORI.	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.*
Anab.	*Anabasis by Arrian. Ed. A. G. Roos, Leipzig, 1907.*
Anc. Ind. or Ancient India.	*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature. Translated and copiously annotated by J. W. McCrindle, Westminster, 1901.*
Aṅgu.	*Aṅguttara Nikāya.*
Āp. Dh. S.	*Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra.*
ASI.	*Archaeological Survey of India.*
ASR.	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
ĀSS.	*Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.*
BDCRI.	*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.*
BEFEO.	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extême Orient, Hanoi.*
Bhāg. P.	*Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*
Bhārata-Kaumudī.	*Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. Allahabad, 1945.*
BI.	*Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.*
BSOS.	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London.*
BSS.	*Bombay Sanskrit Series.*
Bull. M.F.A.	*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
CAH.	*Cambridge Ancient History.*
CHI.	*Cambridge History of India.*
Chv.	*Chullavagga (of Vinaya Piṭaka).*
CII.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
CL.	*Carmichael Lectures.*
CLAI.	*Corporate Life in Ancient India. By Dr. R. C. Majumdar. 2nd Ed. Calcutta, 1922.*

CR.	*Calcutta Review.*
Dhammap.	*Dhammapada.*
Dialogues.	*Diologues of the Buddha. Translated from the Pāli by T. W. Rhys Davids.*
Dīgha.	*Dīgha Nikāya.*
Div.	*Divyāvadāna.*
DKA.	*Dynasties of the Kali Age. By F. E. Pargiter. Londan, 1913.*
EB.	*Encyclopaedia Britannica.*
EC.	*Epigraphia Carnatica.*
EHAC.	*Early History of the Andhra Country. By K. Gopalachari. Madras, 1941.*
EHD.	*Early History of the Dekkan. By Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.*
EHI.	*Early History of India. By Vincent A. Smith. 4th Edition. Oxford, 1924.*
EI.	*Epigraphia Indica, Delhi.*
ERE.	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by J. Hastings.*
GIL.	*Gaschichte der indischen Litteratur. By M. Winternitz.*
GOS.	*Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.*
HBR.	*History of Bengal (Vol. I). Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Dacca, 1943.*
HC.	*Hindu Civilization. By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. London, 1936.*
HCSL.	*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature. By M. Krishnamachariar. Madras, 1937.*
HIEA.^{2}	*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. By J. Fergusson. 2nd Edition. London, 1910.*
HIIA.	*History of Indian and Indonesian Art. By A. K. Coomaraswamy. London, 1927.*
HIL.	*History of Indian Literature.*
HOS.	*Harvard Oriental Series.*
HSL.	*History of Sanskrit Literature.*
HTB.	*Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang (A.D. 629) by Samuel Beal. 2 Vols. London, 1884.*

HTW.	*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, A.D. 629-645. Translated by Thomas Watters. Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell. 2 Vols. London, 1904-05.*
Hv.	*Harivaṁśa (Bombay Edition).*
IA.	*Indian Antiquary, Bombay.*
IAL.	*Indian Art and Letters, London.*
IC.	*Indian Culture, Calcutta.*
IHQ.	*Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.*
Invasion.	*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodoros, Plutarch and Justin. Tr. by J. W. McCrindle. Westminster, 1896.*
JA.	*Journal Asiatique, Paris.*
JAOS.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JASB.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.*
Jāt.	*Jātaka (or Jātakas).*
JBBRAS.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.*
JBHU.	*Journal of the Banaras Hindu University.*
JBORS.	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.*
JDL.	*Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.*
JGIS.	*Journal of the Greater India Society.*
JGJRI.	*Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.*
JIH.	*Journal of Indian History.*
JISOA.	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.*
JNSI.	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay.*
JRAS.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.*
JRASB (L).	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Calcutta.*
KA.	*Kauṭilīyam Arthaśāstram. Edited by R. Shamasastry, Mysore, 1919.*
KAT.	*English Translation of KA. By R. Shamasastry. Bangalore, 1915.*
Kāne Comm. Vol.	*A Volume of Studies in Indology Presented to Prof. P. V. Kane. Poona, 1941.*

KHDS.	*History of Dharmaśāstra, By P. V. Kane.*
Majjh.	*Majjhima Nikāya.*
Manu.	*Manu-smṛiti.*
MASI.	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata (Bombay Edition, unless specifically stated otherwise).*
Mbh (Cr. Ed.).	*Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (used for Parvans hitherto published).*
Megasthenes.	*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian. By J. W. McCrindle. Calcutta, Bombay, London, 1877.*
Mem. N.S.I.	*Memoirs of the Numismatic Society of India.*
Mv.	*Mahāvagga (of Vinaya Piṭaka).*
NHIP.	*New History of the Indian People (Vol. VI. Edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar. Lahore, 1946).*
NIA.	*New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.*
Num. Chron.	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
OST.	*Original Sanskrit Texts. By J. Muir.*
P.	*Purāṇa.*
P.E.	*Pillar Edict.*
Periplus.	*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Translated and annotated by W. H. Schoff. London, 1912.*
PHAI.	*Political History of Ancient India. By H. C. Raychaudhuri. 4th Ed. Calcutta, 1938.*
PIHC.	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
PO.	*Poona Orientalist, Poona.*
POC.	*Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.*
Proc. N.S.I.	*Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of India.*
PTS.	*Pali Text Society.*
QJMS.	*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.*
Rāj.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī by Kalhaṇa.*
Rām.	*Rāmāyaṇa.*
R.E.	*Rock Edict.*
Sam.	*Saṁyutta Nikāya.*

Śat. Br.	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
SBB.	*Sacred Books of the Buddhists, London.*
SBE.	*Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.*
SBH.	*Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad.*
SD.	*Sanskrit Drama. By A. B. Keith. Oxford, 1924.*
Sel. Ins.	*Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization. By D. C. Sircar. Calcutta, 1942.*
Sumaṅgala V.	*Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī (Comm. on the Dīgha).*
Thomas Comm. Vol.	*A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas Bombay, 1939.*
Vinaya.	*Vinaya Texts, SBE, Vols. 13 and 17: Translated from the Pāli by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg.*
VS.	*Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems. By. R. G. Bhandarkar.*
WZKM.	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesselschaft.*
ZII.	*Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.*

CHAPTER I

NORTH INDIA IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B. C.

I. THE SIXTEEN GREAT STATES

It would appear from what has been said above in Vol. I, Ch. XV, that at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. there was no paramount power in North India, which was divided into a large number of independent states. These were the three important kingdoms of Magadha, Kosala, and Vatsa, and a host of minor ones such as Kuru, Pañchāla, Śūrasena, Kāśī, Mithilā, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Aśmaka, Gandhāra and Kāmboja. Two other kingdoms, those of the Haihayas and the Vītihotras, are also mentioned in the Purāṇas, but their location is uncertain. One of them probably represents Avanti, and the other the Chedi kingdom.

The same political condition is reflected in the stereotyped list of sixteen great countries *(Soḷasamahājanapadā)* which, according to Buddhist texts,[1] flourished shortly before the time of Gautama Buddha. They are as follows according to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya:*—Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kosala, Vṛiji (Vajji), Malla, Chedi, Vatsa (Vaṁsa), Kuru, Pañchāla, Matsya (Machchha), Śūrasena, Aśvaka or Aśmaka (Assaka), Avanti, Gandhāra and Kāmboja, each being named after the people who settled down there or colonised it. The Janavasabha Suttanta (*Dīgha Nikāya,* II) refers to some of them in pairs, *viz.* Kāśī-Kosala, Vṛiji (Vajji)-Malla, Chedi-Vaṁsa, Kuru-Pañchāla and Matsya-Śūrasena. The *Chullaniddesa* adds Kaliṅga to the list and substitutes Yona for Gandhāra. The *Mahāvastu* list agrees with that in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* save that it omits Gandhāra and Kāmboja and mentions Śivi and Daśārṇa instead.

The Jain *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (otherwise called *Vyākhyā-Prajñapti*) also mentions sixteen countries, though it gives a somewhat different list:—Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magaha, Malaya, Mālava, Achchha, Vachchha, Kochchha, Paḍha, Lāḍha (Rāḍha), Bajji (Vajji), Molī, Kāśī, Kosala, Avāha and Sambhuttara.[2]

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[1] *Aṅguttara,* I, 213; IV, 252, 256, 260; *Mahāvastu,* I, 34, II, 3; *Vinaya Texts* II, 146 fn; *Niddesa* II, 37.

[2] *Saya* XV, *Uddessa* I (Hoernle—the *Uvāsagadasāo,* II, Appendix).

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta[1] tells us that Mahāgovinda, the Brahmin chaplain to king Reṇu, divided his empire into seven separate kingdoms with their respective capitals as named below:—

1.	Kaliṅga	capital	Dantapura.
2.	Assaka	„	Potana.
3.	Avanti	„	Māhishmatī (Māhissatī).
4.	Sovīra	„	Roruka.
5.	Videha	„	Mithilā.
6.	Aṅga	„	Champā.
7.	Kāśī	„	Vārāṇasī.

In spite of striking resemblances, especially between the Puranic and Buddhist lists, there are also important differences. This leads to the assumption that the lists were originally drawn up at different times, and they reflect the difference in their author's knowledge of, interest in, or intimacy with, the different parts of the country. This is best illustrated by the mention in the Buddhist and Jain texts of the Vṛiji or Vajji and Malla which are omitted in the Purāṇas; for it is well known that these two states were the strongholds of both the heterodox religious sects.

The mention of these states is of special importance for, as will be presently shown, they were autonomous clans with a non-monarchical (republican or oligarchical) form of government. The Purānas do not indicate in any way the existence of such states in this period. But these formed a distinctive feature in Indian politics in the sixth century B.C., for the Buddhist texts reveal the existence of many such clans at the time of Gautama Buddha. These are the Sākiyas or Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Mallas of Pāvā and Kuśīnārā (Kuśīnagara), Lichchhavis of Vesāli (Vaiśālī), the Videhas of Mithilā, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana and the Bhaggas with their capital on Suṁsumāra Hill. The Buddhist account is fully supported by the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini who, according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, lived about 700 B.C. and, according to Professor A. Macdonell, about 500 B. C. Pāṇini, in his grammar, mentions both classes of States, viz. the Republics, to which he applies the term *Saṁgha* or *Gaṇa*, and the kingdoms called *Janapadas*. Some of the leading Republics mentioned by him were the Kshudrakas (Greek Oxydrakai), Mālavas (Malloi), Ambashthas (Abastanoi), Hāstināyana

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[1] *Dīgha* II, 235.

(Astakenoi), Prakaṇva (Parikanioi or modern Ferghana), Madras, Madhumantas (modern Mohmands), Āprītas (Greek Aparytai = modern Afridis), Vasāti (Ossadii), Bhaggas, Śibis (Sibai), Āśvāyana (Greek Aspasioi) and Āśvakāyana (Greek Assakenoi with their capital at Massaga = Maśakāvatī). Most of these continued up to the time of Alexander's invasion which they stoutly resisted. As regards the *Janapadas* or kingdoms, Pāṇini mentions, among others, Gandhāra, Avanti, Kosala, Uśīnara, Videha, as also Magadha, Aṅga and Vaṅga, which he designates as *Prāchya Janapadas* (IV, 1, 170).[1] Baudhāyana in his *Dharma-Sūtra* mentions states like Surāshṭra, Avanti, Magadha, Aṅga, Puṇḍra, and Vaṅga. The existence of non-monarchical clans can be traced throughout the period under review. They are expressly referred to by Megasthenes and Kauṭilya, and names of many of them occur in epigraphic records of the fourth century A.D.

We may thus reasonably conclude that there were in the sixth century B.C. a large number of states, both great and small, and many of these were not ruled by kings but formed petty republics or oligarchies. This political condition of North India—for all the states so far mentioned, except perhaps Aśmaka, belonged to this region—thus resembled that of Greece in the same period, though naturally the size of the kingdoms as well as of some of the non-monarchical states in India was much bigger. The location, origin, and early history of most of these states have been discussed above[2] on the basis of traditions contained in Brahmanical texts. The Buddhist and other texts, which testify to their existence in the sixth century B.C., only incidentally refer to them and do not give any connected history except in the case of Magadha. We have, therefore, to confine ourselves to a few isolated facts that may be gleaned from them about these states, reserving a detailed history of Magadha for the next chapter.

Aṅga

The Jain *Prajñāpanā* ranks Aṅga and Vaṅga in the first group of Aryan peoples. Aṅga, as described in the *Mahābhārata,* seems to have comprised the districts of Bhāgalpur and Monghyr. The river Champā (probably modern Chāndan) formed the boundary between Aṅga in the east and Magadha in the west. The kingdom of Aṅga was bounded by the Gaṅgā on the north. Its capital Champā, formerly known as Mālinī, stood on the right bank of the Gaṅgā, near its junction with the river Champā and was at a distance of 60 *yojanas* from Mithilā.[1] It was one of the most flourishing cities. The *Dīgha Nikāya* refers to it as one of the six principal cities of India. It was a great centre of trade and commerce and its merchants sailed to distant Suvarṇabhūmi. There was a famous tank called Gaggarā in the neighbourhood of Champā. Bhaddiya and Assapura were the other towns of the Aṅga kingdom. Its long rivalry with, and final conquest by, Magadha has been mentioned above.[2]

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[1] The citations from Pāṇini are taken from Chapter III of this volume written by Dr. R. K. Mookerji (Ed.).

[2] Vol. I, Chapters XIII-XV.

Kāśī

The kingdom of Kāśī, whose extent is given in the Jātakas as three hundred leagues, was wealthy and prosperous. The rivers Varuṇā and Asi by which the city was bounded respectively on the north and south gave rise to the name of its capital city Vārāṇasī, modern Banaras, eighty miles below Allāhābād on the north bank of the Gaṅgā. The Jātakas speak of a long rivalry between the two kingdoms of Kāśī and Kosala for supremacy. There also existed occasional rivalries between Kāśī and Aṅga and between Kāśī and Magadha. Kāśī, which was once an important state, was conquered by Kosala some time before Buddha.[3]

Kosala

The kingdom of Kosala roughly corresponded to modern Oudh. It was probably bounded by the Sadānīrā (Gandak) river on the east, Pañchāla on the west, the Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) river on the south, and the Nepāl hills on the north. The country of Kosala proper was divided into north and south, evidently by the river Sarayū. Śrāvastī was the capital of northern Kosala, and Kuśāvatī, the capital of southern Kosala. Besides the three important cities, Śrāvastī, Sāketa and Ayodhyā, mentioned above,[4] Kosala had some minor towns like Setavyā, Ukkaṭṭhā, and Kīṭāgiri.

The conquest of Kāśī made Kosala a powerful state. It soon extended its supremacy over the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, probably also over the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, and other neighbouring states. Its king Prasenajit or Pasenadi,[5] a contemporary of Buddha, figures as one of the most important rulers of the time. He carried on a protracted struggle with Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, as will be described later.

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[1] According to Cunningham the modern villages called Champānagara and Champāpura near Bhāgalpur represent the site of the ancient city of Champā; Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 6.

[2] Vol. I, p. 328; 4th impression (1965), p. 332.

[3] Vol. I, p. 327; 4th impression (1965), p. 331.

[4] Vol. I, Ch. XIV.

[5] This is the Pāli form of the name, as is the case with the other alternative forms of names of persons and localities in this chapter.

Although not definitely converted to Buddhism, Prasenajit was a great admirer of the Buddha, and the Buddhist texts record many conversations between the two. His admiration extended also to the Śākya clan, in which the Master was born, and he asked for a daughter of a Śākya chief as his wife. The Śākyas, too proud of their lineage to enter into such an alliance, but too weak to refuse openly the request of such a powerful potentate in their immediate neighbourhood, had resort to a trick. The offspring of a Śākya chief by a slave girl was passed off as the legitimate daughter of the Śākya race and married to Prasenajit. A son, Viḍūḍabha, was born of this marriage, and when he paid a visit to his maternal grandfather the true origin of his mother came to light. It naturally created a great sensation, and Prasenajit discarded both his queen and son. But the great Buddha told him that whatever might have been the origin of the queen, the son belonged to the caste of his father, and on his advice Prasenajit restored both the queen and the prince to favour.

Whether it was a repercussion of this incident or not, Prasenajit was involved in domestic troubles. In his last interview with the Buddha, which took place in the Śākya country, he contrasted the dissensions in his own household and government with the perfect peace maintained in the Buddhist Order. But even while he was talking with the Buddha, the minister, who was left in charge of the kingdom, proclaimed prince Viḍūḍabha as king. Prasenajit, being deserted by his people, proceeded towards Rājagṛiha to secure the help of Ajātaśatru. But weary and worn out, he reached that city only to die outside its gates. Such was the miserable end of a great career highly extolled in the Buddhist texts. It is not altogether impossible that his attachment to Buddhism alienated his people and brought about his tragic end, though some texts represent him as a great patron of the Brāhmaṇas to whom he granted territory in the royal domains with extensive powers.

Of all the kings of this period, Prasenajit is the only outstanding personality, thanks to the detailed references in the Buddhist texts. The summing up of his character by Mrs. Rhys Davids is worth quoting. "He is shown combining, like so many of his class all the world over, a proneness to affairs of sex with the virtues and affection of a good 'family man', indulgence at the table with an equally natural wish to keep in good physical form, a sense of honour and honesty, shown in his disgust at legal cheating, with a greed for acquiring wealth and war indemnities, and a fussiness over lost property, magnanimity towards a conquered foe with a callousness over sacrificial slaughter and the punishment of criminals. Characteristic also is both his superstitious nervousness over the sinister significance of dreams, due, in reality, to disordered appetites, and also his shrewd politic care to be on good terms with all religious orders, whether he had testimonials to their genuineness or not."[1]

Viḍūḍabha, who succeeded him, invaded the Śākya country and massacred the Śākya clan, sparing neither men nor women and children. Though many escaped, it was the virtual end of the famous autonomous clan which produced one of the greatest teachers the world has seen. The fraud practised by the Śākyas in respect of his mother is represented to be the cause of his wrath, though there might have been political reasons or other factors. Nothing else is known of Viḍūḍabha or the kingdom of Kosala after him.

Vṛiji

The Vṛijian (Vajjian) confederacy consisted of eight[2] or nine[3] clans of which Videhans, the Lichchhavis, the Jñātṛikas and the Vajjis were the most prominent. Vṛijigāma was a locality near Vaiśālī. Vaiśālī (the modern Basārh in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihār) was the capital of the Lichchhavis and the headquarters of the powerful Vṛijian confederacy. It seems to have been formerly under a monarchical form of government.[4] Viśālā mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* was an excellent town (*uttama purī*). The city was rich, prosperous, and populous, being surrounded by three walls at a distance of a *gāvuta* from one another, each provided with gates and watch-towers. It had high buildings, pinnacled houses, lotus ponds[5] etc. Videha (modern Tirhut), which was once a very powerful monarchy with Mithilā as its capital, was bounded by the Kauśiki in the east, the Gaṅgā in the south, the Sadānīrā in the west and the Himālayas in the north. Cunningham identifies

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[1] *Bhandarkar Com.* Vol., p. 134.

[2] *Sumaṅgala* V., II. 519; an inference drawn from the expression *aṭṭhakulika*.

[3] *Kalpasūtra*, sec. 128; *Nirayāvalī Sūtra*; an inference drawn from the expression 'Nine Lichchhavis.'

[4] Cf. Vol. I, Ch. XIV, pp. 272, 276; 287, 291ff, 4th impression (1965). pp. 277, 280, 291, 296ff.

[5] For an account of the city, cf. Vinaya Texts in *Gilgit Manuscripts* Vol. III, Part 2.

Mithilā with Janakapura, a small town within the Nepāl border. According to early Jain texts the Jñātṛikas, to whom belonged Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra, had their seats at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma and Kollāga, which were suburbs of Vaiśālī. Ukkāchelā was a Vṛijian town on the left bank of the Gaṅgā. Pāṇini (IV, 2, 131) mentions the Vṛijis or Vajjis. In Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra*, the Vṛijikas or Vajjis are distinguished from the Lichchhivikas or Lichchhavis. As regards the remaining confederate clans, we have no definite information as yet.

Some scholars are of opinion that the Lichchhavis were of foreign origin, but this view is not supported by evidence.[1] Indian tradition represents them as Kshatriyas. The ruling clan of the Lichchhavis was firmly established during the days of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha, and the latter gave eloquent expression to his great admiration for their unity, strength, noble bearing and republican constitution. The Lichchhavis were on friendly terms with king Prasenajit of Kosala. Their relation with the neighbouring Mallas was on the whole friendly, and the Jain books speak of the nine Lichchhavis as having formed a confederacy with nine Mallas and eighteen *gaṇa-rājas* of Kāśī-Kosala. But the great rival of Vaiśālī was Magadha. According to tradition, the Vaiśālīans sent an army to attack Magadha at the time of Bimbisāra.[2] The Nirayāvalī Sūtra informs us that Bimbisāra married a Lichchhavi princess named Chellanā, daughter of king Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī, whose sister was the mother of Mahāvīra. This matrimonial alliance was, according to D. R. Bhandarkar, the result of the peace concluded after the war between Bimbisāra and the Lichchhavis. But it was also instrumental in bringing about the ruin of the Lichchhavis as will be related in the next Chapter.

Malla

The Mallas are often mentioned in Buddhist and Jain works. They seem to have been a powerful tribe dwelling in Eastern India. Bhīmasena is said to have conquered the chief of the Mallas in the course of his expedition to Eastern India. The Bhīshmaparva of the *Mahābhārata* similarly mentions the Mallas along with such peoples of Eastern India as the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, and Kalingas. The kingdom of the Mallas consisted of nine territories,[3] one of each of the nine confederate clans. The territories of two of these confederate clans were prominent at the time of the rise of Buddhism, one with its headquarters at Kuśīnārā and the other with Pāvā as its chief town. The first abutted on the Śākya territory and the second on the Vṛiji. The river Kakusthā (Kakutthā) formed the boundary between the two territories. The *sāla* grove of Kuśīnārā was on the river Hiraññavatī.

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[1] Cf. Law, *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 26 ff.
[2] *HTB*, II, 166.
[3] *Kalpasūtra*, Sec. 128; *Nirayāvalī Sūtra*.

According to tradition, Kuśīnārā was built on the site of the ancient city of Kuśāvatī, which was the capital of king Mahāsudassana. In the neighbourhood stood an extensive forest called Mahāvana. There were some other Malla towns, *viz.*, Bhoganagara lying between Jambugrāma and Pāvā, Anupiyā between Kuśīnārā and the river Anomā, and Uruvelakappa. Of the two cities of Pāvā and Kuśīnārā, the second has been identified with Kāsiā on the smaller Gandak about 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur, and the first with the village called Padaraona, 12 miles to the north-east of Kāsiā.[1]

The Mallas, like the Lichchhavis, are mentioned by Manu as Vrātya Kshatriyas. They are called Vāśishṭhas (Vāseṭṭhas) in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta. Like the Videhas, the Mallas had originally a monarchical form of government, Okkāka (Ikshvāku) being mentioned in the Kusa Jātaka (No. 531) as a Malla king. The Mallas were a *saṅgha* or corporation, of which the members called themselves *rājās*. Buddhaghosha also calls them *rājās*. The Mallas and Lichchhavis became allies for self-defence, though the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (Jātaka No. 465) offers us an account of a conflict between them. The Mallas retained their independence till the death of Buddha, for we find both the main sections of the Mallas claiming a share of his bodily remains.

Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among the Mallas. From the Jain *Kalpasūtra* we learn that the nine Mallakis or Malla chiefs were among those that instituted an illuminaton on the day of the new moon saying, "since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter."[2]

The Mallas appear to to have lost their independence not long after Buddha's death and their dominions were annexed to the Magadhan empire.[3]

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[1] While the identification of Kuśīnārā may be regarded as reasonably certain that of Pāvā is very doubtful (Ed.).

[2] *SBE*, XXII, p. 266.

[3] Bhandarkar, *CL*, 1.79.

Chedi (Cheti)

The Chedis or Chetis had two distinct settlements, of which one was in the mountains of Nepāl and the other in Bundelkhand near Kauśāmbī. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that Cheta or Chetiya corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand.[1] According to old authorities the country of the Chedis lay near the Yamunā, midway between the kingdoms of the Kurus and the Vatsas. Sotthivatīnagara, probably identical with Śukti or Śuktimatī of the *Mahābhārata*, was its capital. Sahajāti was a town of the Chedis which stood on the right bank of the Yamunā.

The Chedis were one of the most ancient tribes of India and their early history has been discussed above.[2] A branch of the Chedis founded a royal dynasty in the kingdom of Kaliṅga, according to the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, to which reference will be made later.

Vatsa

The country of Vatsa was very rich and prosperous and noted for the high quality of its cotton fabrics. Kausāmbī, which was its capital, is now represented by the village of Kosam on the right bank of the Yamunā. The village of Pabhosā is about two and a half miles north-east of Kosam. In a modern Jain dedicatory inscription the hill of Pabhosa is placed just outside the town of Kauśāmbī.

The migration of the Kurus or Bharatas to the Vatsa country and their history up to king Udayana, the contemporary of the Buddha, have been narrated above.[3] Udayana (Udena) was a very powerful king and a number of interesting legends centre rounds his rivalry with king Pradyota of Avanti. The latter, although very jealous because Udayana surpassed him in glory, was unwilling to risk an open campaign against him, and hit upon a device to capture his hated rival. Knowing Udayana's passion for catching elephants, he had one made of wood, with sixty soldiers concealed inside, and set it up in a forest near the boundary of the two kingdoms. Udayana fell into the trap and was taken prisoner. He knew a wonderful secret for taming elephants, and Pradyota offered him his liberty in exchange for revealing it. But Udayana would teach him the secret only if he received due salutation as a teacher from his pupil. Being unwilling himself to offer salutation, Pradyota made Udayana

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1. *CL*, 1. 52.
2. Vol. I, Ch. XIV.
3. Vol. I, Ch. XV, p. 321.

agree to teach it to someone else on the same condition. Lest an outsider would learn the precious secret, he engaged his own daughter Vāsuladattā (Vāsavadattā) for the purpose, but told Udayana that a hunch-backed woman behind a curtain would pay him salutation and learn the secret from him. It was not long, however, before the inevitable took place; Udayana fled with the princess and made her his queen.

Udayana is said to have had many other queens, one of whom was a daughter of a Kuru Brāhmaṇa (worth citing as an instance of a *pratiloma* marriage) and the other a sister of king Darśaka of Magadha. He is the hero of three dramas, *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* of Bhāsa and *Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī* of Harsha, and we know from *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, that even in the time of this poet many stories about Udayana were widely current in Avanti. An account of his conquest or *digvijaya* is given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. According to the *Priyadarśikā* he conquered Kaliṅga and restored his father-in-law Dridhavarman to the throne of Aṅga. The latter is probably the same as Dadhivāhana who, according to another legend, was defeated by Udayana's father.[1] How far these legends contain a kernel of historical facts is, of course, difficult to say.

Udayana was at first not favourably inclined towards Buddhism, and it is said that in a fit of drunken rage he tortured Pindola, a famous member of the Buddhist order, by tying him down in a nest of brown ants. Later, however, the same Pindola made him a devotee of Buddha.

Udayana survived Buddha. He had a son named Bodhi, about whom some details are given in Buddhist texts. But we do not definitely know anything about Vatsa after Udayana, not even whether Bodhi ever succeeded his father on the throne. According to a Jātaka story (No. 353) prince Bodhi dwelt in Suṁsumāragiri and this proves that the Bhagga (or Bharga) state referred to above was a dependency of Vatsa.

Kuru

According to the Jātakas, the capital of the Kurus was Indraprastha (Indapatta) near modern Delhi, which extended over seven leagues. In Buddha's time, the Kuru country was ruled by a titular chieftain named Koravya and had very little political importance of its own. The Kurus continued to enjoy their ancient reputation for deep wisdom and sound health. The Jain *Uttarādhyayana*

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[1] Vol. I, pp. 321, 327 f.

Sūtra[1] refers to a king named Isukāra who was the ruler of the ancient, wealthy, famous and beautiful town of Isukāra (the Arrow-maker).

The Kurus had matrimonial relations with the Yādavas, the Bhojas and the Pañchālas. The Jātakas contain an account of king Dhanañjaya introduced as a prince of the race of Yudhishṭhira.

The earlier monarchical constitution of the Kurus subsequently gave place to a republic. They, however, continued the monarchical form of government in the Vatsa country.

Pañchāla

Originally Pañchāla was the country, north and east of Delhi, from the foot of the Himālayas to the river Chambal, and the Gaṅgā divided it into North and South Pañchāla. It roughly corresponds to the modern Baduan, Farrukhābād and the adjoining districts of the Uttar Pradesh. The division of the country into northern or Uttara-Pañchāla and southern or Dakshiṇa-Pañchāla is supported by the *Mahābhārata*, the Jātakas and the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 435). The Northern Pañchāla had its capital at Ahichchhatra or Adhichchhatra or Adisadra of Ptolemy or Chhatravatī (identical with modern Rāmnagar in the Bareilly District) while Southern Pañchāla had its capital at Kāmpilya, that is, Kampil in the Farrukhābād District. King Chūḷani Brahmadatta of Pañchāla finds mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (No. 546), the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, and the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*. The famous city of Kānyakubja or Kanauj was situated in the kingdom of Pañchāla. Originally a monarchical clan, the Pañchālas formed a *saṅgha* or republican corporation in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

Matsya

The Matsya or Machchha country corresponds to the modern territory of Jaipur. It included the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur. The capital of the Matsya country was Virāṭanagara (modern Bairāt) named after its founder king Virāṭa.

In Pāli literature the Matsyas as a people are usually associated with the Śūrasenas. The Apara Matsya (Western Matsya) was probably the hill tract on the north bank of the Chambal. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find a similar reference to Vīra Matsya A branch of the Matsyas is similarly found in later days in the Vizagapatam

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1. *SBE*, XLV, 62.

region. The Matsyas had no political importance of their own during the time of Buddha. King Sahaja ruled over the Chedis and the Matsyas.[1] Matsya thus once formed a part of the Chedi kingdom.

Śūrasena

The Śūrasena country had its capital at Madhurā or Mathurā on the Yamunā. The ancient Greek writers refer to it as Sourasenoi and its capital as Methora. From Sankissa to Mathurā it was a distance of four *yojanas.* Avantiputra, king of the Śūrasenas, was the first among the chief disciples of Buddha through whose help Buddhism gained ground in the Mathurā region. It may be inferred from the epithet Avantiputra that there existed a matrimonial alliance between Avanti and Śūrasena. The Andhakas and Vrishṇis of Mathurā are referred to in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī.*[2] In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* the Vṛishṇis are described as a *Saṅgha, i.e.*, a republican corporation. The Vṛishṇis, Andhakas and other allied tribes formed a *Saṅgha* and Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) is described as a *'Saṅghamukhya'.* The name of the Vṛishṇi corporation is also found on a coin.[3] Mathurā, the capital of the Śūrasenas, was also known at the time of Megasthenes (300 B.C.) as the centre of Kṛishṇa worship, and the Śūrasena kingdom then became an integral part of the Magadhan empire.

Aśvaka

Assaka, Aśmaka or Aśvaka was originally a country in the basin of the Sindhu. It may be identified with the kingdom of Assakenoi of the Greek writers in the Swāt Valley. The Aśmakas, as noted above, are also mentioned by Pāṇini. They are placed in the north-west in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* and the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā.* The early Buddhist texts refer to Assaka as a Mahājanapada, the capital of which was Potana or Potali corresponding to Paudanya of the *Mahābhārata.* This Assaka of Buddhist literature was a south Indian country. The river Godāvarī flowed between the two neighbouring kingdoms of Assaka and Mūlaka or Alaka. The latter had Pratishthāna or Paithān as its capital and Assaka lay immediately to its south. A Brahmin named Bāvarī settled near a village on the Godāvarī in the Assaka territory in the Dakshiṇāpatha after having left the Kosala country. According to the Commentary on the *Sutta-Nipāta*, the two kingdoms of Assaka and Mūḷaka are represented as two Andhaka or Andhra territories. Bhaṭṭasvāmi, the commentator of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, identifies Aśmaka with Mahārāshṭra. The Assaka country of the Buddhists, therefore, whether it be identical with Mahārāshṭra or located on the Godāvarī, lay outside the pale of the Madhyadeśa.[1]

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[1] *Mbh.* (Cr. Ed.) V, 72, 16.
[2] IV, 1, 114; VI, 2, 34.
[3] *CLAI*^{2}, 279.

Aśmaka and Mūḷaka appear as scions of the Ikshvāku family. Brahmadatta, a king of the Assakas, was a contemporary of the king of Aṅga and Kāśī named Dhṛitarāshṭra (Dhataraṭṭha). Another king of Assaka named Aruna won a victory over the king of Kaliṅga. At the time of Buddha the ruler of Assaka was a king whose son was Prince Sujāta.

Avanti

Avanti was an important kingdom of western India. It was one of the four great monarchies in India when Buddhism arose, the other three being Kosala, Vatsa and Magadha. It appears to have been divided by the river Vetravatī into north and south. It fell to the share of Vessabhū, one of the seven contemporary kings of the line of Bharata.[2] Māhissatī (Sk. Māhishmatī) was then the capital of Avanti. But the Pāli canonical texts mention Ujjeni (Sk. Ujjayinī) as the capital of king Chaṇḍa Pradyota (Pajjota) of Avanti in the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha. D. R. Bhandarkar[3] seeks to account for this discrepancy by the assumption that the country of the Avantis was divided into two kingdoms, one placed in the Dakshiṇāpatha having Māhishmatī for its capital, and the other, i.e., the northern kingdom, having its capital at Ujjayanī. The country or kingdom of Avanti may be taken to have corresponded roughly to modern Mālwā, Nimār and the adjoining parts of the Madhya Pradesh. Both Ujjayinī and Māhishmatī stood on the southern high road extending from Rājagṛiha to Pratishṭhāna. Vidiśā (Bhilsa in old Gwālior State) lay on the road to Ujjayinī. Daśārna has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[4] as well as in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa (24-25) and is generally identified with Vidiśā or Bhilsa region in the Madhya Bhārat. Two other cities of Avanti are known from Buddhist and Jain literature. These were Kuraraghara and Sudarśanapura. The *Mahābhārata*[5] also speaks of Avanti and Māhishmatī as two different countries. Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, was built by Achchutagāmī.[1] Avanti was an important centre of Buddhism. Some of the leading *theras* and *theris* were either born or resided there.

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[1] According to Bhandarkar (*CL*, 53-54) Assaka at one time included Mūḷaka and thus its territory abutted on Avanti.

[2] *Dīgha* II, 236.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 54.

[4] Bombay Ed. II. 29. 4; Cr. Ed. II. 26. 4.

[5] Cr. Ed. II, 28. 10-11.

According to the Purānas, as mentioned above,[2] Pulika (Puṇika) killed his master and placed his own son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti. Pradyota was a powerful king and a contemporary of Buddha. In his time the kingdom of Avanti was in rivalry with the neighbouring kingdoms of Vatsa, Magadha, and Kosala. Pradyota's relation with Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī, has been related above.[3] According to a Buddhist text, Ajātaśatru fortified his capital Rājagriha as he apprehended an invasion by Pradyota. The Purāṇas refer to him as having subjugated the neighbouring kings, but describe him as 'destitute of good policy'. The Buddhist text *Mahāvagga* also says that he was cruel. All this is borne out by his epithets Chaṇḍa and Mahāsena.

According to the Purāṇas, Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, to give the king his full name, ruled for 23 years, and was followed by four kings, Pālaka, Viśākhayūpa, Ajaka and Nandivardhana who ruled respectively for 24, 50, 21 and 20 years. The last ruler was defeated by Śiśunāga, and Avanti was incorporated with the growing kingdom of Magadha, as will be related in the next chapter.

Gandhāra

Gandhāra (Gandharva-vishaya) denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshāwar (Purushapura) and Rāwalpindi. Its capital Takshaśilā or Takkasilā (modern Taxila) was both a centre of trade and an ancient seat of learning. Gandhāra sometimes also included Kāśmīra (Jātaka No. 406) and Hecataeus of Miletus (549-468 B.C.) refers to Kaspapyros (Kaśyapapura *i.e.*, Kāshmir) as a Gandaric city. The city of Takshaśilā was 2000 leagues from Banaras.

King Pukkusāti or Pushkarasārin, the ruler of Gandhāra in the middle of the sixth century B.C., was a contemporary of king Bimbisāra of Magadha. He sent an embassy and a letter to his great Magadhan contemporary as a mark of friendship. He waged war on king Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated.[4]

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[1] *Dīpavaṁsa* (Ed. Oldenberg), p. 57.

[2] Vol. I. p. 323; 4th impression (1965). p. 327.

[3] See above pp. 9-10.

[4] *Essay on Gunādhya*, p. 176.

Kāmboja

Kāmboja is included in the Uttarāpatha. It is generally associated with Gandhāra in ancient literature and in the Edicts of Aśoka. The Kāmbojas occupied roughly the province round about Rajaori or ancient Rājapura, including the Hazāra District of the North-West Frontier Province and probably extending as far as Kāfiristān. Rājapura was the home of the Kāmbojas, and may be identified with Rājapura mentioned by Hiuen Tsang which lay to the south or south-east of Punch.[1] In the *Petavatthu Commentary* Dvārakā occurs along with Kāmboja or Kamboja. From this Rhys Davids concludes that Dvārakā was the name of the capital of the Kāmbojas during the early Buddhist period. This view does not appear to be correct, because Dvārakā is nowhere mentioned as the capital of the Kāmboja country.[2] During the earlier period the Kāmbojas were ruled by kings, but in Kauṭilya's time they had a non-monarchical form or the *saṅgha* type of government.

That the sixteen states mentioned in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya,* and discussed above, flourished before c. 550 B.C. is proved by the inclusion of Kāśī, as it was absorbed in the kingdom of Kosala about or some time before that date. The mention of Vṛiji shows that the states must have flourished after the fall of the Videha monarchy. Though the date of this event is not known with certainty it was not likely to have taken place long before 600 B.C. We may therefore regard the Buddhist list of sixteen great states as true of the first half of the sixth century B.C., if not somewhat earlier.

The list in the Jain *Bhagavatī Sūtra*[3] contains some common names such as Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vṛiji, Kāśī and Kosala. Mālava evidently corresponds to Avanti and Molī probably stands for Malla. Of the rest, Vaṅga and Lāḍha (Rāḍha or W. Bengal) are well known, while Sambhuttara and Kochchha probably stand for Suhmottara and Kachchha. This list therefore shows acquaintance with a more extensive region both in the east as well as in the west. If, as has been suggested, Paḍha is taken as Pāṇḍya, and Malaya as the name of the well-known country in the south, the author of the list was acquainted with the whole of India, an assumption which is hardly compatible with the inclusion of Vṛiji, which ceased to exist in the fifth century B.C., and the absence of all reference to any

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1. *PHAI,* 126.
2. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits,* p. 102.
3. Āgamodaya Samiti Edition, Vol. III, p. 679.

other kingdom in the Deccan or South India. On the whole, the Jain list is less reliable and was probably compiled at a later time.[1]

II. THE AUTONOMOUS CLANS

As we have seen above,[2] there were many small non-monarchical states ruled by autonomous or semi-independent clans in addition to those mentioned above. The chief of these was the Śākya state of Kapilavastu. It naturally derives its great importance from the fact that Gautama Buddha was a Śākya by birth, but politically it was of no great power. It acknowledged the suzerainty of Kosala in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. and was practically exterminated by Viḍūḍabha, the Kosala king, as mentioned above.

The Śākyas claimed to belong to the solar race and Ikshvāku family, and regarded themselves as people of Kosala, and that is why the great king Prasenajit took pride in describing himself as a fellow-citizen of Gautama Buddha. The Śākya state was bounded on the north by the Himālayas, on the east by the river Rohiṇī and on the west and south by the Rāpti. The capital Kapilavastu is most probably represented by the ruins at Tilaura Koṭ, in Nepāl Terāi, about 10 miles north-west of Piprahwa in Basti District, U.P., though some locate it in Piprahwa itself, where a vase containing the relics of Buddha has been found.[3] The Śākyas possessed a number of towns besides the capital, and nine of them are specifically mentioned in the Buddhist texts.[4] The Śākyas are said to have comprised 80,000 families which probably means half a million people.[5]

The Koliyas of Rāmagrāma were the eastern neighbours of the Śākyas, on the other side of the river Rohiṇī. It appears that the water of this river was used for irrigation by both the clans, and was not unoften a cause of dispute between them. A Buddhist text records in detail one such quarrel in the course of which the Koliyas taunted the Śākyas with the custom, prevalent among them, of marriage with sisters. According to some texts, however, the Koliyas were closely related to the Śākyas by blood. The Koliyas possessed several towns besides the capital, and had a common surname, Vyagghapajja, like Gautama of the Śākyas. The police force

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1. *PHAI*, 82.
2. See pp. 2-3.
3. *EHI*,^{3} 167; *JRAS*, 1906, 180; *CAGI*, 711-712.
4. For the names of these and other details, cf. *CHI*, I. 175 ff.
5. *Ibid*, 176.

of the Koliyas had a special head-dress, as a distinctive uniform, and were notorious for extortion and violence.[1]

Of the other clans little is known. The Bhaggas were probably an old clan as a Bhārgāyaṇa prince is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 28). As mentioned above, they are also mentioned in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* refer to close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhaggas and, as noted above, the latter had to acknowledge the supremacy of the former.

The Moriyas were destined to rise to the greatest height of power, for there is hardly any doubt that they were the same as the Imperial Mauryas of the fourth century B.C. But we know little of their history in the sixth century B.C. Their capital Pipphalivana probably lay about 50 miles to the west of Kuśīnagara.[2]

The republican constitution of the Lichchhavis and Śākyas, of which alone we know some details, will be discussed in Ch. XVII. It will suffice here to state that each of them possessed a central popular assembly as its supreme governing body, and both young and old were members of it and took part in discussions of affairs of state. This probably may be taken as typical of the constitution of the other clans.

It is important to note that most of these clans were originally ruled by kings. Megasthenes also makes a general statement to the effect that monarchies were "dissolved and democratic governments were set up in the cities."[3] This change from monarchy to an aristocratic or republican constitution has an exact parallel in Greece, and it is not unlikely that the same causes produced the same change in both the countries. The misrule or tyranny of the king must be regarded as the principal of these causes, and this proves that neither the development of royal power nor the theory of divine right of kings could altogether extinguish the innate strength of the popular element and the natural desire of the people to rule themselves. Unfortunately, this spirit seems to have been confined to a few clans only. But it is significant that the heterodox religious tenets like Buddhism and Jainism grew among these autonomous clans and found in them their chief supporters and patrons. It illustrates the great principle that political freedom is the great nursery of freedom of thought.[4]

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[1] *CHI*, 178; *Saṁyutta*, IV, p. 341.
[2] *PHAI*, 160; Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 288.
[3] McCrindle's Tr., pp. 37-38.
[4] The Editor alone is responsible for the last two paras.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF MAGADHAN IMPERIALISM

1. PURANIC AND BUDDHIST TEXTS

Of all the states that flourished in the sixth century B.C., the kingdom of Magadha was the first to make a successful bid for supremacy and establish its suzerainty, according to the unanimous testimony of different sources—Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jain. The Brahmanical sources, the Purāṇas, are indeed obsessed by the history of Magadha as the paramount power. They present its history in as many as eight successive dynasties of rulers, mentioning not only the number of years covered by each dynasty but also by the reign of each king—details which are not given for any other kingdom.

But, as we have seen above,[1] the Purāṇas give a distorted account of the political vicissitudes that took place in Magadha after the fall of the Bārhadratha dynasty. According to them this dynasty was succeeded by the Pradyotas, who were again ousted by Śiśunāga, king of Banaras. Śiśunāga was followed by his three successors, and then came Bimbisāra. Although this view is accepted by some,[2] most of the scholars[3] now hold that the Pradyotas ruled in Avanti and not in Magadha, that Bimbisāra occupied the throne of Magadha immediately after Ripuñjaya, the last Bārhadratha king, was killed by his minister, and that Śiśunāga came a few generations *after* and not *before* Bimbisāra. The grounds in support of this theory have been stated above,[4] and we propose to treat the history of Magadha on the basis of the Buddhist texts, notably the Sinhalese Chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa*, rather than the Purāṇas.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* list gives the names of the following kings before the Nandas:—(1) Bimbisāra (2) Ajātaśatru (3) Udayabhadra

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1. Vol. I, Ch. XV.
2. *EHI*, Ch. II.
3. *PHAI*, 98, 178; Bhandarkar, CL, I, 67 ff.
4. Vol. I, p. 324; 4th impression (1965), p. 328.

(4) Anuruddha (5) Muṇda (6) Nāgadāsaka (7) Susunāga (8) Kālāśoka (Kākavarṇin according to *Aśokavadana*) (9) Ten sons of Kālāśoka.[1]

On the other hand the Purāṇas give the following list[2]:—(1) Śiśunāga (2) Kākavarṇa (3) Kshemadharman (4) Kshatraujas (5) Bimbisāra (6) Ajātaśatru (7) Darśaka (8) Udāyin (9) Nandivardhana (10) Mahānandin.

2. BIMBISĀRA

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father. This would show that he was not the founder of the royal dynasty. Dr. Bhandarkar has inferred from his epithet Seniya (or Śreṇika) that Bimbisāra was originally a *Senāpati*, probably of the Vajjis who held sway over Magadha, and ultimately made himself king. This, however, is in conflict with the statement made in the *Mahāvaṁsa*.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* does not state the name of Bimbisāra's father but, according to other authorities, he was named Bhaṭṭiya or Mahāpadma. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that Bimbisāra belonged to the *Great* Nāga dynasty as distinguished from Śiśu-Nāga (or Susunāga) who, as the name shows, belonged to the *Little* Nāga dynasty. But, according to Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita* (XI. 2), Bimbisāra was a scion of Haryaṅka-kula.

According to the *Mahāvagga* Bimbisāra had 500 wives. Whatever we might think of this number, there is no doubt that he was helped in his political career by his matrimonial alliances. His first wife was a sister of Prasenajit, the king of Kosala, who gave him the dowry of a village in Kāśī with a revenue of 100,000. His second wife was Chellanā, daughter of the Lichchhavi Chief Cheṭaka.[3] He had a third wife named Vaidehī Vāsavī who served and saved her husband, when imprisoned by Ajātaśatru, by carrying food to him.[4] A similar story of loyalty to her husband is also told of queen Chellana who is sometimes identified with Vāsavī. His fourth wife was Khemā, daughter of the king of Madra[5] (Central Punjāb).

He had several sons who troubled him with their conflicting politics carried from their maternal homes. These are thus enumerated in Jain texts: Kūṇika—Ajātaśatru, Halla and Vehalla (sons of Chellanā), Abhaya (son of Lichchhavi courtesan Ambapālī), Meghakumāra, and others. Some Buddhist tradition makes Ajātaśatru a son of a Kosala princess and mentions his other sons as Vimala Koṇḍañña, son of Ambapālī, and Vehalla and Sīlavat.[1] Some texts, however, mention Ajātaśatru as *Vedehī-putto*.[2]

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[1] Introduction to translation of *Mahāvaṁsa*. For the Puranic account, cf. *DKA*. For the Buddhist view, cf. Geiger, also Bhandarkar, *CL*, I. 67 ff.

[2] *DKA*, 68-9.

[3] *SBE*, I, xii-xv.

[4] *SBE*, XXII, 193, 256.

[5] *Therīgāthā Comm.* on 139-43.

Bimbisāra had at first his capital at Girivraja (Rājagṛiha). The engineer who planned the town and designed its palace is called Mahāgovinda.[3] The gate of the city was closed in the evenings after which even the king was not admitted in.[4]

According to some authorities, Bimbisāra's father was defeated by Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga.[5] It was probably to avenge this defeat that Bimbisāra led a campaign against Aṅga. He was completely successful and enlarged Magadha by conquering and annexing this powerful and prosperous kingdom. Its capital Champā was one of the six chief cities of the Buddhist world, and here he posted as governor his son Kūṇika.[6] With the conquest of Aṅga and the peaceful acquisition of Kāśī began that expansion of Magadha which was ultimately destined to embrace nearly the whole of India. Bimbisāra maintained friendly intercourse even with distant powers. The embassy of Pukkusāti, king of Gandhāra, and Bimbisāra's marriage with the Madra princess have been referred to above. Nearer home, he seems to have had good relations with Pradyota, king of Avanti, for he sent his famous physician Jīvaka to cure the latter when he fell ill. His diplomatic and matrimonial relations must have helped him considerably in the aggressive policy initiated by him.

The kingdom of Bimbisāra is stated to have been 300 leagues in extent, to which an addition of 200 leagues was made by Ajātaśatru's conquests. It was full of prosperous settlements or villages numbering 80,000,[7] of which the texts single out, as more important, Senānīgāma, probably a recruiting ground for the army, Ekanālā, famous as the home of the learned Brāhmaṇa Bharadvāja, whom the Buddha had converted, Khānumata, another Brāhmana village, and Nālakagāma where a discourse was delivered by Sāriputta.[1] Bimbisāra's kingdom included in it a number of republican or semi-independent communities, the chief of which was called *Rājakumāra*.[2]

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[1] *Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 65, 269 and *commentary*, p. 536, *Psalms of the Sisters*, p. 120.

[2] *Sumaṅgala V*, I. 139; *Dialogues, II*, 78. According to the recently discovered Vinaya Texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādas, Ajātaśatru was the son of Chellanā (named here Chelā) who was named Vaidehī as she was brought from Videha country.

[3] *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, p. 82.

[4] *Vinaya*, IV, 116 f.

[5] See above, Vol. I, Ch. XV, p. 328; 4th impression (1965), p. 332; *PHAI*, p. 94.

[6] *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 300; *Dīgha* I, 111.

[7] This number stated in *Mahāvagga* seems to be a stock phrase and should not be taken literally.

The Buddhist texts throw some light on the administration of this vast territory. The villages were governed by their own Assemblies under their chiefs called *Grāmakas*. The *Mahāvagga* refers to a great assembly of the chiefs (*Grāmakas*) of the 80,000 villages. The important officials at headquarters called *Mahāmātras* were divided into three classes viz., (1) the Executive *(Sabbātthaka)*, administering all affairs and interests; (2) the Judicial *(Vohārika)*; and (3) the Military (*Senānāyaka*). The Penal Code included as punishments imprisonment in jails (*Kārā*), mutilation of limbs and the like.[3] Bimbisāra maintained a strict control over them all.

Both Jainism and Buddhism claim Bimbisāra, as their follower. The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* relates how Bimbisāra, "the lion of kings", visited to other "lion of homeless ascetics" *(aṇagāra-sīhaṁ)*, Mahāvīra, at a Chaitya, "with his wives, servants and relations, and became a staunch believer in the Law." His Jain leanings may have been due to his wife Chellanā. Hemachandra tells the story that "when the country was under a blight of cold, the king accompanied by Devī Chellanā went to worship Mahāvīra."[4]

The Buddhist texts similarly tell of his devotion to the Buddha. He first met Gotama at Girivraja about 7 years before the latter attained Buddhahood.[5] He was even then so much impressed by him that he offered to settle Gotama as a chief with a gift of necessary wealth. Their second meeting took place at Rājagṛiha, which Gotama visited as full-fledged Buddha with a large and distinguished following of disciples, including the far-famed Brahmanical ascetics, the Kassapas, and their thousand Jaṭila adherents, all of whom proclaimed the Buddha as their "Lord" At this, Seniya Bimbisāra embraced the doctrine and discipline of the Buddha and celebrated his conversion by treating the Buddha and his band of disciples to meals, which he himself served at the palace, and then by announcing his donation of the park called Veḷuvana to the Buddha and the *Saṅgha.*[1] Even his wife Khemā was so proficient in the new faith that she is stated to have given instruction in it to the king.[2] Later, as another proof of his devotion to Buddhism, Bimbisāra lent his own personal physician Jīvaka to work as medical adviser in attendance on the Buddha and his Order. At another time, when the Buddha had no money with which to pay the ferry-man who carried him across the Gaṅgā, the emperor granted remission of these ferry charges to all ascetics out of his regard for the Master.

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[1] *Majjhima*, I, 166; *Saṁ*, IV, 251 f; *Dīgha*, I, 127; *Saṁ*, IV, 251.
[2] *Sumaṅgala* V, I, 279, 294.
[3] *Vinaya*, VII, 3, 5.
[4] *Trishashṭi Śalākā*, X, 6, 10, 11.
[5] *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 408; *Dialogues*, II, 2.

According to Buddhist tradition, Bimbisāra lost his life at the hands of his son Ajātaśatru, who was instigated to the crime by the Buddha's wicked and jealous cousin Devadatta His first attempt to kill his father straightway with his sword was foiled by the ministers to whom he confessed his guilt. They advised Bimbisāra to kill all the conspirators, but he pardoned his son and even resigned to him the throne for which he was so impatient. But Devadatta went on inciting Ajātaśatru to the crime by reminding him that life was short and the throne would be long in coming. "So do you, Prince, kill your father and become Rājā."[3] It is also stated that Ajātaśatru confessed his crime to Buddha that "for the sake of kingdom he deprived his righteous father of his life."

But Jain tradition is more charitable to Ajātaśatru. It does not represent him as a parricide. It relates that in his eagerness for the throne he put his father in prison, though the latter had already declared Kūṇika as his successor in preference to his other sons In prison, Bimbisāra was served by his devoted queen Chellanā, who once even sucked "his swollen finger, streaming with matter, to relieve him of his pain." This very much moved Ajātasatru Kūṇika who said: "A sorry return have I made to my father," and then immediately dashed off to break his father's fetters with an iron club. Bimbisāra, fearing his son's advance, took poison and killed himself.[4]

3. AJĀTAŚATRU

Ajātaśatru added largely to the extent of the kingdom by his conquests. He started with a war against Kosala. Its king Prasenajit could not brook the inhumanity of Ajātaśatru who had killed his father and, indirectly, also the widowed princess of Kosala, who could not stand the death of her husband and died of grief. King Prasenajit thereupon revoked his gift of the Kāśī village which was granted to Bimbisāra as a dowry on his marriage with the princess of Kosala, and there was a war between the two States. At first Ajātaśatru won, driving back his aged uncle to Śrāvastī. But very soon the tables were turned; Ajātaśatru was entrapped in an ambush and had to surrender with his whole army to Prasenajit. In the end, peace was concluded between the two by Prasenajit restoring to Ajātaśatru his liberty, army and the disputed village of Kāśī, and even giving his daughter Vajirā in marriage to him.[1]

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[1] *Vinaya*, I, 39.
[2] *Saṁ*, IV, 374.
[3] *Vinaya*, II, 190; *Dīgha*, I, 86; *Sumaṅgala* V, 1, 133-6; *Peta Comm.* 105.
[4] *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, pp. 682-3 etc.

The Jain texts present Ajātaśatru as the conqueror of the powerful political confederacy which dominated Eastern India and comprised 36 republican states, viz. 9 Mallaki, 9 Lichchhavi, and 18 *gaṇa-rājyas* of Kāśī and Kosala.[2]

The overthrow of this confederacy was the consequence of Ajātaśatru's conquest of its most powerful member, the Lichchhavi republic. The cause of the conflict between the two is differently stated in different texts. According to the Buddhists, a jewel-mine was discovered at the foot of a hill at a port on the Gaṅgā, on which it was agreed that Ajātaśatru and the Lichchhavis should have an equal share of the gems. The Lichchhavis violated this aggreement and so brought on the conflict.[3] According to Jain version,[4] the bone of contention was the Magadha State elephant, Seyanaga (*Sechanaka*, "Sprinkler"), and a huge necklace of 18 strings of pearls which were given by Bimbisāra to his sons Halla and Vehalla. They carried off the elephant and the necklace to Vaiśālī and sought the protection of their grandfather, king Cheṭaka, against Ajātaśatru claiming them. Kūṇika, having failed to obtain the extradition of the fugitives peacefully, declared war on Cheṭaka.[5] It is also stated that his wife Padmāvatī incited Ajātaśatru to this conflict.

It was not easy to conquer the Lichchhavis, who were then at the zenith of their power as the head of a vast confederacy and could draw upon its pooled resources. In fact, king Cheṭaka actually assembled this confederation, including the *Gaṇa-rājas* (republican

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1. *Saṁ*, I, 84-6, Jāt, IV, 342, *Dhammap. Comm.* III, 259.
2. *Bhagavati*, Sūtra, 300.
3. B. C. Law's *Buddhaghosa*, p. 111.
4. Hoernle, *Uvāsayadasāo*, II, App. p. 7.
5. Hoernle, Ib. *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, p. 684; *na dadyāstadā yuddhasajjo bhavāmīti.*

chiefs) of Kāśī and Kosala, to ask whether they should surrender to Ajātaśatru or fight him.[1] It would thus appear that Ajātaśatru was opposed by a powerful combination of hostile rulers of the east, including his old rivals, the chiefs of Kāśī and Kosala. The issue at stake was the Magadhan suzerainty over Eastern India and this was clearly realised by both sides. On the eve of this great conflict, which created a first class political sensation in the country, even the Buddha, detached in his religious eminence from all worldly affairs, felt it his duty to take his proper part in the larger politics of the country. As a born democrat and a champion of republican interests, he assured the Lichchhavis, who formed the leading democratic state in the country, that it could not be defeated even by a mighty king like Ajātaśatru provided it maintained unimpaired all its strong points and factors of national efficiency, such as "holding full and frequent assemblies, maintaining internal concord in assembly and administration, avoiding revolutionary laws and measures, following old traditions, honouring the elders of the community, old institutions, and shrines, saints and women."

Ajātaśatru realised that the only way by which he could conquer the Lichchhavis was by destroying their inner unity. For this purpose he deputed his minister Vassakāra on the nefarious mission of sowing seeds of disunion among the Lichchhavis at Vaiśālī. His work after three years bore fruit. Infected by jealousy between different classes, between the rich and the poor, and the strong and the weak, the Lichchhavis became a changed people lacking their old social cohesion.[2] Thus the stage was set for Ajātaśatru's operations against the Lichchhavis.

The king declared: "I will root out and destroy these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, and bring them to utter ruin."[3] But he had to plan his military preparations for the conquest on a large scale. The Lichchhavi republic was on the other side of the Gaṅgā, while his capital Rājagṛiha was too far inland and remote to serve as an efficient base of operations. He had to construct a new base, a fort at a convenient site on the river, and thus was laid the foundation of the new capital, Pāṭaliputra. It was constructed under the supervision of his chief ministers named Sunīdha and Vassakāra. When the construction was completed, the two ministers invited the Buddha to dinner at their house and named he gate through which the Buddha went out of the city as the otama Gate, and the *ghāṭ* (landing) from which he was ferried cross the Gaṅgā was commemorated as the Gotama Ferry. It was n this unique occasion that the Buddha is said to have made his regnant prophecy that Pāṭaliputra would one day grow to be the hief city of Aryan India and the centre of trade, business and eco-omic prosperity.

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[1] *Nirayāvalī-sūtra.*
[2] *Dialogues*, II, 78; B. C. Law's *Buddhaghosa*, p. 112.
[3] *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta.*

The construction of the fort was followed by the expedition gainst Vaiśālī. As soon as their territory was invaded, the Lich-hhavis, now torn by disunion, argued among themselves as to who hould first oppose the invader, the more cowardly ones saying, ‘Let the strong Lichchhavis go forward and crush the enemy.” Ajātaśatru thus found it easy to subdue a people who had given themselves to a wordy warfare among themselves when they should have combined to combat a common enemy.

The Jain texts give some interesting details of the military operations of Magadhan forces. Ajātaśatru for the first time made use of two secret weapons of war. The first, the *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka*, was a kind of catapult hurling heavy pieces of stone. The other was the *Rathamusala*, a chariot which created havoc by wheeling about and hurling destruction by its attached rods. “It seems to have been provided with some kind of self-acting machinery to propel it, as it is described to have moved without horses and driver; though possibly, as in similar contrivances in the Middle Ages, it was propelled by a person concealed inside who turned the wheels.”[1] It has been compared to the tanks used in the two great World Wars.

These elaborate preparations show that the war between Magadha and the Lichchhavi Republic was a protracted one. The aggressor had first to undertake the costly construction of a new fort on the Gaṅgā, which must have taken some time—at least two years. Next, there was the three years' plan of secret work done by the Magadhan spies quartered on the Lichchhavis at Vaiśālī to sow the seeds of dissension among them and undermine their national solidarity. Thirdly, Magadha had to fight not a mere isolated and individual republic but a large and powerful confederation of 36 republics under its chief Cheṭaka of great political influence, strengthened by matrimonial alliances with several kings, *viz.* those of Sindhu-Sauvīra, Vatsa, and Avanti, who married his daughters.[2]

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[1] Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, App. pp. 59, 60, quoting *Bhagavatī*.
[2] *HC*, 235, 236.

The Jain texts indicate a period of more than 16 years for this war. We are told that Gosāla, the great religious leader and rival of Mahāvīra who died in c. 484 B.C., saw this war in progress, while the confederation of these Republics was still going strong up to 468 B.C., the date of Mahāvīra's death, which they celebrated by a joint illumination to mark the disappearance from their midst of the light that was in their Lord Mahāvīra.[1] The war, which must therefore have lasted from at least 484 to 468 B.C., ended in a complete victory for Ajātaśatru and he destroyed the freedom of the city-state of Vaiśālī, which had given birth to his mother.

These conquests, by which Ajātaśatru was establishing his suzerainty in Eastern India, roused the hostility of his equally ambitious rival of Central India, king Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti. We hear that as the latter was planning an attack upon his capital at Rājagṛiha, Ajātaśatru applied himself to the task of strengthening its fortifications.[2] He must have been hard put to it in having to meet at the same time the double menace—from Avanti in the west and the Lichchhavis in the north—and to alternate between his two fortified posts, Rājagṛiha and Pāṭaliputra, to look after the defences of his empire. But he attained complete success. While he humbled Kosala and other eastern powers and absorbed Vaiśālī and the whole or part of Kāśī, the king of Avanti could do nothing against him. He thus extended the boundaries of his kingdom and laid the foundations of the Magadha empire on a solid basis.

As is the case with Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru is represented in Jain texts as a Jain and in Buddhist texts as a Buddhist. We have already seen how the Jain texts are partial towards him in absolving him of the heinous crime of parricide, of which he is accused in the Buddhist texts. They tell how Kūṇika was a frequent visitor to Mahāvīra with his queens and royal retinue. He had intimate contact with him both at Vaiśālī and Champā and expressed his high opinion of Jain monks.[3] In the *Aupapātika Sūtra* (30), he openly declares before Mahāvīra and his disciples his faith in him as the true teacher who has made clear the true path of religion based on renunciation and non-violence.

His relations with the Buddha began with enmity and ended in complete devotion. The enmity was instigated by the villain

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[1] *Nirayāvalī-sūtra* cited by Hoernle, *ib.*, p. 7; *Kalpa Sūtra* in *SBE* XXII 266.
[2] *Majjhima*, III, 7.
[3] *Aupapātika-sūtras*, 12, 27, 30; Hemachandra, *Pariśishṭaparvan*, Canto IV; *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, pp. 684, 687.

Devadatta, who one day "went to Prince Ajātaśatru and said 'Give an order, O King, to our men that I may deprive Samana Gotama of life,' and Ajātaśatru, the Prince, gave orders to his men, 'whatsoever the worthy Devadatta tells you, that do.' "[1] The Buddha also knew of his true character and stated: "Monks, the king of Magadha, Ajātaśatru, is a friend to, an intimate of, mixed with, whatever is evil." Their relations, however, soon changed. As already stated, after murdering his father, Ajātaśatru approached the Buddha in his remorse and prayed to him: 'May the Lord accept my transgression as transgression that I may be restrained in the future.' Once his physician Jīvaka induced him to pay a visit to the Buddha in his mango-grove on a full-moon night. Its deep silence made him suspect an ambush and he asked Jīvaka: "You are playing me no tricks, Jīvaka? You are not betraying me to my foes? How can it be that there should be no sound at all, not a sneeze nor a cough, in so large an assembly, among 1250 of the brethren?" Jīvaka assured him that he should not suspect any foul play but should go straight on. Then the king arrived at the assembly, calm as a clear lake, and burst out: "Would that my son Udāyi Bhadda might have such calm as this assembly of the brethren has!"[2]

It may be noted that Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha is represented in one of the sculptures of Bhārhut (c. 2nd century B.C.) and this goes a great way towards proving the truth and popularity of the Buddhist story. The sculpture bears the inscription: "Ajātaśatru salutes the Lord", and seems to translate in stone the very words of the Buddhist text: *Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati* (bows down with his head at the feet of the Lord). The sculpture shows (a) the king on an elephant followed by women on elephants in procession; (b) his dismounting from the elephant and standing with his right hand raised as if to speak; and (c) his obeisance before the Bodhimaṇḍa, the throne of the Buddha bearing his foot-print (Pl. I).

Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha marked a turning point in his religious life. It seems that he first sought a salve for his conscience, tormented by his sense of grievous sin as a parricide, from each one of the six principal teachers of the times such as Makkhali Gosāla and Nigganṭha Nātaputta (Mahāvīra), on the advice of his six ministers, but none of them could give to his soul the peace he sought, and then he came to the Buddha as his last resort.[1] Next we see him, on hearing of the Buddha's death, hurry to Kuśīnārā as an ardent Buddhist to claim a share of the relics of his sacred body, sending in advance a messenger to say on his behalf: "The Lord was a Kshatriya; I too am a Kshatriya; I am worthy of a share of the relics of the Lord. I will erect a *stūpa* over the relics of the Lord and make a feast."[2]

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[1] *Vinaya Texts*, Part III, p. 243.
[2] *Dīgha*, I, 50.

The story goes that Buddha's chief disciple Mahākassapa, who took charge of his Master's body and subsequently of its relics, thought that it would not be safe and proper to have them distributed among their eight claimants and enshrined by them in eight different *stūpas*, as was first stipulated. He changed his mind and asked Ajataśatru, as the fittest of the co-sharers of the relics, to have the bulk of them enshrined in a single *stūpa* at his capital of Rājagṛiha, leaving only portions for the rest.[3]

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa,* Ajātaśatru built *Dhātu-chaityas* all round the capital. He further showed his devotion to Buddhism by repairing, at Rājagṛiha, 18 *Mahāvihāras* which were deserted by the Buddhists after Buddha's death. Lastly, Ajātaśatru is immortalised in the history of Buddhism by his association with its first General Council or *Saṁgīti*. It was attended by 500 eminent *bhikkhus* and *theras* who, travelling through the country, betook themselves to Rājagṛiha as the best place for their meeting, as it was "richly provided with their four requisites of clothing, food given as alms, dwelling places and drugs", thanks to the hospitality and amenities of Ajātaśatru's city. Ajātaśatru then readily made his personal contribution to the success of the Council by giving it full facilities. "He with all expedition had a magnificent hall constructed by the side of the Vebhāra rock in which it was excavated by the entrance of the Sattapaṇṇi cave. It was like the Assembly-Hall of the gods themselves. When it was adorned in every way, he caused precious rugs to be spread according to the number of the Bhikkhus. For the presiding monk was prepared a lofty and noble seat (Therāsana) while for the reciting monk was placed another high seat (Dhammāsana) in the middle of the Hall." (*Mahāvaṁsa,* III).

4. SUCCESSORS OF AJĀTAŚATRU

The Buddhist tradition, which has been accepted as the best working hypothesis, strangely enough represents all the four kings following Ajātaśatru as parricides. After their rule of 56 years the people awoke to the fact that they were living under a dynasty of murderers, and they at once supplanted it by electing the Minister Śiśunāga[1] as king. Ajātaśatru was succeeded by Udayabhadra, who is undoubtedly the same as Udāyin of the Puranic genealogy. A Jain text[2] takes him to be the son of Kūṇika and Padmāvatī. Jain tradition does not like Buddhist, regard Udayabhadra as a parricide. On the contrary, he is represented as the devoted son of his father who was serving as his viceroy at Champā and overwhelmed with grief at his death.[3]

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[1] *Sabhiya-sutta; Sāmaññaphala Sutta.*

[2] *Dīgha,* II, 166.

[3] *Mahāpari°* Commentary; cf. *Div.* 380.

He was called to the throne by the assembly of chiefs and nobles. He then left Champā and proceeded to Pāṭaliputra where he built a new town called Kusumapura, as stated in the *Vāyu Purāṇa,* and a Jain shrine (*Chaityagriha*) at its centre. He was a devout Jain, fasting on 8th and 14th *tithis*.[4] On one such day, while he was listening to the discourse of a teacher with a novice, the latter fell upon him and killed him with his concealed dagger. It is stated that this assassin was engaged by his political rival, Pālaka, the king of Avanti and son of Ajātaśatru's enemy, Pradyota, who had become very powerful by the conquest of Kauśāmbī. Pālaka had, however, been previously defeated many times by Udayabhadra.[5]

The next two kings were Anuruddha and Muṇḍa. The *Aṅguttara* (III, 57-63) refers to king Muṇḍa as staying at Pāṭaliputra. When his queen Bhaddā died in that city he was overpowered with grief and refused to cremate her body until he was consoled by a Thera named Nārada, who lived at the *Vihāra* known as *Kukkuṭārāma*.[6]

The succeeding ruler Nāgadāsaka may be identified with king Darśaka of the Purāṇas. Darśaka figures as contemporary of Udayana in the Sanskrit drama *Svapna-Vāsavadattā,* attributed to Bhāsa. This agrees with the Puranic, but not with the Sinhalese genealogy adopted here.

Śiśunāga is the next in the Buddhist list. According to the Purāṇas, Śiśunāga came to the throne after destroying the power of the Pradyotas. He made Girivraja his abode and posted his son in charge of Vārāṇasī. The Buddhist tradition, as already related, dates

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1. *Mahāvaṁsa,* Ch. VII.
2. *Kathākosha,* p. 177.
3. Hemachandra, *Pariśishṭaparvan,* VI, 32-180; *Trishashṭiśalākā,* X, 426, Tawney's *Kathākosha,* p. 177; *Āvaśyaka-sūtra,* p 687.
4. *Āvaśyaka-sūtra,* p. 690.
5. *Ibid;* Tawney's *Kathāsaritsāgara,* II, 484.
6. *HTW,* II, 98-9; *Saṁ,* V, 171; *Aṅguttara,* V, 342; *Majjhima,* I, 350.

the hostility of Avanti to Magadha from the time of Ajātaśatru, and counts Kāśī as a province of Magadha, also from his time.[1] This indirectly supports the Buddhist view that Śiśunāga ruled after Ajātaśatru. Probably, he kept up the old capital of Girivraja against the continued menace from Avanti, as his son defended the frontiers in Kāśī against Kosala. But Śiśunāga finally destroyed the power of the Pradyotas of Avanti and added it to the growing kingdom of Magadha. Probably both the kingdoms of Vatsa and Kosala were also annexed and thus Magadha absorbed almost all the important states in North India that flourished in the time of Gautama Buddha.[2]

Kālāśoka, the son and successor of Śiśunāga, probably corresponds to Kākavarṇa of the Purāṇas. It was during his reign that the second Great Buddhist Council was held. He had a tragic end which is referred to in later literature. A passage in Bāna's *Harshacharita* (of seventh century A.D.) records the story, presumably handed down through the centuries, that the king named Kākavarṇī Śaiśunāgī was killed by a dagger thrust into his throat. An earlier reference to some such event is made by the Greek writer Curtius. Referring to the founder of the Nanda dynasty, he says: "He was a barber who became the paramour of the queen, and being by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch, treacherously murdered him, and then under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority and having put the young princes to death begat the present king."

The murderer of Kālāśoka or Kākavarṇī Śaiśunāgī was thus possibly the founder of the next dynasty of kings—that of the Nandas. The "young princes" slain by him may be taken to be the ten sons of the murdered king who, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa,* ruled, probably jointly, for a period of ten years. These are named in the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* and include Nandivardhana, who is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the ninth king among the ten kings of the Śaiśunāga dynasty.

The Purāṇas add another king, Mahānandin, but his existence must be regarded as very doubtful unless we suppose that he was another of the ten sons of Kālāśoka.

The Śaiśunāga dynasty thus came to an ignoble end. Whatever we might think of the particulars related in different sources, there is no doubt that its downfall was brought about by a palace conspiracy instigated by a faithless queen.

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[1] *Majjhima,* III, 7.

[2] See pp. 1-2.

5. THE NANDAS

The founder of the new dynasty was a man of low origin. The account of him, as given by Curtius, has been noted above. The Jain work *Parisishṭaparvan* describes him as the son of a barber by a courtesan. The *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* calls him a *Nāpitadāsa*—"slave of barber." The Purāṇas also brand the founder of the Nanda dynasty as 'the son of king Mahānandin by a Śūdra woman' and Nanda kings as immoral (*adhārmika*). The Buddhist texts (e.g. *Mahāvaṁsa-ṭīkā*) regard the Nandas as *aññātakula*—'of unknown lineage.'

It will thus appear that all traditions are agreed as to the disreputable origin of the Nanda dynasty. The Purāṇas trace it to a Śūdra mother, but Greek account traces it to a Śūdra father, a barber. Thus one source fastens the original sin on the father and the other on the mother. But it is the caste of the father that determines that of his progeny. And so the Nandas may be taken to be the offspring of a Śūdra father.

The name of the founder and first king of the Nanda dynasty is differently given in different texts. The Puraṇas call him Mahāpadma, presumably either with reference to his military strength as 'lord of an infinite host' (*Mahāpadmapati*) or immense wealth amounting to 100,000 millions (*mahāpadma*). According to the *Mahābodhivaṁsa,* his name was Ugrasena. The term Ugrasena may have suggested the Greek name Agrammes(= Augrasainya, *i.e.* son of Ugrasena) for the Nanda king who ruled at the time of Alexander. The different authorities agree in giving the total number of Nanda kings as nine (Nava-Nanda). The Purāṇas take the first Nanda as the father and the other eight as his sons. The Buddhist texts, however, take all the Nine Nandas as brothers. They are named in the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* as follows: (1) Ugrasena (2) Paṇḍuka (3) Paṇḍugati (4) Bhūtapāla (5) Rāshṭrapāla (6) Govishāṇaka (7) Daśasiddhaka (8) Kaivarta and (9) Dhana. The Purāṇas name only the father and one of his sons, Sumālya. Jain texts also know of nine Nandas.[1] In the face of all this evidence regarding *nine* Nandas, we have to give up a theory once held that the word *nava* should be taken to mean new, and the two last rulers of the

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[1] *Āvaśyaka-sūtra,* p. 693 (*navame Nande*).

Puranic Śiśunāga dynasty, *viz.* Nandivardhana and Mahānandin should be treated as the old Nandas who were replaced by new ones

We owe to the *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* some details of the first and the last of the nine Nanda brothers who ruled one after another according to seniority. The eldest brother who founded the dynasty is called Ugrasena, as already stated. He was a man of the frontier (*pachchanta-vāsika*) who fell into the hands of robbers and became one of them and later their leader He then, with his gang, started raiding the neighbouring kingdoms and their cities, giving them the ultimatum: 'Either yield your kingdom or give battle.' Fired with success, they aimed at sovereignty. The text, however, is silent as to the actual steps by which it was achieved. It simply insinuates that the conquest of Magadha marked the culmination of a career of violence and brigandage on the part of a gang of outlaws whom the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* describes as *Chorapubbas*, 'dacoits of old'. So this Buddhist tradition represents the Nandas as openly conquering Magadha by force and not by any secret conspiracy or cowardly assassination of the reigning king by intrigues with the queen.

The Purāṇas give a more reliable account of the founder of the Nanda dynasty whom they call Mahāpadma. He is described as a second Paraśurāma, 'the exterminator of the entire Kshatriya race,' and as one who made himself the sole sovereign in the country and brought it under the umbrella of one auhority which was not challenged. The Kshatriya dynasties, which were thus uprooted, comprised the following: Aikshvākus, Pañchālas, Kāśīs, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Śūrasenas, and Vītihotras. This detailed and specific statement in the Purāṇas seems to be partially corroborated by independent evidence. The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* mentions the camp of King Nanda in Ayodhyā, thereby implying the inclusion of Kosala in the Nanda empire. The conquest of Kaliṅga by a Nanda king has been inferred from a passage in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, which will be referred to in a later chapter. The existence of a city called "Nav Nand Dehra" (Nānder on the Godāvarī) has been taken by some scholars to indicate Nanda supremacy over a considerable part of the Deccan. According to some early inscriptions of Mysore, the Nandas ruled over Kuntala (southern part of Bombay and north-western part of Mysore).[1]

Although all these pieces of evidence, particularly the last, cannot be regarded as conclusive, they undoubtedly support the Puranic statement. But its best corroboration is offered by the statement of the classical writers who refer to the extensive domains of his successor, to be noted later. The general picture given in the Purānas of the great empire, which Mahāpadma Nanda had built up by exterminating the numerous Kshatriya principlalities, may thus be regarded as historically accurate. We may also conclude from the classical accounts that the Nanda empire was not a loose federation but was built on solid foundation.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 3.

Mahāpadma Nanda was thus the first great historical emperor of Northern India. His low origin proves the end of the age-long tradition of the political supremacy of the Kshatriyas. The old orthodox ideas were thus rapidly giving way, and the history of Buddhism and Jainism shows that this was as true in religion as in politics. Perhaps both were inspired by a common spirit of revolt against the conservative hierarchy which had hitherto dominated Church and State. An unorthodox spirit in religion, which was already launched in its triumphant career, was ably seconded by an equally heterodox view of politics. In any case the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. hold out strange phenomena before us,—Kshatriya chiefs founding popular religious sects which menaced the Vedic religion, and Śūdra leaders establishing a big empire in Āryāvarta on the ruins of Kshatriya kingdoms. These two events might not have been altogether isolated or unconnected.

Unfortunately, we know very little of the subsequent history of the Nanda dynasty until we come to the last king. He is not named in the Purāṇas but must have maintained intact his imperial inheritance of territory and army. As he was ruling at the time of Alexander's invasion of 327-325 B.C., the Greek writers record some facts of his power, position, and popularity. He is called by them Agrammes or Xandrames, and described as the king of powerful peoples beyond the Beās, "the Gangaridae and the Prasii", with his capital at Pāṭaliputra. The Gangaridae, according to Megasthenes, were the people occupying the delta of the Gaṅgā, and the *Prasii* were the *Prāchyas* or Easterners living to the east of the Middle Country (*Madhyadeśa*) such as the Pañchālas, Śūrasenas, Kosalas, Kāśis and Videhas. His empire seems to have extended up to the frontiers of the Punjāb, for it is stated that king Porus the younger escaped from Alexander into the adjoining territory of the Nanda king.[1]

Curtius credits Agrammes with an army of 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and 3,000 elephants.

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[1] McCrindle, *Invasion*, p. 273.

According to other Greek writers the number of elephants was 4,000 or even 6,000.

With all his military might and mastery of a large empire, he lacked the strength of popularity by which alone they could be maintained. Chandragupta Maurya, who was fated to overthrow him, already reported to Alexander's followers that he could easily conquer the Nanda empire, because its king was so much "hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin." This report was also confirmed by king Porus (Paurava) of the Punjāb who "added that the king of the Gangaridae was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber."

Much of his unpopularity was also due to his miserliness, avarice, and love of wealth which he accumulated at the expense of his people by means of excessive taxation and exactions. He is nicknamed Dhana Nanda, the worshipper of Mammon. The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* preserves the tradition of his wealth computed at 990 millons of gold pieces.[1] Its Buddhist version is thus stated: "The youngest brother was called Dhana Nanda from his addiction to hoarding treasure....He collected riches to the amount of 80 *koṭis* in a cave in the bed of the river (Gaṅgā). Having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there....Levying taxes, among other articles, even on skins, gums, and stones, he amassed further treasure which he disposed of similarly."[2] This story of his hoarded and hidden wealth is hinted at in a Tamil poem stating how the wealth of the Nandas "having been accumulated first in Pāṭali hid itself in the floods of the Gaṅgā."[3] The tradition of the fabulous wealth of Nanda was also heard by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century A.D. He mentions five *stūpas* of Pāṭaliputra as symbols of "the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substances."[4]

We owe to Jain tradition[5] some new facts about the Nandas, who are stated to have had Jain ministers with their leanings towards Jainism. The minister of the first Nanda was Kalpaka upon whom the office was forced. He is stated to have egged the king on to the prosecution of his military programme for the conquest and extermination of all the Kshatriya states of the time. It was instigated by the spirit of vengeance taken by a lower caste against the pride and pretensions of the higher. The Nanda kings made the office of minister hereditary. The ninth Nanda had as his minister Śakaṭāla, who had two sons, Sthulabhadra and Śrīyaka. On Śakaṭāla's death, the king offered his place to Sthūlabhadra who declined it and became a Jain monk. His place was taken by Śrīyaka. Jain influence spread from the ministers to both court and society. Chāṇakya in the *Mudrārākshasa* finds a Jain to act as his chief agent in his political scheme. Jainism seems to be a factor in the social background of the drama, which ended in the overthrow of the king and the end of his dynasty as will be related in a subsequent chapter.

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[1] Tawney, Tr., I. 21.

[2] Turnour, *Mahāwanso*, p. xxxix.

[3] Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89.

[4] *HTW.*, II, 96.

[5] *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, pp. 435-36, 693-95.

6. THE MAGADHA EMPIRE

In spite of the tragic end of the Nandas, to them belongs the credit of founding the first great empire in Northern India on the foundations laid by Bimbisāra and his son. The great Magadha empire which they built up survived them and gradually embraced nearly the whole of India. Even when this came to an end, it left behind a rich legacy, and a second empire, only inferior in importance to the first, arose out of its ruins nearly five centuries later.

It is tempting to seek in the history of Magadha evidence of the existence of certain permanent factors whose interplay enabled it to rise to the zenith of political greatness more than once and retain this position for a much longer period than most other empires that flourished in India. Its geographical position was undoubtedly an important factor. The mighty Gaṅgā with its feeders, the Son on the south and the Gandak and Gogra on the north, served as admirable means for defence and communication both with Upper India and the sea. The older capital city Rājagṛiha, surrounded by seven hills, and the later and more famous Pāṭaliputra, at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Son, were both well protected by nature.

Next to its strategic position, the comparative freedom from orthodoxy and the consequent commingling of diverse cultures in Magadha may be regarded as an important factor in its development. As noted above, Magadha and the countries to the east of it lay almost outside the pale of Vedic culture. Perhaps the Vedic polity, along with Vedic culture, had spent its force, and it was now the turn of the sturdy peoples of the east, comparatively unaffected by the Aryan invasion, to play their part. When the Purāṇas lament the wholesale destruction of the Kshatriya power by the Śūdra king

Mahāpadma Nanda, they seem instinctively to refer to the end of one epoch and the rise of another. The laxity of social restrictions imposed by the orthodox Brahmanical culture and the universal aspect of Buddhism and Jainism which found a congenial home in Magadha must have considerably widened the political outlook of this region and contributed to make it the nucleus of a mighty empire.

7. CHRONOLOGY

It is difficult to fix any reliable chronology for this remote period of history. According to the unanimous tradition of the Buddhists, the Buddha died in the 8th year of the reign of Ajātasatru, and this synchronism is accepted by all scholars. The date of the Buddha's death is thus the crucial point in fixing the chronology of the rulers of Magadha and other contemporary dynasties of the period. Although there is no unanimity on this, we may broadly distinguish two different schools of views.[1] One, relying on the Sinhalese reckoning of the Nirvāṇa era, fixes the date of Buddha's death at 544 B.C. It is, however, pointed out by the other that this cannot be reconciled with the early Sinhalese tradition that Aśoka's coronation took place 218 years after the death of Buddha. As will be shown later, we can fix the date of the coronation of Aśoka with a tolerable degree of certainty in 269 B.C. or within a few years of it. If it took place 218 years after Buddha's death, the date of this event may be fixed at c. 487 B.C. This view is supported by the Chinese tradition of 'the dotted record.' It is said that a record was kept in which a dot was put each year after the death of Buddha, and this was continued in Canton up to the year A.D. 489, when the number of dots amounted to 975. This gives 486 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death. Although no finality attaches to this or any other conclusion, 486 B.C. may be accepted as a working hypothesis, and most scholars now place Buddha's death within a few years of this date.

It may be noted in this connection that Mahāvīra's death, according to Jain tradition, took place in 528 B.C. But this date can hardly be reconciled with 486 B.C. as the date of Budha's death if we accept the Jain and Buddhist tradition that Mahāvīra and Buddha died within a few years of each other. Accordingly the scholars, who accepted 486 B.C. (or thereabouts) as the date of Buddha's death, take 468 B.C. as the date of the death of Mahāvīra on the authority of the great Jain author Hemachandra.[1]

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[1] Cf. *PHAI*, 186 for a brief review of the different theories on the subject. Cf. also Geiger, Tr. of *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. XII; *EHI*,[4] pp. 49-50; *CHI*, I, 171. Recently Dr. E. J. Thomas has pointed out (*B. C. Law Volume II*, 18-22) that according to the Sarvāstivādins Aśoka flourished one century after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, and this tradition may be traced even in the Sinhalese Chronicles. According to this date Nirvāṇa falls in the 4th century B.C. and a Japanese scholar, quoted by Thomas, places this event in 386 B.C.

On the basis of 486 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death, the accession of Bimbisāra falls in 545 B.C., as he ruled for 52 years and the Buddha died in the eighth year of his son's reign. It has been suggested by some that the so-called Nirvāṇa era of Ceylon "originally started from the coronation of Bimbisāra and was later on confounded with the era of the Great Decease."[2] We may accordingly accept 544 B.C. as the date of accession of Bimbisāra.

The accession of Chandragupta Maurya, who overthrow the last Nanda king, took place, as we shall see later, about 324 B.C. The reigns of the kings dealt with in this chapter, *viz.* Bimbisāra and Śiśunāga groups and the Nandas, therefore, fall between 544 and 324 B.C., a period of 220 years for eleven or twelve generations.

The first Nanda king Mahāpadma Nanda ruled, according to the Purāṇas, for 88 years, but some scholars regard it as a mistake for 28 which is found in some manuscripts of the Purāṇas.[3] The other eight kings are said to have ruled for 12 years. The Sinhalese Chronicles assign only 22 years to the nine Nandas.

As regards the kings belonging to Bimbisāra and Śiśunāga groups, their total reign-period is given as 200 years in the Sinhalese Chronicles and 360 or 163 years in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas give the reign-periods for each king, but they differ so widely in the different texts that it is impossible to check the total period of the reign with their help.

In view of these differences it is difficult to assign dates to individual kings or even to the different groups. The 22 years assigned to the Nandas seem to be too small and we may accept 40 years, deduced from the Purānas, as a more reasonable figure. We may thus put the Nanda kings as ruling from 364 to 324 B.C.

According to the Sinhalese Chronicles, Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru ruled respectively for 52 and 32 years. The corresponding dates in the Purāṇas are 28 (or 38) and 25 (or 27). To Śiśunāga is assigned a reign of 18 years in the Sinhalese Chronicles and 40 years

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1. *CHI,* I, 156.
2. *PHAI,* 186.
3. *Ibid,* 189; *DKA,* 69, fn. 17.

in the Purānas. It may not be a pure accident that the reign-periods of these kings vary in the two authorities according to the importance they attach to them. It is in any case impossible to rely implicitly on any of these sources. It is, however, likely that the Sinhalese Buddhists had a more or less correct tradition about the dates of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, as these were intimately associated with Buddha. We may therefore provisionally accept the following chronology:

Bimbisāra	544—493 B.C.
Ajātaśatru	493—462 B.C.
Next four kings	462—430 B.C.
Śiśunāga and his successors	430—364 B.C.
Nanda Dynasty	364—324 B.C.

It should be remembered, however, that these dates are calculated on the hypothesis that Buddha's death took place in 486 B.C. If, however, we accept the Sinhalese reckoning of 544 B.C. for this event, the dates proposed above will have to be considerably modified. Bimbisāra's accession would then fall in 604 B.C. and that of Ajātaśatru in 552 B.C. The remaining 25 kings, belonging to nine generations, will have to be placed between 532 and 324 B.C., a period of 208 years. There is no incongruity far less absurdity, in this chronological scheme, or in the assumption on which it is based, *viz.* that the Buddha died in 544 B.C. The only difficulty is the statement in the Sinhalese Chronicles that Aśoka's coronation took place 218 years after Buddha's death, which cannot be reconciled with the date 544 B.C. given for the latter event in the same chronicles. Thus we have to make a choice between one or the other statement, and there is no valid reason why we should reject the latter and not the former. Besides, the earliest Sinhalese Chronicle, the *Dīpavaṁsa,* puts the interval of 218 years between the death of Buddha and the coronation of Priyadarśana. Although this epithet was borne by Aśoka and is generally taken to refer to him, it is also applied to his grandfather Chandragupta in the drama *Mudrārākshasa* (Act VI). If applied to Chandragupta, this statement would fix the year of his coronation as 326 B.C., which is surprisingly close to the truth.[1] Thus the date 544 B.C. for Buddha's death, as testified to by the Sinhalese reckoning of the Nirvāṇa era, cannot be pronounced to be definitely wrong.

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[1] This has been pointed out by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*IC.* II, 560).

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN INVASIONS

I. THE PERSIAN INVASION

While the interior of India had been undergoing a process of political unification under Magadha, her undefended and insecure frontiers on the north-west invited foreign invasions. The first of these was the Persian invasion.

The relations between Old Persia, or Irān, and India have been describe above.[1] We do not possess any definite information regarding the contact between the two in the later Vedic age. Some scholars find in the Avestan passages indication of a political hold which old Irān had obtained on Northern India in pre-Achaemenian times. But corroboration of details of this political connection are lacking.

With the sixth century B.C., however, we tread upon more solid ground. From classical sources we gather that the Medo-Persian kingdom, which was supreme in western Asia during that century, came into contact with India through the eastern campaigns of its emperor Cyrus (558-530 B.C.). Information on this subject may be derived from Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon along with Strabo and Arrian. Most of the references of Herodotus, however, are related to the time of Darius and Xerxes. It is generally held that the eastern conquest of Cyrus included the districts of Drangiana,[2] Sattagydia[3] and Gandaritis (Gandhāra) (Herodotus I, 153, 177) which were located in the north-western regions forming the boundary between India and Irān. According to Ctesias (Fragment 37 ed. Gilmore), Cyrus died of a wound inflicted in battle by 'an Indian', a battle which "the Indians were fighting on the side of Derbikes whom they supplied with elephants." These Derbikes might have been a frontier tribe. According to Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, I. 1, 4), Cyrus "brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians" and extended his sway up to the Erythraean sea, *i.e* the Indian Ocean. He further records (*Ibid,* VI, 2, 1-11) the despatch to Cyrus by an Indian king of an embassy conveying money, probably in payment of tribute. It has been held on the basis of these references that Cyrus conquered the borderland between Irān and India and won for himself a position which gained him a tribute from a king of Northern India, if not his vassalage.

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[1] Vol. I, pp. 218-224; 4th impression (1965), pp. 222-228.

[2] Drangiana corresponds to a part of Seistān.

[3] The Sattagydia cannot be definitely located. It has been placed in Ghazni and Ghilzai by some and Hazāra country further to the north-west by others. There are other views also (cf. *CHI*, I, 328, fn. 1).

The Greek writers on Alexander's campaigns do not, however, agree as to the conquest of any portion of India by Cyrus. According to Nearchus, as reported by Arrian (*Anab.*, VI, 24, 2-3), Cyrus came to grief in trying to invade India through the inhospitable desert of Gedrosia (Baluchistān) where the greater part of his army died. Megasthenes states that "the Indians had never engaged in foreign warfare, nor had they ever been invaded and conquered by a foreign power, except by Heracles and Dionysus and lately by the Macedonians." He refers to Semiramis, the Assyrian queen, as having died before her projected invasion of India. He further states that "the Persians, although they hired mercenary troops from India, namely the Hydrakes (Oxydrakai=Kshudrakas), did not make an expedition into that country." Arrian (*Indica,* IX, 10) repeats the statement of Megasthenes that none before Alexander invaded India

It will thus appear that both Nearchus and Megasthenes agree that Cyrus never reached India. But these Greek writers take the Sindhu to be the western limit of the country, and it may be that the conquests of Cyrus were made in the Indian borderland to the west of the Sindhu. Pliny actually refers to Cyrus's conquest of Kapisa in the Ghorband valley. We may also consider in this connection the statement of Arrian (*Indica,* I, 1-3) that the Indians between the river Sindhu and Kābul (Cophen) "were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, the Medes, and, finally, to the Persians under Cyrus to whom they pay tribute he imposed upon them." Probably the conclusion of the matter is best given by Ed. Meyer who states: "Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisus (Hindu Kush) and in the Kābul valley, especially the Gandarians; Darius himself advances as far as the Indus."[1] Cambyses (530-522 B.C.), who succeeded Cyrus, was too much occupied by rebellions in his own empire to think of engaging in any movement towards India.

For the reign of his successor Darius (522-486 B.C.) we have the reliable evidence of his own inscriptions, from which we can infer the extent of the Persian dominion in India. The first of these is what is known as the Behistun inscription (c. 520-518 B.C.) which lists the twenty-three provinces making up his empire, but does not mention India as one of these. But the two later inscriptions at Persepolis (c. 518-515 B.C.) and at Naksh-i-Rustam (c. 515 B.C.) mention *Hi(n)du* or the northern Punjāb as a part of his domain. Darius must therefore have conquered this part of India by about 518 B.C.

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[1] *Geschichte des Altertums,* III, 97.

It is, however, to be noted that Behistun inscription of Darius (Dārayavaush Khshāyathiya=Dhāradvasu Kshathyaḥ, i.e. Śāsakaḥ or Rājā) mentions as one of the provinces of his empire a region named Gadāra=Gandhāra (modern Rāwalpindi and Peshāwar Districts), along with the neighbouring regions named Suguda (Sogdiana), Śaka (Scythia) and Bakhtrish (Bactria, Balkh, Balhika) The Susa palace inscription of Darius states that in the construction of the palace, "teak was brought from Gadāra."

These references indicate that very probably it was Cyrus who conquered Gandhāra which was inherited by Darius as a part of his empire, while for himself he pushed his Indian conquest farther into the region called *Sindhu*. The Persepolis inscription mentions both Gandhāra and Sindhu as provinces of his empire, as also his Naksh-i-Rustam inscription. There is also a fourth inscription of Darius known as Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet inscription which mentions *Sindhu* as a province of the empire.

Herodotus (III, 94) states that India counted as the twentieth satrapy of the empire of Darius, to which, however, it contributed a third of his revenue, 360 talents of gold dust, equivalent to over a million pounds sterling. All this gold must have come from the washings of the upper Sindhu beds, which, according to geologists, were distinctly auriferous in those days,[1] and also from what Herodotus calls "the gold-digging-ants", supposed to be the Tibetan mastiffs who guarded the gold mines of Dardistan (the Dardicae), mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 1860).

Herodotus (IV, 44) also tells of a naval expedition despatched by Darius in 517 B.C. under Scylax to explore the Sindhu. This was only possible after Darius had established his hold on the Sindhu valley. It may be useful to indicate the limits of Persian dominion in India. None of the sources refers to the kingdom of Magadha under Bimbisāra and his contemporaries further west who were ruling at this time. Herodotus (III, 98, 102) seems to exclude from

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[1] V. Ball in *IA*, August 1884.

Persian domination the regions towards the south of the Sindhu and also the deserts of Sind and Rājputāna towards the east. At the same time, a part of India was included in it under the name of Sindhu, which must have meant a portion of the Punjāb to the east of the Sindhu, as distinct from the provinces known as Gandhāra, Aria (Herāt) or Arachosia (Kandahār), as far as the river-mouth.

In order to give a more comprehensive view of the extent of the Persian dominions on the Indian border, we may mention the provinces which are now parts of Afghānistān and also those which adjoin the region of the Sindhu. These are thus mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions: (1) Yauna=Yavana=Ionia; (2) Pārthava=Parthia; (3) Zaranka=Zranka=Drangiana; (4) Haraiva (Sarayū)=Aria=Herāt; (5) Bakhtrish=Bactria=Balkh; (6) Suguda=Sogdiana; (7) Śaka=Śakasthāna=Seistān; (8) Phatagush=Satagu=Sattagydia; (9) Harauvatish=Sarasvatī=Arachosia=Kandahār; and (10) Maka=Makrān.

Darius I was succeeded by Xerxes (468-465 B.C.). That the Indian provinces continued under his empire is attested by the fact that he claimed and obtained the military service of an Indian contingent to fight his battles in Greece. This was the first time in history that an Indian expeditionary force fought on the soil of Europe. The Indians recruited by Xerxes for his army are called by the two names "Gandharians and Indians," implying that the former were from the province of Gandhāra, and the latter from the provinces controlled by the Persian empire to the east of the Sindhu and described as Sindhu in the Achaemenian inscriptions already noticed.

Of the Indian soldiers and their equipment Herodotus gives the following interesting account (VII, 65): "The Indians, clad in garments made of cotton, carried bows of cane and arrows of cane, the latter tipped with iron; and thus accoutred the Indians were marshalled under the command of Pharnazathres, son of Artabates." The Gandharian soldiers carried "bows and short spears" which were meant for fighting at close quarters, while the "Indians" were evidently used for skirmishing at long range. Besides infantry, India also supplied Xerxes with cavalry and chariots, riding horses, and also horses and wild asses to draw the chariots, together with a very large number of dogs. The cavalry had the same equipment as the infantry (Herodotus, VII, 86).

It may be noted that these Indian troops who fought for the first time in Europe had to experience a terrible ordeal in storming the bloody defiles of Thermopylae. The heroism they displayed on this occasion created a further demand for their services. The result was that after the retreat of Xerxes from Europe, Indian soldiers took part in the Boeotian campaign under the Persian Commander Mardonius.

The Persian hold on India continued up to 330 B.C. when we find Darius III, the last of the Achaemenian emperors, indenting upon India for a supply of troops to resist Alexander's invasion. According to Arrian (*Anab*, III, 8, 3-6), one contingent of Indian soldiery fought at Gaugamela under the satrap of Bactria, along with the Bactrians and Sogdians, while another, the "Indian mountaineers", fought under the satrap of Arachosia. India also sent a small force of elephants. The fact that the Indians fought under satraps of other provinces probably shows that there was no longer a Persian satrap of India proper, and the hold of Persia over this region was becoming relaxed.[1]

II. THE MACEDONIAN INVASION

1. *The Advance to the Sindhu*

Nearly two centuries after Cyrus, India fell a victim to a second foreign invasion, the Macedonian invasion from Europe, which was led by the great conqueror, Alexander. Alexander embarked on a far-reaching scheme of campaigns and conquests in the east. His first conquest was that of **Persia**. He defeated its emperor, Darius III, and burnt his capital **Persepolis** in 330 B.C.

From Persia, he continued his advance towards the eastern and north-eastern provinces of the Persian empire. His military plan was to secure his rear by a chain of outposts occupied by garrisons along the route of his conquests. Thus were constructed the cities of "Alexandria-among-the-Arachosians," *i.e.* Kandahār; "Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus," *i.e.* at the foot of Hindu Kush, where three routes to Bactria converge, which probably occupied the site of modern Chārikār; Cartana (Begram), Cadrusi (Koratas?), and Nicaea between Alexandria and the Cophen or Kābul river. From the Kābul valley Alexander proceeded towards the north up the Panjshir valley and through the Khawak Pass. At the beginning of 327 B.C. he had completed the conquest of Eastern Irān beyond the Hindu Kush by overrunning Bactria and the region now known as Bokhara, as far as the Syr Daria (Jaxartes). In May 327 B.C. he advanced towards India.

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[1] For a very different view on this subject, cf. *IHQ*. XXV, 153.

He returned through the Kushan Pass and made a descent upon Alexandria, where he deposed the satrap for misgovernment. Thence he moved to Nicaea. From Nicaea, as the outpost nearest to India, he dispatched emissaries to the king of Taxila (Takshaśilā) and other princes to the west of the Sindhu, informing them of his intentions and inviting them to meet him to discuss terms which might obviate his contemplated invasion.

Even before this invitation Āmbhi (Omphis), son of the old king of Taxila, had sent envoys to Alexander while he was still in Bokhara, offering his help to the invader provided his kingdom was spared. Curtius records that he sent to Alexander useful presents of "65 elephants, great many sheep of extraordinary size, and 3,000 bulls of a valuable breed." This is the first recorded instance of an Indian king proving a traitor to his country; what is worse, his treachery was instigated by a petty spirit of local hostility to his powerful neighbour Porus (Paurava), the ruler of the territory between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and the Hydraotes (Rāvi), who was bidding for supremacy in that region by pushing his conquest beyond the Rāvi in the east and threatening the frontiers of Taxila on the west. Thus the king of Taxila, jealous of Paurava, took recourse to foreign intervention to curb his rival's growing power.

Alexander was also similarly helped at the very beginning of his invasion of India by the treacherous submission offered in advance by another Indian king, Sisikottos (Śaśigupta). He was probably the ruler of one of the frontier hill-states who originally even helped the Bactrians and Irānians against Alexander, but now changed his allegiance and joined Alexander.

Thus securing his rear Alexander now found the path of his advance towards India free of obstacles. He was marching with an army modestly estimated at 30,000 men, but one of its weak points, which told in the long run, was its heterogeneous composition, not unified or animated by the national spirit and sense of patriotic mission which inspired its leader. The army was made up of the heavily armed Macedonian infantry, carrying the long spear; Macedonian cavalry; mercenaries from Greek cities; highlanders from the Balkans, Agrianes, and Thracians equipped with slings, javelins, and bows; some eastern tribes such as horsemen from Irān, Pashtus and men from the Hindu Kush; Central-Asiatics, good at shooting from horse-back; skilled Phoenician boatmen, and Egyptians proud of their ancient ancestry.

This expeditionary force was divided by Alexander into two columns under his plan of campaign. One division was led by Alexander himself up the Kunār or Chitral river to the hilly region in the north and east. The other marched along the south bank of the Kābul river under two Macedonian commanders, Hephaestion and Perdiccas, passing through the Khyber Pass, towards the Sindhu, and emerging upon the plains of Peshāwar, with the king of Taxila as its escort.

Here, however, contrary to all expectations, Astes, the king of the small state of the Astakenoi, with his capital at Peucelaotis, defied Alexander and stood siege of his walled capital by the Greeks for full thirty days till he fell fighting. It seems that Astes is the Greek equivalent of the Indian name Ashṭakarāja, whose people were known as Ashṭakas and his capital as Pushkalāvatī (Chārsadda). McCrindle suggests that Ashṭakarāja may be connected with what Cunningham calls *Hashtanagar* or eight cities situated on the eastern bank of the lower Swāt river, one of which was Pushkalāvatī, the capital of Gandhāra. A henchman of the traitor king of Taxila, whom the Greeks call Sangaya (=Sañjaya), was rewarded for his loyalty to Alexander by the gift to him of this Ashṭaka kingdom.

The other division of the army which was campaigning in the hilly regions in the valleys of the Kunār, Panjkora and Swāt, under Alexander himself, encountered much opposition from the free peoples of these districts. These are termed by the Greeks Aspasioi and Assakenoi (from Irānian *Aspa* = Sanskrit *Aśva*). Their Indian names may be taken to be *Aśvāyana* and *Aśvakāyana,* as mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 1, 110, 99). The coins known as Vaṭāśvaka are attributed to these people, who might be identified with the Aśvakas (= Aśmakas) mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 1, 173).[1] The capital of Assakenoi is called by the Greeks Massaga, which corresponds to the Sanskrit Maśakāvatī. These hill tribes fought bravely and offered a stubborn resistance in many of their strongholds. At one of these encounters, Alexander, while trying to scale the walls of the citadel, received a serious wound. In retaliation, the whole population was put to the sword. Another centre of resistance was the city named Andaka. In the end Alexander was able to overcome these heroic peoples who, however, died to a man in defence of their hearths and homes. As many as 40,000 were taken prisoners of war from the Aspasians alone. The loot in cattle amounted to 230,000 oxen, showing how well-stocked this hill-state was in agriculture and live-stock

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[1] *JRAS,* 1900, pp. 98-106.

Still more severe was the resistance offered by the Assakenoi, the inhabitants of the eastern part of this region (the modern Kāfiristān). They opposed Alexander with an army of 30,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry (as stated by Curtius) and 30 elephants, together with 7,000 mercenaries recruited from the plains, who were all stationed in a fortress named Massaga. This army was led by the late king's mother, queen Cleophes. The city was strong in natural fortifications, built on a hill with inaccessible sides, treacherous morasses on two sides, a rivulet on the third, and artificial ramparts of brick, stone and timber on its fourth side. The fortress was further protected by a deep moat dug along its entire circumference of 4 miles. The example of the queen-commander leading the struggle for freedom in person brought the entire womanhood of the locality into the fight, while their heroism also infected the mercenaries whose initial vacillation was replaced by a determination to prefer death to dishonour.

To strengthen further his defence, the chief, Assakenos, though a republican, entered into an alliance with the neighbouring monarch of "the Indians of the hill country" named Abhisāra, who sent him a military contingent. After a heroic resistance of several days, the chief fell fighting, his mother and daughter were made prisoners, and his city capitulated. The massacre of the entire body of mercenary troops, numbering 7,000, by Alexander forms a memorable, but tragic, episode of this campaign, and throws a blot on the great soldier.

Alexander found a little respite from his arduous campaign in this hostile country in the conciliatory attitude of the neighbouring city-state of Nysa, which sent him a contingent of 300 horsemen. He constituted this hilly country and the lower Kābul valley into a new satrapy under Nicanor. Further west was the satrapy of the Paropanisadae under Tyriespes with his capital at Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus.

He then descended to Pushkalāvatī (Chārsadda) where he planted a Greek garrison under Philip. The lower Kābul valley was further secured by seizing small towns between Pushkalāvatī and the Sindhu. In this Alexander was aided by two Indian chiefs called

"Cophaeus", ruler of the valley of the Cophen or Kābul, and "Assagetes," the king of the Assakenoi who had succeeded the king killed at Massaga.

The next stage in Alexander's campaign was the siege of the strong hill fort known as Aornus, corresponding to Sanskrit Varaṇa as mentioned by Pāṇini. It was apparently not far from the junction of the Kābul and Sindhu rivers. The Greeks attached the greatest importance to the capture of this mountain citadel as there was a tradition that even Heracles had failed to storm it; and they describe the exploit at great length.[1] After reducing this fort, Alexander posted here a garrison under his Indian ally Sisikottos (Śaśigupta).

The problem now facing Alexander was the crossing of the Sindhu. He fixed on a point near a forest which would supply the timber necessary for building craft for the purpose. A part of his army was floated down the river on these boats, and joined the other part waiting at Ohind 16 miles above Attock, to be transported across the river by a bridge already constructed by Hephaestion.

2. *From the Sindhu to the Beās*

It was in the spring of 326 B.C. that the Macedonian invader first set foot on Indian soil proper. His army crossed over to the other side of the Sindhu, accompanied by an Indian contingent of 5,000 from the king of Taxila and other chiefs, squadrons of Indian horse, and thirty elephants. The invading army, on crossing, was warmly welcomed by Āmbhi, the new king of Taxila.

Alexander held a *Durbar* at Taxila, receiving homage and presents from the smaller chiefs of the locality. These gifts were returned by Alexander on a lavish scale in the shape of vessels of gold and silver and embroideries which he had obtained in Persia.

Beyond Taxila, between the rivers Jhelum and Chenāb, lay the kingdom of Porus, the great rival of the king of Taxila, as mentioned above. But Porus or the Paurava king was made of a different stuff. True to the tradition of his ancient lineage, reaching back to the Vedic period, he determined to defend, at all costs, the honour of his family and the independence of his kingdom. He heard with resentment, perhaps with dismay, of the submission of the rulers of Taxila and other localities, including another Paurava, one of his own kinsmen ruling further east beyond the Chenāb. Even the king of Abhisāra, who offered to help him, was playing a double game, and sent his own brother to Taxila with presents for Alexander and offer of submission. But although hemmed in by enemies, cowards, and traitors, both in front and rear, his undaunted spirit refused to submit. When the enemies' envoys came to summon him to meet Alexander, he proudly replied that he would indeed meet him, but at his own frontiers and in arms.

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[1] The great controversy over the identification of Aornus, a solitary rock about 7,000 ft. high washed by the Sindhu, has been set at rest by Sir Aurel Stein. He has proved by local investigation that it corresponded to Pir Sar range (*On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, p. 104). For a detailed account of the fort and its siege and the different theories on its identification, cf. *EHI*, 2nd Edition, Appendix D; 3rd Edition, pp. 56-58.

Both sides now made active preparations for the inevitable war. Alexander did not wait till after the rains when the rivers would be fordable, probably because he was unwilling to give Porus time to strengthen his position by fresh alliances. Having left a Macedonian garrison and his satrap Philip as a "Resident" in the kingdom of Āmbhi, he moved on to the banks of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) which was then (May 326 B.C.) in flood. Porus was also ready with his full strength on the opposite bank to oppose his passage of the river. For some time the two armies watched each other. Alexander then took recourse to a stratagem. He made his army move up and down the river in search of a convenient point for crossing and kept the Indians in dark about his movement. At last the crossing was effected one morning after a night of torrential rain and storm at a point 17 miles up the river from the original camp. A bridge of boats, which was moved up to that point and was kept hidden behind a wooded island, enabled the Macedonian army to cross the river unobserved.

Alexander crossed over with only a small part of his army, about 11,000 men and a cavalry. Porus sent his son to oppose him with 2,000 mounted troops and 120 chariots. But these could not withstand the charge of the Macedonian cavalry led personally by Alexander, and the gallant lad was slain.

Porus now offered battle with his whole army which Arrian estimates at 30,000 foot, 4,000 horse, 300 chariots and 200 elephants. The elephants were placed in front flanked by infantry on both sides. The flanks of the infantry were again guarded by cavalry which was protected by chariots in front.

From the outset, the battle went against Porus. The rains overnight rendered the ground slippery, and the chariots kept sticking in the slush. The archers could not fix their long bows on the muddy ground. Alexander began the battle with a charge of 1,000 mounted archers from Central Asia and the picked Macedonian cavalry, making a breach in the lines of the Indian cavalry and infantry. The army of Porus was thrown into complete confusion. Fresh Greek soldiers arrived across the river under Craterus, and the Indian army was completely routed; thousands were slain including the two sons and all the great generals of Porus. But Porus bravely fought up to the last. When all was lost, he left the field with nine wounds on his body. Then a man with a message from Alexander galloped after him. Recognizing him to be the traitor king of Taxila, he threw a javelin at him. Probably this encounter is represented on a well-known coin. Other envoys came up to him, including his friend Meroes. Then he offered his surrender. He was conducted to Alexander who asked him how he should like to be treated. He made the famous reply which has become classic: "Act as a king." When Alexander asked him to be more precise, he replied: "When I said 'as a king', everything was contained in that."

Alexander reinstated Porus in his kingdom to which he added further territories towards the east, the domains of fifteen republican peoples with their 5,000 considerable cities and villages without number.[1] He next marched into the interior of the country and conquered the republic of the Glauganikai (=Glachukāyanaka, mentioned by *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini IV, 3, 99) with its 37 towns each of which had a population between 5,000 and 10,000. Alexander had this country annexed to the kingdom of Porus. His further advance was now impeded by reports of revolts from regions conquered by him. Kandahār rose with the help of an Indian Chief Damaraxus. The Aśvakas rebelled, killing the satrap Nicanor. Sisikottos, then the "satrap of Assakenians" (eastern Aśvakas), asked for urgent help.

The situation was somewhat improved by the arrival of Thracian reinforcements from Irān, with whom Alexander crossed the next river Acesines (Asiknī, Chenāb). The king of that region was Porus II, who left his realm to its fate and fled for shelter "to the nation of Gandaridae," *i.e.* to the territories of the Nanda king. The whole region between the Chenāb and the Rāvi was annexed to the kingdom of Porus.

Alexander next marched up to the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and beyond and invaded the territories of republican peoples. Of these, the Adraistai (*Adhṛishṭas?* or *Araṭṭas, Arāshṭrakas,* 'kingless'—

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[1] Plutarch, Alexander, LX.

republican peoples) offered submission to Alexander. But the Kathaioi (=Kaṭhas) defied him from their fortified town named Sangala (=Sāṁkala = Jandiala), though without success. Their casualties amounted to 17,000 killed, and 70,000 captured. Porus helped Alexander with elephants and 6,000 troops in this battle. The entire republican region was, as usual, made over to him. Alexander next received the submisson of two neighbouring kings named Sophytes (=Saubhūti) and Phegelas (=Bhagalā). He then came to the fifth river Hyphasis (Beās).

3. *The Retreat*

Alexander's progress was here brought to a halt by the mutiny of his troops, who refused to proceed further (end of July 326 B.C.). Alexander appealed to his soldiers, but in vain. At last he decided on retreat. He went back by the road by which he came up to the bank of the Jhelum. Then he sailed down the Jhelum and the Sindhu to the ocean in a fleet of 1,000 boats made ready beforehand, including "luggage-boats, horse-transports, and war-galleys."

He left Porus to rule over the entire territory between the Beās and the Jhelum and over fifteen republican nations with more than 5,000 cities; Āmbhi to rule to the west of the Jhelum; and the king of Abhisāra to rule in Kāshmir with the state of Arsaces (Uraśā = Hazāra) added to his kingdom.

Alexander started on his voyage in November 326 B.C. with troops protecting him on either bank of the river and his satrap Philip following three days later to protect his rear. The armada floated down the Jhelum and reached its confluence with the Chenāb in 10 days. Here Alexander had to face determined opposition organised by a confederacy of republican peoples led by the Malloi (Mālavas) and the Oxydrakai (Kshudrakas) who between them mustered an allied army of 90,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 900 chariots. All the Mālava cities became centres of resistance. One of these was a town of Brahmins who exchanged the pen for the sword and died fighting. They numbered about 5,000, of whom but few were taken prisoner. In trying to scale the wall of another stronghold Alexander was severely wounded. When it fell, his infuriated soldiers massacred all the inhabitants, sparing neither woman nor child. The Kshudrakas lost heart after the defeat of the Mālavas and submitted.

There were other republican peoples to resist Alexander. The Sibae (Śivis) submitted, but not the Agalassoi (Arjunāyanas?) who fought with an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 cavalry. In one of their towns, the citizens numbering about 20,000, after a brave resistance, cast themselves with their wives and children into the flames, anticipating the Rājput *jauhar* of later days.

Down the river Alexander passed by other tribes; the Abastanes (Ambashṭhas), who had an army of 60,000 foot, 6,000 horse and 500 chariots; the Xathri (Kshatriyas); and the Ossadii (Vasāti). These did not, however, choose to fight.

Alexander reached the last confluence of the Punjāb rivers with the Sindhu in the winter at the beginning of 325 B.C. Further down the Sindhu he passed through the country of the *Sogdi,* also called Sogdri (=Śūdras), which was then under Brahmin supremacy; of king Musicanus (king of the Mūshikas?); and of Oxycanus also called Porticanus (from Sanskrit Pārtha?).

The Brahmins of this region who dominated its politics resolved upon opposition to the foreign invader as a part of their *dharma,* denounced the princes who submitted as traitors, and goaded the republican peoples into resistance. Musicanus revoked his submission to Alexander. Oxycanus also followed suit. They were all defeated and put to the sword together with the militant Brahmins. Alexander next came to the large city of Pattala where the Sindhu divided into two branches. It was then ruled by two kings and a Council of Elders. It was deserted at the approach of Alexander. In September 325 B.C. Alexander left Pattala on his homeward journey and proceeded towards Babylon through Gedrosia. Two years later he died at Babylon.

4. *General Review*

The nature and effect of Alexander's raid on India are sometimes overstated. The adventure was no doubt highly creditable, but cannot be regarded as a brilliant military achievement, as he had never been brought face to face with any of the great nations of Hindustan. Hence, there was really never a fair test between European and Asiatic military skill, as held by some scholars.[1] Nor was Alexander's campaign a political success, for it did not result in any permanent Macedonian occupation of the Punjāb. It left no permanent mark on the literature, life or government of the people.

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[1] Cf. e.g. the curious, if not ludicrous, observation of V. A. Smith that "the triumphant progress of Alexander from the Himālaya to the sea demonstrated the inherent weakness of the greatest Asiatic armies when confronted with European skill and discipline" (*EHI,*^{3} 112).

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What remained of the foreign occupation after Alexander's retreat from India and his death in 323 B.C. was wiped out in the war of liberation fought successfully by the Indian leader Chandragupta Maurya, who became ruler of the Punjāb about that time.

It may also be noted that the course of Alexander's campaigns was by no means easy or smooth. His own followers were not invariably loyal to him, and reluctantly followed him in an apparently fruitless adventure in a foreign land. Some of the Greeks, whom he settled in his new cities marking the path of his invasion, did not take kindly to a life of exile and were anxious to get back home at the earliest opportunity.

His invasion was greatly facilitated by the treacherous submission tendered by some of the kings. But there was a striking set-off against their treachery in the heroic resistance offered by Porus and most of the free or the republican peoples of the Punjāb, as we have seen. These clans fought the foe to a man, but they failed for lack of leadership, resources, and organisation against the superior military organisation of Alexander. What further contributed to the success of Alexander was his strategy in breaking the centres of Indian resistance one by one, so as to prevent them from forming a united front against him. It was left to the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas to form such a combined front and pool their resources against their common enemy. But it came too late.

Alexander had really no chance of permanent success against the inherent difficulties of the Indian situation. In any case his dream of including the Punjāb and Sind in his world-empire was doomed to disappointment. It was not feasible, owing to the lack of communications to prosecute campaigns in lands so remote from the base of operations. Some of the Indian sages whom Alexander interviewed pointed out to him the futility of his ambitions by showing how, as he trod on a piece of a dried-up hide, and pressed on one end, the rest would fly up. By this symbol it was hinted that Alexander could not consolidate his conquests so far away from the centre of his empire.

Alexander's own administrative arrangements betray a correct apprehension of the situation. He divided his Indian conquests into seven satrapies. Two of these were outside India proper, between the Hindu Kush and the Sindhu; the lower Kābul valley under Philip, the son of Machatas, and the region beyond it under Oxyartes, father-in-law of Alexander. In India proper, the region round the confluences of the Punpjāb rivers formed the satrapy of Philippus, and Sind, that of Pithon, the son of Agenor. The territories further north in the Punjāb formed the satrapies of Āmbhi (the king of Taxila) and Porus, the Jhelum forming the boundary between the two. The king of Abhisāra was left in charge of his old principality and the neighbouring region. Although strong Macedonian garrisons were left at different centres it was inevitable that the Indian satraps would be *de facto* sovereigns from the very beginning, and it would not be long before they would throw off even the nominal suzerainty of Alexander.

But Alexander's invasion affected Indian politics in another way. It promoted the political unification which the country so badly needed. Smaller states were now merged in larger ones such as those of Porus, Abhisāra or Taxila, thus paving the way for the growth of the Indian empire which was shortly to be founded by Chandragupta Maurya.

The general Indian position with reference to the Macedonian invasion is well expressed by Matthew Arnold:

> "She let the legions thunder past
> And plunged in Thought again."

The only permanent result of Alexander's campaign was that it opened up communication between Greece and India and paved the way for a more intimate intercourse between the two. And this was achieved at the cost of untold sufferings inflicted upon India,—massacre, rapine and plunder on a scale till then without a precedent in her annals, but repeated in later days by more successful invaders like Sultan Mahmud, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah. In spite of the halo of romance that Greek writers have woven round the name of Alexander, the historian of India can regard him only as the precursor of these recognised scourges of mankind.*

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* See Preface.

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CHAPTER IV

CHANDRAGUPTA AND THE MAURYA EMPIRE

I. LIFE AND REIGN (324-300 B.C.)

While Alexander was carrying fire and sword through the length and breadth of the Punjāb, the emperor Dhana Nanda was ruling over the rest of Northern India. Whether he took any effective steps to stem the tide of invasion, we do not know. What would have been the result of a conflict between the two, we cannot say. Alexander had hitherto conquered only minor Indian tribes and states piecemeal and the Greek writers were more impressed by the strength of their individual opposition than that of any other opponent of Alexander, not excluding the great Achaemenian monarch. It is, therefore, permissible to hold that Alexander would not have found it an easy task to subdue the mighty Nanda Empire.[1] Although most of the Greek writers represent his retreat from almost the very gate of that empire as due to the mutiny of his soldiers, at least one ancient Greek historian records that it was caused by the terror of the mighty power of the Nandas. This cannot be altogether dismissed as fictitious, and we shall perhaps never know the part played by the Nanda emperor in those critical days of India. It is certain, however, that his vast dominions were unaffected by the ruthless havoc and destruction caused by Alexander in the Punjāb.

But the empire was not destined to enjoy peace for long. An internal rising took place almost immediately after the departure of Alexander from India, and Dhana Nanda met his doom in the hands of Chandragupta, as will be related later. The career of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, sheds lustre on the history of ancient India, for to him belongs the credit of freeing this country from the Macedonian yoke and securing, for the first time, the political unification of the greater part of India under one sceptre. It was a remarkable achievement, specially when we remember that Chandragupta did not inherit a throne, but was born in humble circumstances. Chandragupta's rise to greatness is indeed a romance of history.

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[1] V. A. Smith is of opinion that if Alexander had advanced further his force "might have been overwhelmed by the mere numbers of his adversaries," and the rebellious troops "may be credited with having prevented the annihilation of the Macedonian army." (*EHI*,^{4} p. 12).

Like that of many other great figures in history the early career of Chandragupta is involved in obscurity. According to the Greek writer Justin, he was a man of low origin. The Jain tradition also represents him as a son of a village headman's daughter, and adds, by way of explaining the title Maurya, that the village was inhabited by peacock-tamers (*mayūra-poshaka*). But neither of these sources furnish any further particulars about his early life. The Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions supply more details, but differ widely about his origin. The former describe him as base-born, while the latter represent him as belonging to a Kshatriya ruling clan.

We can trace a gradual growth of the Brahmanical tradition. The Purāṇas, which are our earliest available Brahmanical source, do not contain even any hint of it. They simply mention that the Nandas were uprooted by the Brāhmaṇa Kauṭilya, who anointed Chandragupta as king. It was left to a commentator on the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* first to suggest that Chandragupta was base-born by way of explaining his title Maurya. He sought to derive it from Murā, supposed to be a wife of king Nanda and mother of Chandragupta. But the commentator is guilty both of fictitious history and bad grammar. The derivative from Murā is Maureya. Maurya can only be derived from the masculine Mura which is the name of a *gotra* in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini. The commentator is more anxious to find a mother for Chandragupta than to follow grammatical rules. But it is to be noted that he does not cast any slur upon her. He does not state, like some later authorities, that Murā was a Śūdra woman or the king's mistress.

The story of Chandragupta's base origin is reproduced in the drama *Mudrārākshasa* which is of a much later date. It calls Chandragupta both *Vṛshala* and *Kulahīna,* which have been taken by some to mean a Śūdra and outcaste. It has been suggested, however, that the term *Kulahīna* means that he was only of lowly or humble birth, while the term *Vṛishala* is sometimes used in the sense of a *Vṛisha* or chief among kings.

Like that on the *Vishṇu Purāṇa,* a later commentator on the drama starts the story that Chandragupta was the son of Maurya and his wife Murā who was a Śūdra. The play also ends by acclaiming Chandragupta as *Mauryaputra* and a scion of the Nanda family.

This connection by blood between Chandragupta and Nanda is, as we have seen above, also affirmed in the commentary of the *Vishnu Purāṇa,* though the Purāṇas themselves are silent about it.

The Buddhist tradition, however, gives us an altogether different picture. The *Divyāvadāna* refers to Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta, as an anointed Kshatriya. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* Chandragupta was a scion of the Kshatriya clan called Moriya. The existence of a Kshatriya clan of this name, even as early as the time of Gautama Buddha, is vouched for by *Mahāparinibbānasutta,* one of the most authentic and ancient canonical texts of the Buddhists. According to this text the Moriyas, the ruling clan of Pipphalivana, sent a messenger to the Mallas, claiming a portion of the relics of the Buddha, saying: "The Blessed One belonged to the Kshatriya caste, and we, too, are of the Kshatriya caste."

It is now generally agreed that the old clan-name Moriya offers a more satisfactory explanation of Maurya, the name of the dynasty founded by Chandragupta, than the supposed derivation from his mother named Murā or father named Maurya. We may therefore readily accept the view that Chandragupta belonged to the Kshatriya clan called the Moriyas originally ruling over Pipphalivana which probably lay in U.P. as stated above.[1]

According to the tradition preserved in the Buddhist texts, Chandragupta's father was the chief of the Moriya clan, who died in a border-fray, leaving his wife destitute. She had to seek safety at far-off Pushpapura (=Kusumapura=Pāṭaliputra) where she gave birth to a child, Chandragupta. The boy was brought up, first by a cowherd, and then by a hunter. He grew up in the village and asserted his predominance among his rural companions by playing the king with them (*Rājakīḷam*). This attracted the notice of Chāṇakya who happened to pass through that village, and seeing the promise of greatness in the boy, took him away to his native city of Taxila. There he gave him a thorough education in all the arts and sciences to fit him for his appointed task.

That task was not an easy one. It was to liberate the country from alien domination and also to rid the country of the tyranny of the Nanda king who had insulted Chāṇakya. Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* gives expression to the national hatred of foreign rule. He points out how a foreign conqueror drains the country of its wealth (*apavāhayati*), and squeezes out of it as much as possible by exaction and taxation (*karshayati*). Thus the task of Chandragupta was carefully to mobilize the military resources of the country and specially its morale, and to awaken its spirit of resistance, depressed by Alexander's campaigns, in a national struggle for freedom. According to the classical writers, Chandragupta had visited Alexander in the Punjāb, and greatly offended him. In his wrath Alexander gave orders to kill Chandragupta, who somehow effected his escape and was later encouraged by various miracles to aspire to sovereignty. Whatever we might think of these stories, it is probable that the youthful Chandragupta noted the military potentialities of the republican peoples of the Punjāb like Astakenoi, Oxydrakai or the Malloi who fought Alexander to a man in defence of their freedom, but whose resistance failed for want of proper leadership and organisation. Curtius describes them as fierce nations who fought Alexander with their blood. The Pāli work *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* describes how both Chāṇakya and Chandragupta set out for collecting recruits (*balam*) from different places until they were made into a large army (*mahābalakāyam*). Justin describes these recruits by a term which may mean 'robbers' or mercenaries;[1] he evidently means the republican peoples of the Punjāb.

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[1] See p. 17.

It is interesting to note that, according to the *Arthaśāstra*, the army is to be recruited from the five following classes: (1) *Choras* or *Pratirodhakas* of the day, robbers and bandits, (2) *Mlechchhas* such as the Kirāta highlanders, (3) *Choragaṇas*, organised gangs of brigands, (4) *Āṭavikas*, foresters, and (5) *Śastropajīvi-Śreṇīs*, warrior clans, who were most heroic (*pravīra*). Elements like these probably formed the army of Chandragupta.

The *Mudrārākshasa* as well as the Jain work *Parīśishṭaparvan* refers to Chandragupta's alliance with the Himālayan king Parvataka. This Himālayan alliance gave to Chandragupta a composite army made up of Śakas, Yavanas, Kirātas, Kambojas, Pārasikas and Bālhīkas, as stated in the *Mudrārākshasa*.

A factor that helped Chandragupta in his enterprise was the growing difficulty of the Greek position in the Punjāb. Alexander's own followers did not share his enthusiasm for foreign conquests. As we have seen above, they refused to follow him beyond the Beās. Unrest was springing up at other centres. Kandahār rebelled under an Indian chief. The Assakenoi killed the Greek satrap Nicanor. Then followed the assassination, in 325 B.C., of Philippus who, as the satrap in the Upper Sindhu valley, held the key-position of Greek rule in the country. The immediate cause of the assassination was the jealousy between the Greeks and Macedonians which was undermining the strength of these foreigners. Then came the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., leading to the disruption of his empire.

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[1] *IC*, II, 559.

Chandragupta evidently took full advantage of the situation. The two years, 325-323 B.C., that intervened between the death of Philippus and that of his master, were eventful years of his preparation for the final blow. His work is thus summed up by Justin: "India, after the death of Alexander, had shaken off the yoke of servitude and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottos." This Sandrocottos was undoubtedly Chandragupta. A careful analysis of the details given by Justin indicates that Chandragupta, having collected an army, first installed himself as king. He then fought with the prefects of Alexander and defeated them. This task was not probably completed before 317 B.C.; for Eudemus, the commander of the garrison in Western Punjāb, who had treacherously murdered his colleague, the Indian ruler, probably Porus, left India in that year with all his forces to join the coalition of the Eastern satraps, never to return again.

Chandragupta's fight against the Macedonians, however, must have begun considerably earlier. It is significant that at the partition of Alexander's empire at Triparadisus in 321 B.C. nothing is said of Sind, the satrap of which, Pithon, son of Agenor, was transferred to the north-west, but no one else was appointed in his place. At the time of this arrangement the ruler of Taxila and Porus were practically left supreme in their domains with added power and territory. This virtual surrender of Indian possessions in 321 B.C. was due to the feeling, freely expressed, that "it would be dangerous to circumscribe the jurisdiction of the Indian rulers except with the support of an expedition equipped on a scale of the first magnitude and commanded by a general of the highest capacity."[1] There is thus no doubt that the Indian situation had materially changed for the worse in 321 B.C. and possibly as early as 323 B.C. when the first partition was made of Alexander's empire. The most reasonable explanation seems to be that Chandragupta had begun the war of liberation, probably in the Lower Sindhu valley, before 321 or even before 323 B.C. His date of accession may be provisionally fixed at 324 B.C.[2] He arose like the great avenger to whose strong arms "the earth long harassed by outlanders now turned for protection and refuge."

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[1] *CHI*, I, 428; cf. also, *IC*, II, 557 ff.

[2] For the date 324 B.C. and other views on the date of Chandragupta Maurya, cf. *PHAI*, 242 and *IHQ*, XI. 211.

He ably fulfilled his task. Justin indicates that such of the Macedonian prefects as still held their posts were ruthlessly put to the sword. This obviously refers to a sanguinary war to a finish between Chandragupta and the Macedonian army some time, probably long, before Eudemus regarded discretion as the better part of valour and thought it politic to leave India quietly in 317 B.C. without challenging the claims of Chandragupta. Although details are lacking, we can accept it as a historical fact that the army of occupation left behind by Alexander was thoroughly defeated by Chandragupta and he made himself master of the Punjāb and Sind.

Chandragupta's next task was to rid the country of the internal tyranny of king Nanda. It has been suggested that Chandragupta visited Alexander with the definite object of inducing him to conquer Magadha. Of this we have no definite evidence. But according to Indian tradition both he and his adviser Chāṇakya bore a great grudge against the Nanda king who did great wrongs to both of them. Unfortunately definite details of the conquest of Magadha by Chandragupta are not preserved. The *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* tells a story about the initial mistake of his compaigns. The mother of a boy, eating the centre of a cake (*chapāṭī*) and throwing away the crust, compares his conduct to "Chandragupta's attack on the kingdom". The Jain tradition similarly compares the advance of Chandragupta to a child putting his finger into the middle of a hot pie, instead of starting from the edge which was cool. All this explains how Chandragupta, without beginning from the frontiers, and taking the towns in order as he passed, invaded the heart of the country, only to find that his army was 'surrounded and destroyed.'

But Buddhist tradition ascribes to him another error of strategy. This time he commenced operations from the frontiers and conquered many *rāshṭras* and *janapadas* on the way, but failed to post garrisons to hold his conquests so as to secure his rear which was later attacked. Then the proper course dawned on him. He besieged Pāṭaliputra and killed Dhana Nanda. The *Milinda-pañha* gives an exaggerated account of the slaughter attending the destruction of the army of Magadha.

The Brahmanical traditions regard Kauṭilya (*alias* Chāṇakya), rather than Chandrgupta, as the chief actor in the great drama which ended in the extermination of the Nandas. The Purāṇas credit Chāṇakya with having destroyed the Nandas and anointed Chandragupta as king. The same view is reflected in *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* and other treatises in ancient India. In the drama *Mudrārākshasa*, the figure of Chandragupta is almost cast into shade by the brilliant and masterful personality of Chāṇakya. Stories are also told of the insult offered by the Nanda king to Chāṇakya and the grim resolve of the latter to uproot the royal dynasty; how he moved about in search of a suitable means to accomplish his ends and at last discovered Chandragupta and made use of him for this purpose. Even if there be any truth in these stories, it is difficult to apportion the credit for destroying the Nandas between Chāṇakya and Chandragupta. At the most we may hold that the astute diplomacy of Chāṇakya played a no less prominent part in it than the bravery and military skill of Chandragupta. The final discomfiture of the Nanda king was also probably due, in part at least, to his own personal character. We are told by the classical writers that he was a worthless king, detested and held cheap by his subjects. The story of his enormous wealth also probably indicates the extortion which alienated the royal house from the loyalty of its subjects.

While Chandragupta was busy laying the foundations of his empire in India, the Greek king Seleucus, who had succeeded Alexander in the eastern part of his empire, was moving towards India to recover the lost possessions of the late emperor. But while Alexander had to fight against a divided India, split up into a multitude of states, his successor had to face a united and a much stronger India organised by an able leader. Seleucus reached the Sindhu about 305 B.C. The Greek writers do not give the details of his conflict with Chandragupta, but merely record the result. Seleucus had to purchase peace by ceding to Chandragupta territories then known as Aria, Arachosia, and Paropanisadae (the capitals of which were respectively the cities now known as Herāt, Kandahār and Kābul), and probably also a part of Gedrosia (Baluchistān). In return Chandragupta presented him with 500 war elephants. The terms of the peace leave no doubt that the Greek ruler fared badly at the hands of Chandragupta. His defeat and discomfiture at the hands of an Indian ruler would naturally be passed over by Greek writers, and their silence goes decidedly against Seleucus. The peace was ratified by a matrimonial alliance between the rival parties. This has been generally taken to mean that Chandragupta married a daughter of Seleucus, but this is not warranted by known facts. Henceforth

Seleucus maintained friendly relations with the Mauryan Court and sent Megasthenes as his ambassador who lived in Pāṭaliputra for a long time and wrote a book on India.

Nothing definite is known of the subsequent career of Chandragupta. The wide extent of his empire leaves no doubt that his life was mostly spent in military campaigns, but of this we have no authentic account. According to very late Jain traditions, Chandragupta, in his last days, renounced the world and followed the Jain migration led by Bhadrabāhu to a place in Mysore, known as Sravana Belgela, where some local inscriptions still perpetuate the memory of Chandragupta and Bhadrabāhu living together as saints. The hill where he lived is still known as Chandragiri, and a temple erected by him as *Chandraguptabasti.* It is said that Chandragupta, in true Jain fashion, fasted unto death in this place.

II. THE EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE

Chandragupta undoubtedly ruled over a vast empire. According to Plutarch, he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men and Justin also refers to his mastery over the country. This is indirectly supported by other available evidences on the subject. Aśoka's inscriptions credit him with only one conquest, *viz.* that of Kaliṅga. But the geographical distribution of these inscriptions as well as their internal evidence shows that his empire extended up to Mysore in the south and beyond the natural boundaries of India up to the borders of Persia in the north-west. Aśoka's father Bindusāra is not known to history as a conquerer. It thus stands to reason that the empire over which Aśoka ruled was mostly the creation of his grandfather Chandragupta.

Some Tamil texts refer to an invasion of the South led by the people called the 'Vamba Moriyar' or the Maurya upstarts, who subdued the king of Mohur with the help of their allies called the *Kośar* and *Vaḍukar*. The Mauryas are said to have advanced with a large army as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevelly District, passing from Konkan through the hills north of Cannanore and the kingdom of Kongu (Coimbatore) on their way. From the epithet 'upstarts' applied to the Mauryas we may infer that the Tamil poets referred to the times of Chandragupta.

Lastly, the inscription of Rudradāman I at Junāgarh shows that Saurāshṭra was a province of the Maurya Empire. It was ruled by Chandragupta's provincial governor Pushyagupta, described as a

Vaiśya, and in Aśoka's time by Yavana (Greek) Rāja Tushāspha. Saurāshṭra was then joined with the region called Ānarta to form the Maurya province of Western India. The location of an Aśokan inscription at Sopārā in modern Thānā District shows that the region round Sopārā, or Śūrpāraka of old texts, was also a province of the Maurya empire under Chandragupta.

III. SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

It was a highly difficult task to devise an appropriate system to administer efficiently an extent of territory stretching from Persia to Southern India with its extremities separated by long distances; for in those days, when communication between the different parts of a far-flung empire was not quick or easy, it was difficult to control it from a single centre or metropolis like Pāṭaliputra. Chandragupta solved the problem by a device of political ingenuity, which was first adopted by the Achaemenian emperors, *viz.* by splitting up the unwieldy area into convenient and manageable units, each of which was placed under a provincial governor and governed after a common pattern. Thus the difficulties of distance and communication were solved by a decentralised scheme of administration. It was difficult in those days of primitive transport to aim at a centralised administration. The governing authority had to be distributed into a hierarchy of jurisdictions from top to bottom. Even within the limited local area, much of the sovereign authority had to be shared with the various self-governing groups of the country. The village community functioned like a self-governing corporation or a republic giving to the village healthy scope and exercise in art of government and of managing their own local concerns and affairs. Thus the Indian polity of those days was broad-based upon truly democratic foundations.

Glimpses of Chandragupta's administration are given by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the court of Chandragupta who wrote a book containing a very full and fair account of the geography, products, and social and political institutions of India. Although this book is lost, many extracts from it are preserved in quotations by later classical authors who regarded it as the standard authority on India. The information supplied by these extracts, though meagre, is highly interesting, and being recorded by an eyewitness, is of great historical value, as its authenticity is beyond question.

The king was the supreme head of the state and had military, judicial, executive, and legislative functions. We learn from Megasthenes a great deal of the king's own part in administration. He was a very hard-worked official. Megasthenes states that "the king does not sleep in day-time but remains in the court the whole day for the purpose of judging causes and other public business which was not interrupted even when the hour arrived for massaging his body. Even when the king has his hair combed and dressed, he has no respite from public business. At that time he gives audience to his ambassadors."

As noted above, the empire was divided into a number of provinces, ruled over by Governors and Viceroys, who were sometimes princes of royal blood. The central and eastern parts were ruled by the emperor himself. He was assisted in his administration by a Council. The later Greek writers like Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian repeat what was recorded by Megasthenes regarding 'the Coucillors and Assessors' who advised the king in the management of public affairs. They were small in number but very influential. "They choose Governors, Chiefs of provinces, Deputy Governors, Treasurers of the State, Generals of the Army, Admirals of the Navy, Judges who settle disputes, Chief Magistrates and other high officers like the Director of Agriculture."

The king also employed a large body of spies whom Megasthenes calls Overseers. They reported secretly to the king important matters concerning the city and the army. The ablest and most trustworthy men were appointed to fill these offices, and they employed courtezans as their coadjutors.

Megasthenes also describes the working of Mauryan muncipal administration. He calls the town officials *Astynomoi* and describes their duty as follows:—

"Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die, bury them. The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold. Fraud in the payment of this tax is punished with death.

"Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours, and temples."

Megasthenes also throws light upon district administration under the officials called the *Agronomoi*. He refers to various classes of officers "who superintend the rivers, measure the land, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches so that every one may have an equal supply of it." Besides these officers in charge of land and irrigation, Megasthenes also mentions those in charge of Agriculture, Forestry, Timber works, Metal Foundaries, Mines, and Roads.

Megasthenes also gives details of Mauryan military administration which was so important to the security of the newly founded empire. Chandragupta maintained a vast standing army of more than 600,000 men. It was controlled by a war-office constituted by thirty members distributed among six Boards of five members each. One of these Boards was to co-operate with the Admiral of the Fleet. The remaining five Boards were in charge of the different departments of the army viz. I. the Infantry, II. the Cavalry, III. the War-Chariots, IV. the Elephants of War, V. Transport, Commissariat, and Army Service, including the provision of drummers, grooms, mechanists, and grass-cutters. The duties of Board V are thus described: "They co-operate with the superintendent of the bullock-trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and mechanists and their assistants. To the sound of the gong, they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety."

According to Megasthenes, the soldiers formed the most numerous class in society, next only to husbandmen. They received a regular salary from the state which also supplied their arms and equipments. They led a "life of supreme freedom and enjoyment." They had to perform only military duties, and when not required to fight, they could "abandon themselves to enjoyment." Their pay was so liberal that "they could with ease maintain themselves and others besides." Even while in camp they had attendants, who "took care of their horses, cleaned their arms, drove their elephants, prepared their chariots and acted as their charioteers."

As regards the equipment of the soldiers, the following description of Nearchus must have been generally true of this period, though Nearchus adds that 'it is not the only one in vogue': "The foot-soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence, if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called *saunia*, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers. But they do not put saddles on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Kelts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp; if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is put an iron prong like a skewer, to which the reins are attached. When the rider, then, pulls the reins, the prong controls the horse, and the pricks which are attached to this prong goad the mouth, so that it cannot but obey the reins."

Reference will be made later[1] to the comprehensive picture of administration presented in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. This book is taken by some as a work belonging to the time of Chandragupta and written by Chāṇakya to whom he owed his throne. Many scholars, however, regard the present text as of a much later date. It is doubtful, therefore, how far we may regard the system of administration depicted in it as applicable to the Maurya period. The date of the *Arthaśāstra* will be discussed in Chapter XVI.

IV. COURT LIFE

The Greek writers throw interesting light on the court and life of the king in those days. The royal court was marked by pomp and magnificence. The king's public appearance was a social event. Curtius states that he is conveyed in a golden palanquin garnished with pearls and is robed in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold. Behind his palanquin follow his soldiers and body-guards, of whom some carry rows of trees on which live birds are perched.

The care of the king's person is entrusted to women. Surrounded by his women-hunters he goes out to hunt, driving in chariots or riding on horseback or on elephants. It may be noted that one of the Bhārhut sculptures represents the figure of a woman riding a horse fully caparisoned and carrying a standard. When hunting, the king always had by him two or three armed women. The Greek writers speak of the king hunting lions with dogs. Next to hunting, the royal pastime was races,—races of trotter breeds of oxen which 'equalled horses in speed.' Sometimes races were arranged of chariots driven by a mixed team of two such oxen with a horse between. Another royal pastime was animal fights, fights of wild bulls, tame rams, rhinos, and elephants.

The royal procession was seen at its best on religious occasions. It included many elephants adorned with gold and silver, four-horsed chariots, attendants carrying various vessels of gold or copper set with precious stones; wild beasts such as buffaloes, leopards, tamed lions, and varieties of birds. At the annual ceremonial washing of his hair, the king received presents of animals like deer, antelopes, or rhinos, tamed tigers and panthers, oxen fleet of foot, yaks, hunting hounds, apes, and birds like cranes, geese, ducks and pigeons. The king had usually a guard of twenty-four elephants when he came out of the palace on public business. There were tame parrots trained to hover about the king and wheel round him.

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[1] Chapter XVII.

Chandragupta's palace was in keeping with all its paraphernalia and pageantry. The Greek writers describe how it was 'adorned with gilded pillars clasped all round with a vine embossed in gold and decorated with silver images of birds. It was located in an extensive park full of shady groves and ever-green trees, both native to the soil and imported from abroad. There were artificial tanks full of fish of enormous size with boats for cruising. Palaces of neither Susa nor Ecbatana could vie with it.

The capital of the empire was at Pāṭaliputra at the confluence of the two rivers, the Gaṅgā and the Son. It had the shape of an oblong with a length of 80 stades (9-1/5 miles) and a breadth of 15 stades (1 mile and 1,270 yards). It was surrounded by a moat 60 feet deep and 200 yards wide, filled from the waters of the Son, and receiving the sewage of the city. The city was further protected by a massive timber palisade running along the moat and providing for loopholes through which archers could shoot. The city wall had 64 gates and was adorned with 570 towers.

Lastly, we may note the interesting reference made by the Greek writers to the royal road leading from the north-west frontier to Pāṭaliputra the precursor of the modern Grand Trunk Road, with a length of 10,000 stades—about 1,150 miles. Megasthenes must have travelled down this road in joining his duties at Pāṭaliputra as ambassador. 'Every mile of this road was marked by a stone indicating the by-roads and distances.' As stated by Pliny, the road was in charge of officers who were responsible for its upkeep, repairs, erection of milestones and sign-posts at every 10 stades.

V. LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

The account of Megasthenes leaves no doubt that peace, prosperity, and contentment prevailed throughout the empire. This was mainly due to the fertility of the land and its great mineral wealth. Megasthenes observes:

"The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well-skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."

Megasthenes then refers in details to the fertility of land due to "the profusion of river-streams" and the growth of various kinds of cereals and plants useful for food. The double rainfall enabled the people to gather two harvests annually, while the fruits and esculent roots of spontaneous growth afforded abundant sustenance for man "It is accordingly affirmed," says Megasthenes, "that famine has never visited India and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food." Megasthenes adds that, apart from the fertility of land, certain usages observed by the Indians contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas "among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a clsss that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire nor cut down its trees."

Megasthenes's observation about the absence of famine cannot be literally true for all periods of Indian history, for various literary works refer to famines and specially to one that occurred a few years after he left India. But it certainly shows that at the time he wrote there was plenty and prosperity, and famine was a very uncommon thing; at least it did not occur within living memory. The usage which according to Megasthenes saved husbandmen from molestation in times of war is also referred to in a Buddhist text which says that "......kings, while destroying the soldiers of their enemies, respect the field-labourer who is the common help of both armies."[1] This is a unique principle of international law which would do credit to any age or country.

On account of agricultural prosperity, the husbandmen formed the most numerous class in society. But the amenities of urban life were also sought by many. According to Megasthenes the number of cities was so great "that it cannot be stated with precision." The cities built on the banks of rivers or on sea were built of wood, as they were meant to last only for a short time, being liable to destruction by floods and heavy rains. But cities built on lofty eminences or in places free from ravages of flood and rains were built of brick and mud. The administration of these cities has been described above.

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[1] *IHQ*, I, 369.

Chandragupta effectively maintained the security of life and property which is essential for economic prosperity. Theft was of very rare occurrence, even though houses and property were, as a rule, generally left unguarded. Although Indians generally lived frugally they were fond of finery and ornament and this fostered trade and industry. The growth of art and industry was also facilitated by the state. Megasthenes refers to traders as a large body, forming a social group. A large number was employed in making weapons of war and building ships for the government, and they received wages and victuals from the state. The admiral of the fleet let out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandise. The sailors employed in the navigation of rivers were also paid by the state. There were other handicraftsmen and retail dealers but no details are given.

The herdsmen, both shepherds and neatherds, formed a class by themselves, who lived neither in cities nor in villages, but on the hills. They scoured the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts, and paid royal taxes in cattle.

VI. BINDUSĀRA (c. 300-273 B.C.)

According to Strabo, the son and successor of Sandrocottos (= Chandragupta) was Allitrochades whom Athenaeus calls Amitrochates (= Sanskrit Amitraghāta 'slayer of foes'). The Jain work *Rājāvalīkathe* calls him Siṁhasena. We owe to the Purāṇas the name Bindusāra, which is generally adopted. We know very little of his reign. According to the literary evidence of a later date, Chāṇakya continued for some time as minister under Bindusāra. According to the Tibetan writer Tāranātha, Chāṇakya was instrumental in achieving "the destruction of nobles and kings of sixteen towns and helped the king to make himself master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas." Some scholars have taken this as an evidence that Bindusāra conquered the Deccan, but there is no reliable evidence in support of this. The first part of the statement of Tāranātha may be taken to refer to some kind of popular revolt which was subdued. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, a revolt broke out in Taxila, and in order to quell it Bindusāra sent his son Aśoka as his Viceroy there. When Aśoka approached Taxila with his troops, he was met in advance by the people who explained: "We are not opposed to the prince nor even to king Bindusāra, but only to the wicked ministers who insult us." Thus Aśoka entered a peaceful city from where he extended his conquest to the kingdom of the Khaśas.

Bindusāra maintained intact the vast empire which he had inherited from his father and also the friendly relations with the Greek rulers of the west. Deimachos succeeded Megasthenes as the ambassador sent by the Syrian king to the court of Bindusāra. Pliny tells us that Ptolemy II Philadelphus, king of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), also sent an ambassador named Dionysus to the Indian court, but it is not stated whether the Indian king was Bindusāra or his successor Aśoka. We owe to Athenaeus the story of friendly correspondence between Bindusāra and the Syrian king Antiochus I Soter on terms of equality. Hegesander records that Amitrochates asked Antiochus to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs and a sophist, and that Antiochus sent the following reply to his request: "We shall send you the figs and the wine, but in Greece the laws forbid a sophist to be sold."

We know from Buddhist tradition that prince Aśoka, at the age of eighteen, was sent out by his father to rule as viceroy in the province of Avanti with his headquarters at Vidiśā. Later he was deputed to Taxila as noted above. It is certain that Bindusāra had other sons besides Aśoka, for the latter states in his fifth Rock Edict that he had several brothers and sisters. Two of these brothers are named in the *Divyāvadāna* as Susima and Vigataśoka whom the Sinhalese Chronicles name Sumana and Tishya.

The Purāṇas give Chandragupta and Bindusāra reign-periods respectively of 24 and 25 years. But according to the Buddhist tradition Bindusāra ruled for 27 or 28 years. Assuming that Chandragupta became king in 324 B.C., we may place his reign between that date and 300 B.C. and that of Bindusāra between 300 and 273 B.C.

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2. J. W. McCrindle. *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.*
3. *Cambridge History of India.* Chapters XVIII and XIX.

CHAPTER V

AŚOKA THE GREAT (c. 273-236 B.C.)

I. GENERAL REVIEW

Bindusāra was succeeded by his son Aśoka who is one of the greatest figures in history. H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History* describes him as 'the greatest of kings' and that not because of the physical extent of his empire, extensive as it was, but because of his character as a man, the ideals for which he stood, and the principles by which he governed. As a king, he ruled over the greatest empire known in Indian history. The vast territory extending from Persia to Southern India was bequeathed to him by his predecessors. He himself made an addition to it by his conquest of Kaliṅga.

A unique feature of his history is that he has himself left a record of it in a permanent form in inscriptions engraved on natural rocks as well as monolithic pillars constructed by him which stand to this day as remarkable monuments of Indian architecture and engineering skill. These inscriptions, along with the traditions recorded in literary texts in both Pāli and Sanskrit, help to give a concrete and comprehensive picture of his life and work. Aśoka was the first Indian king to issue edicts in order to proclaim his ideals and record his exploits. It is not unlikely that in this respect he imitated the practice of the Achaemenian Emperors like Darius I, as in those days there was a close cultural and commercial contact between Persia and India.

The principal inscriptions of Aśoka may be divided into three classes.

I. The Fourteen Rock Edicts: These comprise a set of fourteen inscriptions found incised at eight different places. Two of these are replaced by two different inscriptions in two places, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, both in ancient Kaliṅga (and modern Orissa), and hence they are usually referred to as Kaliṅga edicts.

II. The Minor Rock Edicts: This is a set of two inscriptions one of which is incised at ten different places.

III. The Seven Pillar Edicts: This set of seven inscriptions is engraved on a pillar originally situated at Topra, but now at Delhi.

Six of these inscriptions are incised on other pillars found in five different places, one of which, at Delhi, was removed there from Meerut.

The remaining inscriptions, mostly engraved on pillars and cave-walls, are records of a miscellaneous character which do not fall into distinct groups like the above.

These inscriptions on "rocks of Ages" supply valuable data for the reconstruction of the life and career of the great emperor. Although they do not record many events, they contain in an abundant degree the measures adopted and regulations issued by him, and the delineation of the noble principles and high ideals that inspired him has almost an autobiographical touch.

Unfortunately, the inscriptions do not supply any information regarding his early life for which we have to depend solely upon Buddhist texts like the *Divyāvadāna* and the Sinhalese Chronicles. They depict Aśoka as a cruel and ferocious tyrant, who seized the throne after his father's death by a fratricidal war in the course of which he slew ninety-nine of his brothers. There is no independent evidence of such a struggle. The story can be hardly credited as true and was obviously intended to glorify Buddhism by drawing a glaring contrast between the careers of Aśoka before and after his conversion. The Chronicles further state that Aśoka's formal coronation took place four years after his accession. As the inscriptions of Aśoka date the events of his reign with reference to his coronation, most scholars have accepted that statement as historical. It should be remembered, however, that no satisfactory explanation is given of his very unusual course, and it is a mere gratuitous assumption that 'the long delay may have been due to disputed succession involving much bloodshed.'[1] The Sinhalese Chronicles, far from giving this explanation, expressly state that the coronation took place 'four years after Aśoka had won for himself the undivided sovereignty.' Besides, the inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson Dasaratha, the only other official records of the Maurya period available to us, also give the date with reference to his coronation. There is hardly any valid ground, therefore, for assuming an interval of four years between Aśoka's accession to the throne and formal coronation, though almost all the scholars, with the exception of Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, tacitly accept this view.[2]

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[1] V. A. Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 20.

[2] V. A. Smith points out that "though the Purāṇas assign 137 years to the Maurya dynasty, the total of the lengths of reigns according to the *Vāyu*

Although we may not accept the legend of the horrible murders perpetrated by Aśoka, there may be some truth in the Buddhist tradition that there was a contest for the throne and Aśoka succeeded against his step-brother Susīma with the help of Rādhagupta whom he appointed his chief minister. But whatever truth there may be in it, it is interesting to note that in his Rock Edicts IV and V Aśoka condemns unseemly behaviour to relatives, and refers with loving care to his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, according to one interpretation, or their households according to another. If the first interpretation be correct it gives the lie direct to the tradition that he murdered *all* his brothers.

Except in the Minor Rock Edicts of Maski and Gujarra, Aśoka is throughout referred to as *Devānaṁpiya* and *Piyadasi*, which may be literally translated as 'Beloved of the gods' and 'One of amiable look'. These were mostly used together, though sometimes only one of them occurs. Both of these are usually regarded as conventional epithets.[1] For Aśoka uses (*R.E.* VIII) the term *Devānaṁpiya* to denote kings in general (something like His Gracious Majesty) and we know that it was also used by his grandson (and other kings). The other epithet, in the form Priyadarśana, was used by his grandfather. So far as the royal designation is concerned, the greatest emperor of India only used the title *rāja* (king)—a striking contrast to the grandiloquent titles assumed by imperial rulers in later times.

Even as a prince Aśoka gave evidence of his ability as a soldier and a statesmen. He was Viceroy of Ujjain, and, as noted above, was appointed Viceroy of Taxila and sent with an army to suppress a revolt there. It is quite likely that after ascending the throne he followed in the footsteps of his illustrious grandfather and carried on a policy of conquest and aggression. A Buddhist text *Divyāvadāna,* relates that he conquered the Svaśa (Khaśa?) country. But the only incident of this type referred to in the inscriptions is the conquest of Kaliṅga in the eighth[2] year after his coronation. The severity of the resistance put up by Kaliṅga and the resulting horrors

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Purāṇa is only 133, and the difference of four years may be accounted for by the supposed interval between Aśoka's accession and coronation" (*EHI*,[4] 207). But one version of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* gives a much bigger total of 240 years, and in view of the great discrepencies in the different versions, it is unwise to place any weight on the total of 133. It may be pointed out that the reign-periods of Bindusāra and Aśoka are given as 28 and 37 in the Sinhalese Chronicles and 25 and 36 in the Purāṇas, and this may equally well account for the difference of four years. (For Puranic dates, cf. *DKA*, pp. 27-29. 70).

[1] It is, however, contended by some that Priyadarśī (Piyadasi) was the original name of the king and he was called Aśoka or Dharmāśoka after his conversion to Buddhism (Journal Asiatique, Vol. CCLII, pp. 143-6).

[2] Some place the event in the ninth year after his coronation.

of the war are thus pithily described in Rock Edict XIII: "One hundred and fifty thousand were therefrom (*i.e.* from Kaliṅga) captured, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times as many died." Kaliṅga was completely conquered, and Aśoka's vast dominions were rounded off and secured a more suitable frontier in the south-east. But instead of increasing his appetite for conquest, as normally happens, the Kaliṅga war brought a complete reaction in his mind. Herein lies the greatness of Aśoka, and as this incident marks a turning point in his career, it may be described at some length.

According to Buddhist tradition Aśoka was converted to Buddhism by the venerable monk Upagupta shortly after the Kaliṅga war. This is, to a large extent, corroborated by his edicts. In the Rock Edict XIII, Aśoka expresses genuine remorse for the sufferings caused by the war in the most touching language, reflecting such a deep sincerity and conviction that it has been generally held that the record was drafted by the emperor himself. He realised to the full the sufferings of the war. Apart from the huge number killed and taken prisoner, there were many pious men and women to whom befell "personal violence, death, or banishment from loved ones." Even where a person himself is unaffected, his 'friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives meet with a misfortune, and that becomes a personal violence to him.' His Majesty therefore felt "remorse on having conquered Kaliṅga", and declared that "even one-hundredth or one-thousandth part of those who were slain, died, or were captured in Kaliṅga is to-day considered regrettable by the Beloved of the gods."

Even as a mere pious sentiment this is hard to beat; at least no victorious monarch in the history of the world is known to have ever given expression to anything like it. But it was more than pious sentiments to Aśoka, and led him to adopt two solemn resolutions as a logical consequence,—resolutions to the carrying out of which he consecrated the whole of his personal energy and the vast resources of his mighty empire during the remaining years of his life.

The first of these was to eschew all war in future. "If any one does him wrong the Beloved of the gods must bear all that can be borne". Henceforth his policy would be one of conciliation towards all, even to the people of the forests, and exhortation to good deeds.

This exhortation to good deeds was the foundation for his second resolution, viz., the inculcation of his *Dharma* (*Dhamma* or Law of Piety) not only among the peoples of his own dominions but all over the world, so that all may enjoy the blessings of "non-injury, self-control, equable conduct, and gentleness".

His sincerity in adopting these pious resolves, and translating them to action, is manifest throughout his numerous records. He gave up the conquest by arms and substituted for it 'conquest through *Dharma*' as the guiding principle of his life. He even enjoined it upon all his descendants. So far as our evidence goes Aśoka, true to his principles, did not carry on any further war.

In spite of some uncertainty, owing to the difficulty of interpreting certain expressions used in the inscriptions, there are good grounds to believe that Aśoka was formally converted to Buddhism in or before the tenth year of his coronation. There can thus be hardly any reasonable doubt that the remorse which he felt at the carnage of the Kaliṅga war was the direct and immediate cause of his conversion to a religious faith which preached, as its fundamental principles, non-injury to all living beings and piety and compassion towards them. Aśoka was attracted more by the ethical than the philosophical aspect of Buddhism and laid stress upon the practical benevolent activities and pious thoughts inculcated by it. He himself tells us that for one year after he had adopted Buddhism he did not exert himelf strenuously for its propagation. Then he entered, visited or lived with the Buddhist Saṅgha (community of monks) for over a year and seriously took up his missionary activities, the task of propagating the *Dharma,* which, though based on Buddhist doctrine, was as we shall see later, of such universal quality as to appeal to humanity at large.

It is difficult to understand what Aśoka exactly intends by the expression *saṅghe upete* which has been translated above to mean that he lived with, entered, or visited the Saṅgha, and the opinion of scholars is sharply divided on this point. Some scholars hold that Aśoka actually became a Buddhist monk *(bhikkhu).* Others, however, take the expression simply to mean that Aśoka made a state visit to the Saṅgha and publicly proclaimed his faith, as the Sinhalese Chronicle informs us. The former view is, however, supported by the statement of I-tsing that he actually saw a statue of Aśoka dressed as a monk. A third possibility is that Aśoka lived with the Saṅgha for more than a year, without taking orders.

Among those who assume that Aśoka became a monk, there is, again, a difference of opinion. Some hold that during the period Aśoka was a monk he must have ceased to be a monarch, for monastic life is hardly compatible with royal duties. Others, however, point out actual examples of kings who were monks at the same time, and find no reason for the assumption that Aśoka, even temporarily, abdicted the throne.

Whatever may be the right interpretation of his association with the Saṅgha, there is no doubt that since this event Aśoka exerted himself with unflagging zeal for the propagation of Buddhism, or at least that part of it which he accepted as his *Dharma*. He not only set up a network of missions to preach the doctrine both in and outside India, but himself undertook tours for this purpose, and took various other steps to the same end. He practised what he preached in order that others might follow, and in his various records gives a list of his own benevolent activities. But in doing all this he did not neglect his primary task of governing his kingdom. Rather his high ethical outlook gave him a new conception of his royal duties. He set before himself the loftiest ideal that ever inspired a king. "All men are my children", says he, "and, just as I desire for my children that they may obtain every kind of welfare and happiness both in this and the next world, so do I desire for all men".

Thus proper and adequate measures for the security of life and property were as necessary in his eyes as those for the moral and spiritual uplift of the people. His conception of royal duty was broadbased on the welfare of his subjects in the widest sense of the term, embracing both material and moral good. But his vision extended far beyond the horizon of his own kingdom, vast as it was. He informs us in Rock Edict VI that he was always ready and willing to carry on his work of administration, for "the welfare of the whole world is an esteemed duty with me, and the root of that again is the exertion and dispatch of business" "This, therefore, I have done, namely that at all hours and in all places,—whether I am eating or am in the closed (female) apartments, in the inner chamber, in the royal rancho, on horseback or in pleasure orchards, the Reporters may report people's business to me."

But far from taking any credit for this unceasing toil, Aśoka regards it as a simple duty he owes to his subjects. "There is no higher duty than the welfare of the whole world", so runs the royal edict, "and what little effort I make,—What is it for?—(in order) that I may be free from debt to the creatures, that I may render some happy here and that they may gain heaven in the next world". Never was a nobler sentiment uttered from the throne as an expression of king's duty towards his people, and Aśoka engraved it on rock "in order that it may endure for a long time and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may similarly follow me for the welfare of the whole world."

Having thus made a brief sketch of the chief events of Aśoka's career and the moral ideals and the high sense of royal duty that inspired his activities, we shall now proceed to a somewhat detailed survey of his life and reign under a few broad heads.

II. THE EXTENT OF AŚOKA'S EMPIRE

While we know only in a general way the extent of the Maurya Empire as established by Chandragupta, the inscriptions of Aśoka enable us to obtain a more precise and definite idea of it. Apart from the details contained in them, their find-spots are of great help in this respect. For, it may be presumed that, as they contained proclamations and messages for his subjects, they were located at chosen centres of population in different provinces. Some of these are to be found at their borders in various directions. Thus two sets of his fourteen Rock Edicts are located at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehra respectively in the Peshawar and Hazara districts in Western Pakistan; another is at Kālsi in the north at the confluence where meet the waters of the Tons and Yamunā; the fourth is at Girnār in Kāthiāwār and the fifth at Sopārā in the Thānā District of Maharashtra; the sixth is at Dhauli in Puri District; the seventh at Jaugaḍa in Ganjām District of Orissa; and the eighth at Yerragudi in Kurnool District. An Aśokan inscription in Aramaic characters has also been discovered at Taxila, the capital of the north-western Province of the empire, and another near Jalālābād (E. Afghānistān). 'A bilingual inscription of Asoka written in Greek and Aramaic and another only in Greek (containing the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th Rock Edict) have been discovered near the old city of Kandahar in Afghanistan.[1] These support the view, mentioned on p. 78, that the provinces ceded by Seleucus still belonged to the Mauryan Empire'.

The inclusion of the far south in his empire is indicated by three groups of Minor Rock Edicts in the Chitaldroog District of Mysore. The interior of the country is represented by Minor Rock Edicts installed at places like Rupnāth in Jubbulpore District, Bairat in Rājputāna, Sasarām in Bihār, Maski in Raichur District, Gavimath and Palkigundu in the Kopbal Taluk in Mysore, Gujarrā in Datia District in Madhya Pradesh, Ahraur in Mirzapur District in U.P., Amarapuni Colony in New Delhi, and Rajula Mandagiri and Yerragudi, both in Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. There are two edicts in each of the two places mentioned last as well as in each of the Chitaldroog groups mentioned first. The second edict is not found in the other localities.

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[1] These inscriptions have been published in *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1 ff., and *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. CCLII, pp. 137-157.

A group of the Pillar Edicts seems to have been meant to mark stages in the Pilgrims' Progress towards the holy places of Buddhism by their location at Lauriyā Ararāj, Rāmpurwā, Nandangarh and Nigliva leading up to Lumbinī, the birth-place of the Buddha.[1] Other inscribed pillars were set up in the north in the Districts of Ambāla and Meerut, at Kauśāmbī near Allāhābād, at Sārnāth and at Sānchī. A fragment of a pillar found at Amarāvatī (near Bezwada on the Krishnā) contains parts of five lines of an inscription which has been attributed by some scholars to Aśoka.[2] Only two inscriptions, the Minor Rock Edicts at Maski and Gujarrā, mention Aśoka by his name. In the rest he is referred to as "Beloved of the Gods" (*Devānām piya Piyadasi*).

The distribution of the inscriptions clearly indicates that Aśoka's empire embraced the major part of India, including the North-West Frontier Province, but excluding the Indian Peninsula to the south of approximately 14° of latitude. This conclusion is corroborated by the mention of the independent frontier kingdoms of ('Choḍas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralaputra, Sātiyaputra, as far as the Tāmraparṇī in the south and that of the Greek king Aṁtiyaka (Antiochus II) on the West (R.E. II). As Antiochus is not known to have ruled to the east of Herāt, we may assume that the provinces ceded by Seleucus still belonged to the Mauryan empire. The first three southern states mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka correspond to the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Chera. The use of the plural number perhaps indicates that there was more than one Chola or Pāṇḍya kingdom. Although the limits of these kingdoms cannot be exactly defined, we may reasonably hold that the Chola kingdom or kingdoms comprised the eastern part of the Peninsula from Arcot to Trichinopoly, the Pāṇḍyas occupied the Districts of Rāmnād, Madura and Tinnevelly, and southern Travancore, and Keralaputra included South Kanara, Coorg, Malabar, the northern part of Travancore and southern part of Mysore. The location of Sātiyaputra or Satyaputra is uncertain. But the position of the other three confirms the southern limit as deduced above from the find-spots of inscriptions, with the probability that on the eastern side it might have extended a little further to the south as far as 13° of latitude.

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[1] The discovery of the Aśoka pillar at a place still called Rumindei has fixed the site of the Lumbinī garden where the Buddha was born. For Aśoka says in the inscription engraved on this pillar: "Here Buddha was born".

[2] Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 40 ff.

III. THE ADMINISTRATION

An expression in R. E. XIII has led some scholars to believe that there were certain tribal areas within the empire which were not directly ruled by Aśoka but enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. "Here in the king's dominions", so runs the passage, "among the Yavanas and Kaṁbojas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṁtis, the hereditary Bhoja rulers, Andhras and Pāriṁdas, everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods in respect of Dhamma". Now the statement is ambiguous so far as the enumeration of the localities is concerned: it may mean either among the Yavanas *etc.*, in the king's dominions or in the areas under royal rule and among the Yavanas *etc.* (also within the royal domain) If we accept the second interpretation, we must admit that they were not under his direct rule. This interpretation is to be preferred as, otherwise, it is difficult to explain why these states are separately mentioned.

The Yavana and Kāmboja states were probably situated in N.-W. Frontier Province. The mention of the Yavanas as one such tribal state is interesting as it proves the existence of a small Greek principality within the empire. The Bhojas were probably on the western coast or in Berār, and the Andhras perhaps occupied the coastal region between the Krishnā and the Godāvarī, as they did in later days.[1] It is not possible to locate the rest. The R. E. XIII testifies to the existence of Āṭavyas or the people of the forest country (in or near Kaliṅga) as forming such an autonomous state. There were probably a few other such tribal states such as the Rāshṭrikas and Pitenikas, but some scholars interpret them differently.

Even excluding these states it was a hard enough task to administer effectively an empire made up of parts so widely separated as Peshāwar, Mysore and Orissa. As in the days of Chandragupta, the difficulty of the situation was solved by multiplying centres of authority in a number of local administrations of different grades and sizes. The king had probably a Deputy (*Uparāja*) like his brother Tissa. He was further assisted by the *Yuvarāja* or Crown Prince and by his Chief Minister or *Agrāmātya*, Rādhagupta. The king also shared the burden of administration with the Princes (Kumāras or Āryaputras), who were deputed to serve as his Viceroys in the outlying provinces of his empire which they could be trusted to rule loyally. The inscriptions mention four such Viceroys ruling at Taxila, Ujjain, Tosali and Suvarṇagiri. The *Divyāvadāna* mentions Aśoka's son Kuṇāla as his Viceroy at Taxila. The Chinese traveller Fa-hien records the tradition that he was known as Prince Dharmavivardhana, Viceroy of the Gandhāra Province.

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[1] It is not, however, unlikely that the Andhras occupied at this time the region round Paithān and only later moved to the coastal region (See Ch. XIII).

Next to the Viceroys were the Provincial Governors, termed Prādeśikas in the Edicts. The Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman (c. A.D. 150) has preserved the names of two such Provincial Governors of the Maurya empire: Pushyagupta, *Rāshṭrīya* or Governor of Western India or Saurāshṭra under Chandragupta, and Rājā Tushāspha holding the same office under Aśoka. The king, and possibly also the Viceroys and Governors, had their *Parishat*. This *Parishat* was probably a Council of Ministers and other high officials such as is described in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and to which reference will be subsequently made.

Next to the Prādeśikas Aśoka's inscriptions refer to three classes of high officials, *viz.* Rājūkas, Yutas, and Mahāmātras. The Rājūka was an important official who was appointed over 'many hundred thousand men' and had wide powers of 'awarding rewards or punishments.' They were enjoined to take deep concern in all matters affecting the moral and material good of the people. As Aśoka so pithily puts it: "Just as (a person) feels confident after making over his offspring to a clever nurse ... even so have I appointed the Rājūkas for the welfare and happiness of the country people (*Janapada*)." The Rājūkas were probably in charge of districts and corresponded to the district magistrates of the present day.

The Yutas, also mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* as Yuktas, along with their assistants, the Upayuktas, were probably district treasury officers, whose main function was to manage the king's property, receive and spend the revenue, and keep accounts.

The Mahāmātras were probably heads of special departments. A new class of these officials was instituted by Aśoka in the 14th year after his coronation. These were Dharma-Mahāmātras, that is Religious Censors or Inquisitors, who were employed among all sects —Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas Ajīvikas and Nirgranthas—and both ascetics and householders. Their principal object was the establishment and promotion of the Dharma and the welfare and happiness of those devoted to Dharma. They concerned themselves with the unfettering (unrestricted movement) of the virtuous among the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Gandhāras and other peoples, and particularly with the welfare and happiness of wage-earners, the destitute and the aged. They provided a person kept in prison with his ransom and arranged for his release, particularly if he had a large family to maintain, was subjected to oppression or had grown old. "They are occupied," says Aśoka "in all my households and those of my brothers and sisters, and everywhere in my domain, working for piety."[1]

The interests of womanhood were looked after by the departmental head called *Strī-Adhyaksha-Mahāmātra.* The frontiers were in the keeping of the *Anta-Mahāmātras.* Municipal administration of the city was the charge of the Chief Executive Officer or Mayor, called *Nāgaraka* or *Nagara-vyavahāraka*, of the rank of a minister or *Mahāmātra.* There were also some special officers and departments. The empire's foreign relations were the charge of Ambassadors called *Dūtas* who had to go abroad for their work (R. E. XIII). The Intelligence Department was manned by the secret agents of the government aptly called the *Gūḍhapurushas* by Kauṭilya. The king depended particularly upon special officers, called *Prativedakas* (Reporters or Informers) in one of the Edicts, whose duty was to keep him acquainted with the conditions of the people and of the countryside, and who had therefore access to the king at all hours and places as noted above.

There was an important special officer called the *Vrajabhūmika* (R. E. XII) who was in charge of what is called by the general term *Vraja*, probably denoting all works of public utility with which the empire was so lavishly equipped, such as *Kūpa* (R.E. II) or *Udapāna* (P. E. VII), *i.e.* wells for supply of drinking water, *Udyāna* (R. E. VI) or parks, shade-giving banyan trees, mango-groves (P. E. VII) and travellers' rest-houses (P. E. VII) planted along the public roads (R. E. II). Rock Edict II mentions the state botanical gardens for the cultivation of medicinal plants which were procured by import from outside, if necessary, so that the indigenous medical system (*Ayurveda*) should not suffer for want of supplies of herbs (*aushadha*), roots (*mūla*) or fruits (*phala*), from which medicines could be extracted for the treatment of both men and cattle. These extensive arrangements for the relief of suffering of both man and beast must have depended upon an adequate medical service. Lastly, the edicts also refer to special forests for the breeding of elephants (*nāgavana*) under an officer whom Kauṭilya calls the *Hastyadhyaksha* (P.E. V).

Aśoka's administration was also conciliatory, though strict, in its dealings with the forest-folk (*aṭavī* in R. E. XIII) or the primitive tribes on the frontiers of his kingdom who were not his subjects (*avijita-antas*), so that they might not violate the moral code.

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[1] The interpretation of the passage is somewhat difficult; I have followed partly Barua's translation rather than that of Bhandarkar.

Aśoka introduced a great innovation in administrative system by instituting a quinquennial and triennial *anusaṁyāna* or circuit of high officials, such as Prādeśikas, Rājūkas, Yutas and Mahāmātras. In addition to routine duties of inspection this was also meant for purposes of propaganda so that the message of the *Dharma* might reach the remotest corners of the empire. The Mahāmātras had specially to satisfy themselves that justice was administered fairly and efficiently, and nobody suffered oppression at the hands of subordinates.

The Viceroys had an official hierarchy modelled on that of the central government and they were also enjoined by the Emperor to follow the same procedure in regard to circuits.

IV. DHARMA OR LAW OF PIETY

Aśoka worked for the moral uplift of his people by preaching in his Edicts the fundamental principles and practices of Dharma or moral life. He insisted on the family as the basis of morality. His view was that religion, like charity, should begin at home in the cultivation of proper relations in the domestic sphere with father and mother, elders, teachers, and seniors in status or age, to whom strict obedience is enjoined. Respect must be shown by pupils towards their teachers or *gurus*. There should also be considerate treatment of all those with whom a householder comes into contact in his social life, such as ascetics, Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; relations of all degrees; friends, acquaintances and companions; servants and dependents and the poor and the afflicted. Lastly, liberality and charity should be practised towards ascetics, friends, comrades, and relatives, and those who are disabled by age.

Thus the starting point of religious and moral life in Aśoka's scheme was the purification of the home, family, and domestic life by the cultivation of proper relations with all those with whom it is directly concerned. Character, conduct and behaviour counted more in this view of religion than rituals or ceremonies. Aśoka defines the practice of morality and right conduct as the true ceremonial (R. E. XII).

When the basis of religion was thus laid in the establishment of proper relations between individuals in the domestic circle, it was extended beyond the home and family to communities. Aśoka was anxious for the concord of communities, and harmony of creeds. His Twelfth Rock Edict is a passionate appeal not only for the toleration of all religious sects but also for developing a spirit of reverence for them. He sought the solution of the communal problems of his time by insisting on the following measures and practices: (1) promotion of what constitutes the essence of all religions as their common ground or root (*mūla*); (2) cultivation of this sense of unity of all religions by the practice of *vachaguti* or restraint of criticism of other religions and sects; (3) the coming together (*samavāya*) of exponents of different religions in religious assemblies; (4) learning the texts of other religions so as to become *bahuśruta* or proficient in the scriptures of different religions. As was usual with Aśoka, he himself set an example to this by honouring all sects and making gifts to them. His dedication of Barābar hill caves to the Ājīvikas is a noble monument to his catholic spirit of religious toleration far in advance of his age.

Above all, Aśoka stood for the religion of *Ahiṁsā* or non-violence (to men and animals) which he preaches in many of his Edicts. He insisted on the recognition of the sanctity of all life. He set the example himself. The unrestricted slaughter of animals for the royal table was first limited to one deer and two peacocks, and was later totally abolished. But the principle of non-violence was not merely limited to food and private life. It was extended to the wider sphere of politics and international relations. He purified his national policy by proclaiming war as an unmitigated and absolute evil. He now dedicated himself not to the extension of territory by conquest and force but to the extension of *Dharma* and conversion of people to a moral life by love. Thus, instead of organising military expeditions against other countries, he was busy organising peace missions under his *Dūtas* for purposes of humanitarian work in those foreign countries (R. E. XIII). Silenced was the war-drum (*bherī-ghosha*), which was replaced by the *Dharma-ghosha*: there was no longer any summons to war or call to the colours but only a call to moral life (R. E. IV). Thus Aśoka stands out as the pioneer of peace and universal brotherhood in history, and was far ahead not merely of his own times, but even of the modern age, still struggling to realize his ideals. Alas! the ascent of man seems to be ordained to be bloody!

One important consequence of his non-violent pacific politics was that, instead of completing his grandfather's scheme of conquering the whole of India and establishing his authority over it as the sole sovereign or *eka-rāṭ*, he on principle left unsubdued the smaller and weaker peoples and states of India, including the primitive aboriginal tribes and foresters (*āṭavya*), and established all states, great and small, on a footing of equal sovereignty. Of some of these he makes honourable mention in his inscriptions, as we have seen, as his neighbours whose welfare he seeks. There were also left patches of autonomous states in the interior of his empire as noted above.

V. MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the Third Buddhist Council met in the time of Aśoka at his capital Pāṭaliputra and was presided over by the monk Moggaliputta Tissa (Upagupta in the northern texts). This Council deputed missionaries to different countries which are named below.

	Missionary	*Country*
1.	Majjhantika	Kāshmir and Gandhāra.
2.	Mahārakshita	Yavana or Greek country.
3.	Majjhima	Himālaya country.
4.	Dharmarakshita (a Yavana)	Aparāntaka.
5.	Mahādharmarakshita	Mahārāshṭra.
6.	Mahādeva	Mahishamaṇḍala (Mysore or Māndhātā).
7.	Rakshita	Vanavāsi (North Kanara).
8.	Soṇa and Uttara	Suvarṇabhūmi (Far East or Burma).
9.	Mahendra and others	Laṅkā (Ceylon).

Some of the names of these missionaries are corroborated by epigraphic evidence. In his inscriptions, Aśoka tells of the foreign missions which he sent abroad not only for the work of preaching the *Dharma* but also for humanitarian work. These missions he sent to the peoples on his frontiers, as stated in R.E. II and V. Some of these were at work in distant foreign states under Hellenistic kings beginning with Antiochus (II) Theos of Syria, who was Aśoka's immediate neighbour. They also visited other Greek kings who ruled in Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene and Epirus (or Corinth). They all carried Aśoka's message of non-violence coupled with measures for the relief of suffering of all living creatures—men and cattle (R. E. XIII). We have no information about the result of these missions, but Buddhism was well known in Alexandria. Aśoka tells us that the *Dharma* was practised not only in these countries, but also through them in other foreign lands not visited by his envoys.

VI. BENEVOLENCE OF AŚOKA

Aśoka also became a puritan in other ways. His was a total pursuit of non-violence in every sphere. He abolished all public pastimes and popular sports of the country which were tainted with blood and which included the slaughter of animals and eating of meat, or the cruel fights between animals. He also curtailed the slaughter and sacrifices of animals in the name of religion. He abolished the time-honoured royal sport of hunting in which his grandfather used to indulge with so much pomp and magnificence (R. E. VIII). He replaced royal pleasure-trips (*Vihāra-yātrās*) by *Dharma-yātrās, i.e.* by pilgrimages to holy places like Bodh-Gayā or Lumbinī and tours on duty to out-of-the-way and neglected villages and the countryside, the home of the dumb millions and masses whom it was the king's duty to see and help with gifts of money and moral instruction. The royal example had to be followed by the superior administrative officers, the Mahāmātras, and also the princely Viceroys (*Kumāras*), who had to go out periodically on such tours and missions of social service (*anusaṁyāna* in R. E. III) to the rural populations, and convey to them messages of morality and means of relief in their distress.

His religion of non-violence led Aśoka to enforce by law the sanctity and security of all living creatures. A piece of comprehensive legislation was enacted by him in the 26th year of his reign, to restrict the slaughter and injury of specified creatures. Those that were not economically useful to man, as a source of food or service, such as parrots, wild geese, bats, ants, tortoises, squirrels, porcupines, lizards, rhinos, pigeons, and all quadrupeds 'which are neither used nor eaten' were declared protected and inviolable *(avadhya).* The list of Aśoka's protected animals shows that he did not ban the eating of animal food by the general public to the extent to which he banned it for the royal household. Other provisions of the law prescribed that husks containing living things were not to be burnt, nor forests, the abode of living creatures, to be set on fire. The living were not to be nourished with the living. Fish must not be killed, sold, or eaten on specified days numbering 56 in the year. The castration of animals was prohibited on certain holy days together with the branding of horses.

Prisoners were released one day in the year, probably the king's birthday (P.E.V). A grace of three days was allowed to criminals who were condemned to death (P.E.IV). This shows that Aśoka was unable to abolish capital punishment for practical reasons, and did not evince as much concern for the sanctity of human life as for that of the lower animals. The reason probably was that man who can distinguish between right and wrong is less innocent than the inarticulate creatures whose life is thus more deserving of protection than that of convicted murderers.

VII. ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Aśoka was also pre-eminent in his artistic activities and achievements. His great innovation was the substitution of stone for wood and brick. He decorated the country with structures and artistic monuments of different types. He was an artificer of cities and palaces, of *stūpas* and *vihāras,* of rock-cut caves and monolithic pillars.

Fa-hien, seeing Aśoka's palace at Pāṭaliputra, thought that it was the work not of men, but of "spirits which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work in a way which no human hand of this world could accomplish."

Tradition credits Aśoka with the building of 84,000 *stūpas* or *vihāras,* which were constructed by all "his subordinate kings in 84,000 towns selected all over India" *(Mahāvaṁsa,* V, 78-80). Fa-hien records the tradition that Aśoka opened out the original eight *stūpas* in which were enshrined the relics of the Buddha's body and distributed them among 84,000 *stūpas* of his own construction. We learn from one of his inscriptions that Aśoka enlarged to twice its size the *stūpa* of one of the previous Buddhas, Konākamana (Kanakamuni) by name. Aśoka may also be taken to be the builder of the nucleus round which was built up, at a later age, the great *stūpa* of Sānchī. The *Divyāvadāna* describes his *stūpas* as "high as hill-tops".

The walls of the halls at the rock-cut caves at Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hills are still shining like mirrors. The polish of Aśoka's pillars is the despair of modern craftsmen. They were so shining that English travellers like Tom Coryate and Whittaker confidently described one of them as a pillar of brass, Chaplain Terry as a pillar of marble, and Bishop Heber as "cast metal".

The pillars also exhibit to perfection the art of dressing, chiselling and shaping stone. The capitals of the columns were crowned with figures of bulls and lions, which are considered by Sir John Marshall as "masterpieces in point of both style and technique, examples of the finest carving." The artistic merits of Aśoka's caves and pillars will be discussed in Chapter XX.

The pillar was also a problem of engineering. It involved the handling of monolithic shafts with a weight of 50 tons and height of more than 30 feet, which were hewn out of the quarries of Chunār hills, probably fashioned there or at the central workshops at Pāṭaliputra, and transported to distances of five to six hundred miles to be located at a place like Meerut. The removal of a pillar from Topra near Ambāla to Delhi by Sultan Fīrūz Shah Tughlak required for its haulage the labour of 8,400 men pulling at the 42 wheels of the cart on which it was carried as stated in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*. But, according to another contemporary account in the *Sīrāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of A.D. 1370, elephants were first tried, and then 20,000 men, for carrying the pillar to the bank of the Yamunā, placing it on boats, and for subsequent operations ending in its re-erection near the Jumma Mosque at Firozābād. Fīrūz Shah also removed to Delhi another pillar from Meerut. "The fabrication, conveyance, and erection of these pillars bear eloquent testimony to the skill and resources of the stone-cutters and engineers of the Maurya age."

Aśoka is also associated with a remarkable feat of Mauryan engineering in the field of irrigation. It was the construction of a reservoir called Sudarśana on the mountains Raivataka and Ūrjayat, near Girnār or Junāgarh, by artificially damming up some of their streams. This irrigation work was undertaken by Chandragupta and was improved by Aśoka who equipped the lake "with well-provided conduits, drains, and means to guard against foul matters".

VIII. PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

We may conclude this sketch by giving a few details of Aśoka's personal life and family. As mentioned above, Aśoka refers in his Edicts to his brothers, sisters and other relatives or their household (R.E. V.), and also expresses solicitude for the welfare of all his relatives, however distant. Some of these were settled at Pāṭaliputra, some in other provincial towns (R.E. V). It appears from P.E. VII that Aśoka had many queens and sons. A Minor Pillar Edict refers to his second queen named Kāruvākī and her son Tīvara. The literary texts give him four other wives. They also record the interesting fact that his eldest son was Mahendra and eldest daughter Saṅghamitrā, both offspring of his first wife, Śākyakumārī. Aśoka deputed both Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā to work as Buddhist missionaries in far off Ceylon in a rare spirit of self-sacrificing service to his religion. According to some literary tradition, however, Mahendra was the brother of Aśoka.

As Vincent Smith rightly points out, Aśoka must be credited with a sea-going fleet as means of carrying on these colonial enterprises and cultural missions to foreign countries such as Ceylon.

His Edicts at Sārnāth and Sānchī give us a glimpse of the position of the king as head of the Buddhist Church. Both the Edicts refer to the chance of schism breaking out in the *Saṅgha* (congregation) of monks and nuns. The Edicts sternly rebuke those who would promote or help such schism and proclaim the punishments to be meted out to them. The very possibility of these schisms showed that the *Saṅghas* or the *vihāras*, both at Sārnāth and Sānchī, and probably in other places, had to deal with a large number of monks. One of the duties of the Mahāmātras or Inquisitors was the extirpation of heresy in the *Saṅgha.*

IX. THE CHRONOLOGY

According to the chronology adopted above,[1] the accession of Aśoka may be placed in c. 273 B.C. This date, derived from literary texts and tradition, is in a way confirmed by the Edicts. In his Rock Edict XIII, Aśoka mentions as his contemporaries the following Hellenistic kings: (1) Antiochus (II) Theos of Syria (261-46 B.C.); (2) Ptolemy (II) Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247 B.C.); (3) Antigonus of Macedonia (278-239 B.C.); (4) Magas of Cyrene and (5) Alexander of Epirus (?). Of these the date of the fourth king and the identity of the fifth are somewhat uncertain. According to some scholars Magas of Cyrene died about 250 B.C., while others push back the date by at least 8 years. This point has been fully discussed in an Appendix to this Chapter where good grounds have been shown for accepting 258 B.C. as the lower limit for the death of Magas. As regards Alexander, there were two contemporary rulers of that name, one in Epirus (272-c. 255 B.C.) and the other in Corinth (252-247 B.C.). But if we accept the earlier date of Magas, Alexander can only refer to the king of Epirus. Thus all these kings were jointly alive up to 258 B.C. in or before which one of them died. If the news of his death reached Aśoka two years after the event in, say,

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[1] See pp. 36-38.

256 B.C., Rock Edict XIII, which contains this reference and is stated to have been issued in the 13th year of his coronation, could not have been issued later than 256 B.C., in which case the coronation should be dated not later than 256+13=270-269 B.C. If the coronation had taken place four years after the accession, the latter event must have taken place not later than 273 B.C. On the whole it may be assumed that Aśoka succeeded his father about 273 B.C., a date which may be derived from literary tradition also. As the Buddhist texts assign a reign of 37 years to him, the end of his reign may be placed about 236 B.C.

X. SUCCESSORS OF AŚOKA

While the history of Aśoka is illuminated by so many facts and details, that of his successors is shrouded in obscurity. The reason seems to be the disintegration of Aśoka's empire, which was too large to be kept together by his unworthy successors. Truly, Aśoka's sceptre was like the bow of Ulysses which could not be wielded by a weaker hand. The post-Aśokan age is a dark age in Indian history.

As we have seen above, Aśoka had no paucity of sons. The inscriptions name only one, *viz.* Tīvara, but he is not known from other sources. On the other hand, literary tradition mentions as more important his three sons Mahendra, Kuṇāla and Jalauka. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* gives to Kuṇāla a reign of eight years and names five of his successors, the last of whom was Bṛihadratha. The *Matsya Purāṇa*, however, gives the following list of Aśoka's successors: Daśaratha, Samprati, Śatadhanvā and Bṛihadratha, although it puts the total number of kings as ten. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* has its own list of seven kings, after Aśoka, including Daśaratha, Śāliśūka, and the last king Bṛihadratha. The *Divyāvadāna* gives other names which include Samprati and Pushyamitra. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions Jalauka as Aśoka's successor in Kāshmir.

It is difficult to evolve correct history out of these divergent details. The Purāṇas and Buddhist works agree as to Kuṇāla, together with the Jain writers Hemachandra and Jinaprabhasūri.

The reality of Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka, is established by three short dedicatory inscriptions incised on the walls of the rock-cut caves which Daśaratha bestowed upon the Ājīvikas on the heights of the Nāgārjunī hills. Daśaratha uses Aśoka's title Devānaṁpiya in the inscriptions.

Jain texts treat Samprati as a patron of Jainism almost in the same light as Buddhist texts treat Aśoka. According to Jinaprabhasūri, he ruled at Pāṭaliputra as "lord of Bhārata with its three continents, and was the great *Arhanta* to establish *Vihāras* for *Śramaṇas* even in non-Aryan countries." The dominions of Samprati probably also included Avanti and Western India. The name *Śāliśūka* is known to the *Gārgī-saṁhitā*.

The Purāṇas agree as to Bṛihadratha being the last of the Maurya dynasty. His historicity is confirmed by the statement of Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita* to the effect that he was assassinated by his general Pushyamitra. With Bṛihadratha ended the famous Maurya dynasty, about 187 B.C., after reigning for 137 years. The progressive disintegration of the Maurya empire during the half century that followed Aśoka's death is marked by several facts. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Aśoka's son Jalauka set himself up as an independent ruler in Kāshmir and conquered the country up to Kanauj. He is said to have 'crushed the invading Mlechchha horde,'[1] which probably refers to an invasion by the Bactrian Greeks. According to Tāranātha another successor of Aśoka, Vīrasena by name, set up at Gandhāra. Vidarbha also seems to have asserted its independence according to the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa. The Greek writer Polybius, writing about 206 B.C., refers to an independent Indian king on the north-western frontiers, Sophagasenus (Subhāgasena) by name. He, or one of his predecessors, was probably a Viceroy of a Maurya Emperor, and later declared himself an independent king.

The disintegration of the Maurya empire was further speeded up by the Yavana invasions referred to in Sanskrit texts such as the *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali, to which detailed reference will be made later. The final blow was struck at the empire by the revolt of Pushyamitra, the Commander-in-Chief of Bṛihadratha, who killed his master, while reviewing the army, and ascended the throne.

XI. CAUSES OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE[2]

The decline of the Maurya empire, almost immediately after the death of Aśoka, and its tragic end within half a century of his glorious rule, have tempted scholars to speculate on the possibility of finding out important factors which can sufficiently account for such unusual happenings. According to the view of one school of writers the religious policy of Aśoka was the main cause of the dèbâcle. It is urged by them that Aśoka's patronage of Buddhism and deliberate humiliation of the Brāhmaṇas led to a reaction promoted by the latter, and they "clearly see the hands of the Brāhmaṇas in the great revolution" headed by Pushyamitra. As against this it has been pointed out that there is no adequate ground to believe that Aśoka ill-treated the Brāhmaṇas, and there is also no evidence that the Brāhmaṇas in a body rose against, far less fought with, the successors of Aśoka. It is true that Pushyamitra who led the revolution was himself a Brāhmaṇa, but we must remember that he was also the Commander-in-Chief of the Maurya army. His successful revolution can be much better accounted for by his hold over the army than his headship of a band of discontented Brāhmaṇas. Besides, the fact remains that the dynasty founded by Pushyamitra was ousted by a successful rebellion of the Brāhmaṇa minister of the last king. Here we have an exact parallel to the earlier revolution, which shows what little ground there is to ascribe it to Brahmanical influence from the simple fact that its leader belonged to that caste.

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[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 115-17.

[2] The Editor alone is responsible for the views expressed in this section.

Another class of writers trace the root-cause of the downfall of the Maurya Empire to the doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* or non-injury adopted by Aśoka as a policy of state. According to them the martial ardour of imperial Magadha was bound to vanish when Aśoka gave up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and disbanded his army. As noted above, he eschewed all wars and enjoined upon his sons and grandsons to do so, and this naturally impaired the military efficiency of his empire. Theoretically this view appears plausible enough, but it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which the weakness of the empire is to be attributed to this cause alone. We cannot forget the fact that, considering the circumstances of those days, it is a far greater wonder that so vast an empire should have been governed continuously by a central authority for nearly a century, than that it should have fallen to pieces within the next fifty years. Many other empires, far less in extent, rose and fell in India both before and after Aśoka, and there must have been some natural causes at work in all these cases. Among them we may reckon the spirit of local autonomy, the difficulty of communication with distant provinces, the oppressive rule and rebellious disposition of their governors, palace intrigues and official treachery. Foreign invasion is another such factor, which invariably accelerates other causes. In the case of the Mauryas we have positive evidence that some, if not all, of these causes were at work. The repeated revolt of the distant province of Taxila, due mainly to the oppression of local officials, is perhaps typical of what was happening in other parts of the empire.

The Kaliṅga Edicts show that Aśoka himself knew of the oppression of his officials and vainly tried to stop them. That the officials at the capital were not all loyal and devoted servants is proved by the treacherous conduct of Pushyamitra.

There are also good grounds to believe that the Maurya court was divided into two factions, one headed by Pushyamitra, the Commander-in-Chief, and the other by the Minister, who managed to make their sons respectively governors of Vidiśā and Vidarbha. The immediate causes that brought about the end of the Maurya dynasty were no doubt, the invasion of the Bactrian Greeks, to which a detailed reference will be made later, and the assassination of king Bṛihadratha by Pushyamitra. It is not unlikely that this *coup d'état* was helped, if not prompted, by the foreign invasion. It is also equally likely that the weakness caused by internal dissensions invited foreign aggression. On the whole these natural causes might have been sufficient to bring about the decline and downfall of the Maurya Empire. It is not necessary, therefore, to postulate that the pacific policy of Aśoka was responsible for this catastrophe, though this cannot be altogether ignored as a possible factor.

But even if Aśoka's policy brought about the downfall of the Mauryan Empire, India has no cause to regret the fact. That empire would have fallen to pieces, sooner or later, even if Aśoka had followed the policy of blood and iron of his grandfather. But the moral ascendancy of Indian culture over a large part of the civilized world, which Aśoka was mainly instrumental in bringing about, remained for centuries as a monument to her glory and has not altogether vanished even now after the lapse of more than two thousand years.

APPENDIX

THE DATE OF AŚOKA

The date of Aśoka has sometimes been determined on the basis of Buddhist tradition regarding the *Nirvāṇa* and the interval of 218 years between that memorable event and the coronation of the Maurya monarch. But as the date of *Nirvāṇa* or Buddha's death is itself uncertain (pp. 36-38), and the correctness of an interval of 218 years between that event and Aśoka's coronation is also doubted (p. 38), we cannot solve the problem of Aśoka's date in this way.

The really important clues to the riddle are furnished by the Greek synchronisms, and the chronology of the first three Mauryas hinges on two crucial dates, *viz.* (1) 326 B.C. when, according to Plutarch and Justin, Chandragupta met Alexander, shortly before his accession, and (2) the date of the death of Magas of Cyrene, one of the kings visited by Aśoka's missionaries.

The date of Aśoka's coronation can hardly be pushed back beyond 277 B.C., because his grandfather, according to all the chronicles, whose evidence carries weight, died after a reign of 24 years, and the next king Bindusāra, the father and immediate predecessor of Aśoka, ruled for *at least* 25 years (326-24-25 = 277 B.C.).

For a lower limit, we have to turn to the evidence of Aśoka's own inscriptions. The R. E. XIII refers to the emperor's Hellenistic contemporaries whose names and dates have been mentioned above.

Hultzsch takes the date c. 250 B.C. for the death of Magas from Bloch (*Corpus*, I, p. xxxi and n. 8). But his views have been challenged by several writers including Tarn (*Antigonus Gonatas*, pp. 449 ff). To enable one to understand the facts relevant to our enquiry, it is necessary to draw attention to the sequence of some of the events since the death of Magas.

1. Death of Magas.
2. Demetrius the Fair sent by his step-brother Antigonus of Macedon as an aspirant to the throne of Cyrene, to charm by his presence the heart of Berenice, the heiress of Magas.
3. Demetrius's rule for a time in Cyrene.
4. Demetrius put to death by Berenice in her mother's chamber.
5. Ascendancy of Ptolemy Philadelphus in Cyrene and the betrothal of Berenice to the Egyptian prince, the future Ptolemy III Euergetes.
6. Coins of Berenice without the married woman's veil—issued apparently when, though still a virgin, she acknowledged the suzerainty of the House of Ptolemy.
7. A free Cyrenean republic or *Koinon* to which Polybius (X, 22) and coins bear testimony.
8. Berenice's marriage with Ptolemy III in 247-46 B.C.

Not long after his marriage Ptolemy III set out for the war in Syria (245 B.C.). On the departure of her husband Berenice vowed to the gods, for his safety, a lock of her hair, which upon his return was dedicated in the temple of Arsinoe Aphrodite. But it mysteriously disappeared. The incident forms the theme of the *Lock of Berenice* by the contemporary poet Callimachus (translated by Catullus). Its genuineness has been proved by the discovery of some fragments in 1928 (Whibley, *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 169). The relevant passage in the poem of Callimachus runs thus: "You weep not for yourself, but for your husband (gone to the Syrian war immediately after the marriage in 247-46 B.C.); but of a truth I had known that you had a fine spirit ever since you were a small maiden. Do you not remember the noble deed (killing of Demetrius) through which you won your royal wedlock?"

The passage suggests, as pointed out by Tarn, that some considerable time must have elapsed since the action performed by Berenice as a '*parvo virgo*', which it is feared, may have passed out of her memory. The Berenice coins without the veil and the numismatic evidence regarding the *Koinon* also lend support to the view that the interval between the death of Magas and the Syrian campaigns of Ptolemy III could not have been so short as Bloch's suggestion would lead us to believe. Under these circumstances the tradition recorded by Porphyry, which puts Demetrius's death in 259-58 B.C., cannot be lightly brushed aside. The acceptance of this date implies that Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka cannot be dated later than 259-58 B.C., as it speaks of Magas, whose death preceded that of Demetrius, as alive. Attention may be drawn in this connection to a passage of Justin (XXVI, 3.2) where the death of Magas is put at about the same time as the attack of Alexander of Epirus upon Antigonus, during the Chremonidean war, *i.e.*, after 264 and before 261 B.C. As rescripts of morality contained in R.E. XIII began to be written when Aśoka had been anointed 12 years, his coronation could not have taken place after 270-69 B.C. Pausanias and Suidas, on whom Bloch relies, are not clear enough to set up against the contemporary Callimachus. Pausanias's statement that Cyrene rose in revolt after the death of the elder Antigonus and that Magas captured it in the fifth year of the rebellion (I, 6. 8), if taken too literally, would place the death of Magas (after a reign of 50 years according to Agatharchides) not earlier than 301-5-50 = 246 B.C., a result which would be unacceptable even to Bloch and Hultzsch. According to Suidas, Ptolemy subjugated Cyrene in 308 B.C. If this is identical with the event referred to by Pausanias when he speaks of the suppression of the Cyrenean revolt by Magas, then the rule of the latter must have terminated about 259-58 B.C. The result would accord with the tradition recorded by Porphyry. Aśoka's coronation thus must have taken place between 277 and 270 B.C.

GENERAL REFERENCES

1. D. R. Bhandarkar—*Aśoka* (The English translation of Aśoka's inscriptions given in Ch. VIII of this book has been generally followed in the text.)
2. B. M. Barua, *Inscriptions of Aśoka.*
3. V. A. Smith, *Aśoka,* 3rd Edition, Oxford, 1920.
4. R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka.*
5. H. C. Raychaudhuri—*Political History of Ancient India,* 5th Edition, pp. 302 ff. (Some of the inscriptions of Aśoka, discovered after the publication of Bhandarkar's Aśoka, are noticed in this book.)
6. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, Ch. XX.

CHAPTER VI

THE FALL OF MAGADHAN EMPIRE

I. THE ŚUṄGAS (187-75 B.C.)

We owe to Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* some details of the story of the overthrow of the Maurya power by Pushyamitra. Bāṇa, who flourished eight centuries after the event, relates how Pushyamitra, the *Senāpati* or Commander-in-Chief, assembled the entire Maurya imperial army, evidently on the pretext that he was anxious that his sovereign should see for himself with his own eyes what a fine fighting force he could put into the field of battle, and then assassinated him at the military parade and review. This incident shows that already Pushyamitra was carefully preparing the ground for his *coup d'état* by seducing his army from its loyalty to the Maurya king.

According to the Purāṇas, Pushyamitra belonged to the Śuṅga family. Pāṇini (IV, 1, 117) traces the Śuṅgas to the Brāhmaṇa clan of Bhāradvāja. There are many references to Śuṅga teachers in Vedic texts. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* also mentions Śauṅgīputra as a teacher. A Bhārhut inscription refers to two gateways being erected in the reign of the Śuṅgas. Kālidāsa, however, in his drama *Mālavikāgnimitra,* describes Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, as a scion of the Baimbika family of the Kaśyapa lineage. But the Śuṅga origin of Pushyamitra is generally accepted.[1]

As has been stated above, Pushyamitra's dominion covered only the central portion of the old Maurya empire. In the south and south-east, the Andhras and Kaliṅgas, together with parts of northern India, had already asserted their independence.

Pushyamitra's empire included the cities of Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, Vidiśā, and, according to the *Divyāvadāna* and Tāranātha, Jālandhara and Śākala in the Punjāb. Pāṭaliputra continued as the capital.

We learn from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* that the crown-prince Agnimitra served as his father's Viceroy at Vidiśā. There was probably another Viceroy in Kosala. An inscription discovered at the door of a temple at Ayodhyā mentions the construction of a *ketana* (abode) by a Kosalādhipa (ruler of Kosala) who was sixth in descent from Senāpati Pushyamitra. Again, Agnimitra's brother-in-law (his wife's brother) named Vīrasena was placed in charge of a fortress on the frontier on the banks of the Narmadā.

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[1] *PHAI,* 307; *IC.* IV. 363.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* also refers to an independent kingdom which had been recently established in the region of Vidarbha or Berār. Yajñasena, the king of Vidarbha, is stated to have been a relation (sister's husband) of the *Sachiva* (minister) of the Mauryan emperor, and thus a natural rival of Pushyamitra. The relations between Vidarbha and Vidiśā became strained. The poet relates how Agnimitra's friend Mādhavasena, who was a cousin of Yajñasena, was arrested by an *Antapāla* (governor of the frontier) of Yajñasena, on his way to Vidiśā. Agnimitra at once called upon Yajñasena for his release. The latter agreed to do so on condition that his relation, the Maurya minister, was released first. Agnimitra at once gave orders to Vīrasena to invade Vidarbha. Vīrasena defeated Yajñasena and released Mādhavasena, Eventually, Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, Yajñasena and Mādhavasena, under Pushyamitra as their suzerain.

Pushyamitra had to face a Greek invasion. This is revealed by the grammarian Patañjali in the two following passages in his *Mahābhāshya.* The first, *Iha Pushyamitraṁ Yājayāmaḥ,* "Here we perform the sacrifices for Pushyamitra," shows by the use of the present tense that the sacrifice was begun but not yet finished, and that Patañjali was therefore a contemporary of Pushyamitra. The use of the past tense in the other passage: *"aruṇad Yavanah Sāketam: aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikām"* shows that Sāketa or Ayodhyā and the other town called Madhyamikā (near Chitor) were beseiged by a Yavana or Greek invader within living memory. This invasion might have taken place while Pushyamitra was yet a general of the Mauryas, and it is not unlikely that his success against the Yavanas gave him a position, status, and power which enabled him to make a successful bid for the throne.

But Pushyamitra also came into conflict with the Greeks after he had ascended the throne. Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to the conflict between Prince Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra and general of Pushyamitra, and a Yavana on the southern or right bank of the river 'Sindhu' which may be taken to be either the river in the Punjāb or its namesake in Central India.[1] According to Kālidāsa, this conflict took place in connection with the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra when his troops, escorting the horse under Vasumitra, were stopped by the Yavanas on the south bank of the Sindhu. The Yavanas were defeated and the horse brought back safely home.

These Greek invaders were no doubt the Bactrian princes whose history will be dealt with in another chapter. The Sanskrit passages probably refer to Greek invasions led by Demetrius, Menander or Eucratides, who are all known to have carried on campaigns in India. They also show that Pushyamitra ultimately triumphed over the Greeks and drove them out of Magadha, perhaps even beyond the Sindhu. His task was probably facilitated by the internecine dissensions among the Greeks themselves, which will be referred to later. The performance of two horse-sacrifices by him was probably meant as a proclamation of his double victory over the Greeks, and in any case it indicates that he was a powerful king and ruled over extensive dominions. They also prove the revival of the Brahmanical sacrificial cult involving the slaughter of animals which was put down by Aśoka. The Buddhist tradition is not complimentary to Pushyamitra and describes him as a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. He is said to have destroyed monasteries and killed the monks in course of his march to Sākala (Siālkot in the Punjāb) where he declared a prize of one hundred gold coins on the head of each monk.[2] But though the Śuṅgas were strong adherents of Brahmanical religion, there is no independent evidence to show that they were intolerant of Buddhism. It is interesting to note in this connection that the great Buddhist *stūpa* at Bhārhut was erected during the reign of the Śuṅgas.

Pushyamitra ruled for about 36 years (c. 187-151 B.C.) and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. Agnimitra is the hero of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, which gives us some account of his viceroyalty at Vidiśā mentioned above. He was succeeded by Sujyeshṭha[3] of whom nothing is known The fourth king was Vasumitra who, as a young prince, fought with the Yavanas to rescue the sacrificial horse of his grandfather and was probably posted to guard the north-west frontier of Pushyamitra's empire. He may be identical with Sumitra, son of Agnimitra who, according to Bāṇa, was killed in the course of a theatrical performance by one Mitradeva. The murderer might have been a scion of the Brāhmaṇa ministerial family which later overthrew the Śuṅgas.

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[1] *IHQ*, I. 215.

[2] *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 429-34. For other references, cf. *IHQ*, XXII, 81 ff.

[3] Also called Vasujyeshṭha. For the Puranic list of Śuṅga kings, cf. *DKA*. 70.

An inscription records the excavation of a cave at Pabhosā near Allāhābād by Āshāḍhasena, maternal uncle of king Bṛihatsvātimitra (probably not, as is usually read, Bṛihaspatimitra), in the tenth year of a king whose name is read as Ūdāka. He has been identified by some with the fifth Śuṅga king whom the Purāṇas call variously Andhraka, Antaka, Ārdraka, Odruka, or Bhadraka. It has been held that Āshāḍhasena, whom we know from another inscription to have belonged to the royal family of Ahichchhatra, was a feudatory of the Śuṅgas. But this view is not generally accepted.

Another inscription found at Besnagar (Bhilsa) records the erection of a Garuḍa Pillar by a Yavana named Heliodorus who describes himself as a native of Taxila and as a Bhāgavata. He was deputed as ambassador by the Greek king Antialcidas to the Indian king named Bhāgabhadra Kāśīputra 'who was prospering in his fourteenth regnal year.' This Bhāgabhadra was most probably the fifth Śuṅga king Bhadraka. His identification with the ninth Śuṅga king named Bhāgavata in the Purāṇas cannot be upheld, as a second Garuḍa Pillar at Besnagar is dated in the twelfth regnal year of king Bhāgavata, and the Bhāgabhadra of one pillar cannot be taken to be the Bhāgavata of the other. The tenth or last Śuṅga king according to the Purāṇas was Devabhūti or Devabhūmi. According to Bāṇa he was the victim of a conspiracy engineered by his Brāhmaṇa minister Vasudeva and was killed by a slave-girl who approached him in the guise of his queen. Altogether ten Śuṅga kings ruled for a period of 112 years, from c. 187 to 75 B.C.

Although we know very little of the history of the Śuṅga dynasty, it played an important part in history. Pushyamitra stemmed the tide of foreign invasion and maintained his authority over a large part of the empire. He thus arrested, for the time being, the disintegration of the Magadha empire which, throughout the century of Śuṅga rule, extended as far as Bhilsa in Madhya Bhārat, if not further to the west. The Bactrian Greeks maintained friendly relations with them. The Śuṅga period saw the revival of the Brahmanical influence and the growing importance of the Bhāgavata religion which counted even the cultured Greeks among its votaries. It also witnessed a revival in art and literature specially in Central India. The great grammarian Patañjali, born at Gonarda in Central India, was most probably a contemporary of Pushyamitra, as noted above. The Bhārhut *stūpa* is the most famous monument of this period. There was also an important school of art in Vidiśā which, according to some scholars, was the capital of the later Śuṅga kings. They were responsible for the fine gateway railings which surround the Sānchī *stūpas* built by Aśoka.

II. KĀṆVAS (75-30 B.C.)

The minister Vasudeva, who had his royal master Devabhūmi killed by a slave-girl, usurped the throne and founded a new royal dynasty in Magadha. It was known as the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana after his family or *gotra* name, and consisted only of our kings, *viz.* Vasudeva, Bhūmimitra Nārāyaṇa and Suśarman, who ruled respectively for 9, 14, 12 and 10 years. Although the Purāṇas make a general statement to the effect that they will keep the neighbouring kings in subjection and will rule righteously, we really know nothing of their history. The dynasty was overthrown by the Andhrabhṛityas or Andhras.

The chronology of the Kāṇvas and Śuṅgas is rendered somewhat uncertain by the statement in the Purāṇas that the Andhra king not only destroyed the Kāṇvāyanas but also 'whatever was left of the power of the Śuṅgas.' Sir R. G. Bhandarkar[1] concluded from this that 'when the princes of the Śuṅga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns'. He therefore held that the period of 112 years, assigned in the Purāṇas to the rule of the Śuṇga dynasty, also included the 45 years' rule of the Kāṇvas. In other words, the Kāṇvas were the *de facto* rulers during the last 45 years of the Śuṇga rule. This view has not, however, found general acceptance, and is opposed to the categorical statement in the Purāṇas that the tenth Śuṅga king was killed by the first Kāṇva king. The Puranic statement probably indicates that even after the death of Devabhūmi and the overthrow of the Śuṅga dynasty, some members or scions of the family continued to rule somewhere, such as the Vidiśā region or that the Kāṇvas, while exercising *de facto* authority, allowed some *rois faineants* of the Śuṅga dynasty after Devabhūmi to continue nominally as kings. The Andhras finally extinguished their power along with that of the Kāṇvas. We may therefore hold that the four Kāṇvāyana kings, named above, ruled for 45 years, *i.e.* from 75 B.C. to 30 B.C.*

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[1] *EHD*, Section VI.

III. THE SUCCESSORS OF THE KĀṆVAS

Although, according to the Purāṇas, the Andhras succeeded the Kāṇvas, we have no independent evidence that the former ever ruled as far north as Magadha. The history of Magadha, from the end of the Kāṇva rule to the rise of the Guptas, three hundred years later, is very obscure. Reference may be made in this connection to a large number of coins which are supposed to be associated with some of the Śuṅga and Kāṇva kings. A number of copper coins (of the so-called Mitra kings) have been found in Rohilkhand with the names of kings Agnimitra, Bhadra-ghosha, Jeṭhamitra and Bhūmimitra. The first may be identified with the Śuṅga king of that name, and the next two may be identified with two Puranic Śuṅga kings, namely, Ghosha, the seventh king, and Vasu-Jyeshṭha or Su-Jyeshṭha, the successor of Agnimitra. Bhūmimitra was probably the second Kāṇva king. But these identifications, though plausible, are not quite certain.

The so-called *Mitra* coins of Pañchāla have been found in regions outside Pañchāla, in Oudh, in Basti District and even in Pāṭaliputra. The names of two Mitra kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, are inscribed on two pillars at Bodh Gayā as also on coins found at places like Mathurā, Pañchāla, and Kumrahar (Patna). Thus the *Mitra* rulers of Pañchāla were not a local dynasty of North Pañchāla, as was thought by Cunningham, but probably held sway over extensive regions in Northern India, and if some of these kings were identical with kings of the Kāṇva or Śuṅga dynasty, we must hold that there was the semblance of an empire during the rule of these two dynasties. Some, if not all, of these kings might have ruled in Magadha after the Kāṇvas.[1] But in any case we must hold that a large number of independent states flourished in North India during their rule, as will be described in Chapter XI.

GENERAL REFERENCES

H. C. Raychaudhuri. *Political History of Ancient India,* 4th Edition, pp. 306 ff 326-335.

For Section III, see references under Ch. XI.

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* See Preface.

[1] The Jain works refer to Balamitra and Bhānumitra as successors of Pushyamitra. We know from epigraphic records that Indrāgnimitra and possibly also Bṛihatsvātīmitra (or Bṛihaspatimitra) ruled over Magadha

CHAPTER VII

THE YAVANAS

I. THE YAVANAS IN INDIA

One of the factors that led to the extinction of the dynasty of the imperial Mauryas was the advent of the Yavana invaders through the north-western gate of India. Indeed the most interesting feature of the post-Maurya period of Indian history is the establishment of foreign supremacy in Uttarāpatha, Aparānta (Paśchād-deśa) and the adjoining region of Madhyadeśa,[1] successively by several alien powers, and the Yavanas were the first among them.

The word *Yavana* was used in medieval Indian literature as a synonym of *mlechchha* and indicated any foreigner.[2] But as late as the early centuries of the Christian era it meant, to an Indian, the Greeks only. The word was derived from the Old Persian form *Yauna*, signifying originally the Ionian Greeks, but later, all people of Greek nationality. The Greeks of Ionia in Asia Minor, between the Aegean Sea and Lydia, and the people of north-western India certainly came into contact with each other as subjects of the Achaemenian emperors of Persia since the time of Darius I (522-486 B.C.).

The story of the employment of Scylax of Caryanda (in Caria) by Darius about the end of the sixth century B.C. for the exploration of the route from the Punjāb rivers to Persia as well as of the Indian archers who formed an important element in the army of Xerxes and shared the Persian defeat at the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C. no doubt suggests that the people of Uttarāpatha at least had direct knowledge of the Greeks as early as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. It is not improbable that officers of Greek and Indian origin in the service of the Achaemenian Government as well as merchants of the empire belonging to both the nationalities often met one another at the metropolis and the provincial headquarters.[1] There is therefore no wonder that the very word *Yauna,* meaning the Greeks, used for the first time in the records of Darius I, was borrowed by the Indians without any modification (cf. *Mahābhārata,* XII, 207, 43). The earliest use of the Sanskritised form *Yavana* can be traced in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (c. fifth century B.C.) and that of the Prakrit form *Yona* in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

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[1] India had five traditional divisions, the largest of which was Dākshiṇātya or Dakshiṇāpatha, indicating that part of the country which lies to the south of the Vindhyan range or of the Narmadā. Madhya-deśa comprised the central part of northern India lying between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas and between Allāhābād or Banaras in the east and some locality like Pṛithūdaka (Pehoa) in the eastern Punjāb in the west. North-western India including the adjoining region of Central Asia was called Uttarāpatha, which was sometimes used in a wider sense to indicate the whole of Āryāvarta or northern India. Prāchya or Pūrvadeśa lay to the east of Allāhābād or Banaras, while Aparānta or Paśchāddeśa was the land to the west of Devasabhā, which is the same as modern Dewās, about 25 miles to the south-east of Ujjain. In a narrow sense Aparānta indicated only the northern part of the Konkan with its capital at Śūrpāraka, modern Sopārā in Thānā District.

[2] The Muslim rulers of India are often called Yavana, but sometimes also Śaka or even Yavana-Śaka in medieval inscriptions.

The conquest of north-western India in 327-325 B.C. by Alexander and the foundation by the Macedonian king of such cities as Alexandria sub-Caucasum (modern Charikar or Opian near Kābul), Alexandria amongst the Arachosians (modern Kandahār),[2] Bucephala and Nicaea (on the banks of the Jhelum not far from the modern city of that name), Alexandria (at the conflunce of the Chenāb and the Sindhu), and Sogdian Alexandria (in northern Sind), peopled partially by some of the Greek followers of the conqueror, must have led to an intimate association between the Yavanas and the Indians. Of these the Greek element in the population of Alexandria sub-Caucasum seems to have remained conspicuous even after its inclusion in the Maurya empire.

The story of the Mauryan occupation of north-western India, of the foundation of the Seleucid monarchy on the ruins of the Achaemenid empire that had been shattered by Alexander, and of the surrender of the Kābul region to Chandragupta Maurya by Seleucus has already been told in a previous chapter. For a century from c. 305 B.C., when Seleucus measured his strength with Chandragupta, down to c. 206 B.C. when Antiochus III led an expedition against north-western India, the relations of India with the Seleucid emperors were very friendly. The *Yona* subjects of Aśoka referred to in his own records as well as his viceroy of Surāshṭra, who was a *Yavana* prince according to an inscription of the middle of the second century A.D., appear to have been inhabitants of the district round

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[1] Greek soldiers and officials are actually known to have been a very important element in the Achaemenian administration. The traditions of the fourth century B.C. regarding ancient Greek colonists at Nysa may probably be explained by assuming the appointment of Greeks in the Indian districts of the Achaemenian empire.

[2] The name of Kandahār is a corruption of Greek *Alexandria* and has nothing to do with *Gandhāra* as is sometimes believed.

Alexandria near Kābul, which is often mentioned in the Pāli literature as the *dīpa* (*dvīpa*) or Doāb of Alasanda. Some versions of the Thirteenth Rock-edict of Aśoka say that there were no Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas in the Yona country. The Buddhist canonical work *Majjhimanikāya* (II, 149) also says that in the land of the Yonas and the Kāmbojas there existed only two *varṇas* or social grades, viz, *ārya* and *dāsa,* instead of the traditional *chatur-varṇa* division of the society prevalent in other parts of India. As early, however, as the time of Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, the Yavanas as well as the Śakas found a place in the Indian society as *aniravasita* (pure) *Śūdras* while the *Manu-saṁhitā* regards them as degraded *Kshatriyas.* Although there is an apparent discrepancy between the views of the two authorities, the social position of a pure Śūdra and a degraded Kshatriya would practically be the same. The *Mahābhāshya* and the *Manu-saṁhitā* appear to speak of the Greeks of Bactria and Afghānistān who established themselves in India in the early years of the second century B.C. These Yavanas gradually became Indianised by adopting Indian names, religious beliefs and customs, and were ultimately absorbed in the Indian population.

II. THE BACTRIAN GREEKS

Parthia (Khurāsān and the adjoining region to the south-east of the Caspian Sea) and Bactria (district round Balkh, ancient Bāhlika, in northern Afghānistān beyond the Hindu Kush) were two districts of the Seleucid empire. Some time about 250 B.C. both the countries revolted against their Seleucid overlord Antiochus (II) Theos (261-246 B.C.) Parthia under a native of unknown origin named Arsaces and Bactria under its Greek governor Diodotus. Neither Antiochus II nor any of his immediate successors, Seleucus II (246-226 B.C.) and Seleucus III (226-223 B.C.), was powerful enough to suppress the rebellious provinces. The next emperor, Antiochus (III) the Great (223-187 B.C.), was engaged for some years in an attempt to regain both Parthia and Bactria, but, having found the subjugation of the newly founded kingdoms quite hopeless, he concluded peace with them and practically acknowledged the independence of both the countries.

1. *Diodotus I and Diodotus II*

Diodotus, the founder of the independent Hellenic kingdom of Bactria, appears to have ruled over that country probably along with Sogdiana for a long time, first as governor of Seleucid emperors and then as an independent monarch. It has been suggested that he was the satrap of Bactria who, according to certain Chaldean documents, sent twenty elephants to assist Antiochus I in his struggle with Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt about 274-273 B.C. He was a powerful king who was feared by his neighbours. According to Justin, Diodotus was not on friendly terms with Arsaces of Parthia who, after he had conquered Hyrcania on the Caspian, was compelled to keep a large army on a war-footing for fear of the Bactrian enemy.

The statement of Justin that Diodotus was succeeded by his son of the same name seems to be supported by numismatic evidence. Diodotus II reversed the anti-Parthian policy of his father and made an alliance with the king of Parthia. This enabled the Parthian monarch to concentrate his forces against the emperor Seleucus II when he attacked Parthia some time between 240 and 235 B.C. The frustration of the Seleucid attempt by the Parthians not only saved their own land but also the kingdom of Bactria. The foreign policy of Diodotus II was thus eminently successful. The duration of the rule of this king cannot be determined with precision According to Polybius, when Antiochus III appeared in the east about 212 B.C., the Bactrian throne had for sometime been occupied by a Greek named Euthydemus who was a native of one of the cities called Magnesia in Asia Minor. The Bactrian king is said to have represented to the Seleucid emperor that he happened to be king after having put to death the children of those who actually rebelled and that he, who was not a rebel, should not be interfered with. From this it seems that Diodotus II, son of Diodotus I, was revolted against Seleucid authority, was overthrown by Euthydemus. The fact, however, that Agathocles and Antimachus of the Euthydemian house claimed descent from 'Diodotus, the Saviour' may suggest that Euthydemus was related to Diodotus I or II at least by marriage.

2. *Euthydemus*

After conclusion of his struggle with Parthia, Antiochus III turned his arms against Bactria about 208 B.C. and soon besieged Euthydemus in his capital city called Bactra or Zariaspa which has been identified with the modern Balkh. The siege lasted for two years, but neither side gained any decisive victory. At last, Teleas, whom the Bactrian king sent to the emperor to negotiate a settlement, was successful in convincing Antiochus III about the encouragement that the struggle might give to the barbarian hordes hovering about the northern fringe of Bactria, to fall upon the country and destroy all traces of Hellenic civilization. The Seleucid emperor, whose presence in the western part of his dominions had by that time become an urgent necessity, was too glad to be out of the embarrassing situation.

Ultimately Demetrius, the young son of Euthydemus, was sent to the emperor's camp as an official envoy of the Bactrian king, and a formal alliance was concluded (c. 206 B.C.). Antiochus III agreed to the use of the royal title by Euthydemus and also to give one of his daughters in marriage to Demetrius.[1] Soon after he crossed the Hindu Kush, marched down the valley of the Kābul river, and reached the country ruled by Sophagasenus (probably Sanskrit *Subhāgasena*), king of the Indians, who is not known from any other source. It has been noted above how, after the death of Aśoka about 236 B.C. the unifying power of the Maurya empire declined, and the provinces, especially the outlying ones, were assuming independence one after another under ambitious provincial governors, one of whom was probably Subhāgasena himself or one of his predecessors. Antiochus III went back to Mesopotamia after having accepted the submission of the Indian king, who paid an indemnity and surrendered a number of war elephants.

The abundance of Euthydemus's coins and the great variety of his portraits on them suggest that he had a fairly long reign over an extensive territory. He is usually supposed to have died about 190 B.C. His silver coins have been found in large numbers in Balkh (Bactria) and Bukhara (Sogdiana), to the north of the Hindu Kush; but they are less common in the regions of Kābul, Kandahār, and Seistān, where his bronze issues are very common. Scholars believe that towards the end of his reign, possibly after 197 B.C. when Antiochus III became hopelessly involved in his struggle in the west and was unable to interfere in the affairs of the east, Euthydemus extended his sway over southern Afghānistān and the adjoining area of Irān and also over parts of north-western India. But the man who established Greek supremacy on Indian soil seems to have been his son Demetrius whose early expeditions in India he may have led as commander of his father's armies.

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[1] This marriage seems to have actually taken place, as king Agathocles (a son of Demetrius?) of the house of Euthydemus and Demetrius is known to have claimed descent from 'Antiochus the conqueror'.

3. *Demetrius*

According to Strabo (*c.* 54 B.C.—A.D. 24), who refers to the authority of Apollodorus of Artemita, the Greeks of Bactria became masters of Ariana, a vague term roughly indicating the eastern districts of the Persian empire,[1] and of India. It is said that the Bactrian chiefs, particularly Menander, conquered more nations than Alexander and that these conquests were achieved, partly by Menander and partly by Demetrius who was the son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. Strabo further says: "They (*i.e.* the chiefs of the Bactrians) got possession not only of Patalene (the Sindhu delta) but also of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surāshṭra *i.e.* Kāthiāwār or South Kāthiāwār)[2] and Sigerdis (probably Sāgaradvīpa meaning Cutch), which constitute the remainder of the coast. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres (*i.e.* the land of the Chinese and Tibetans in Central Asia) and Phryni (probably another Central Asian tribe)." The statement regards Menander and Demetrius as the greatest of the Yavana kings of Bactrian origin, but unfortunately does not specify the individual achievements of the two rulers.

The mention of Demetrius, king of Bactria, Afghānistān, and the western part of northern India, after Menander, who actually flourished later than Demetrius and had nothing to do with Bactria, seems to go against chronological sequence and partially mars the historical value of the statement. But Indian literature also apparently refers to the exploits of the Bactrian Greeks under Demetrius about the beginning of the second century B.C. The Yuga-purāṇa section of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* speaks of Yavana expeditions against Sāketa (near Ayodhyā in the present Fyzābād District, U.P.), Pañchāla (Rohilkhand in a narrow sense), Mathurā and Kusumadhvaja or Pushpapura (the same as Pāṭaliputra) after the reign of the Maurya king Śāliśūka (*c.* 200 B.C.) who, according to the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, was the fourth in descent from Aśoka and third in ascent from the last Maurya king Bṛihadratha, overthrown by Pushyamitra about 187 B.C.

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[1] The name Ariana appears to be associated with *Irān* and apparently also with Aria (modern Herāt region). Ariana usually embraced the provinces of Parthia (Khorāsān), Aria, the Paropanisadae (Kābul region), Arachosia (district round Kandahār), Drangiana (Seistān), Gedrosia (Baluchistān) and Carmania (Kirman). Some writers think that by Ariana only Aria and Arachosia were meant.

[2] While describing these regions the author of the *Periplus* says: "In these places there remain even to the present time signs of the expedition of Alexander such as ancient shrines, walls of forts and great wells". Although Alexander did not penetrate so far south as Kāthiāwār, this region came into contact with the Greeks as early as the time of Aśoka's Yavana governor Tushāspha. The author of the *Periplus* also speaks of later Indo-Greek rulers such as Apollodotus and Menander whose coins were in use in his time at Broach.

Evidently, the Yavana invasion of Sāketa and Madhyamikā (modern Nāgarī near Chitor, Rājputāna), referred to in the *Mahībhāshya* as events that happened during the lifetime of the grammarian Patañjali, should be assigned to the same epoch. Though the *Mahābhāshya* seems to contain some later interpolations, Patañjali was probably a contemporary of Pushyamitra and presumably also of some later Maurya rulers who suffered defeats at the hands of the Bactrians. The overthrow of Bṛihadratha by Pushyamitra seems to have been one of the consequences of the success of the Yavanas against the Mauryas. According to the *Gārgī-saṁhitā,* the Yavanas who besieged Pushpapura[1] did not stay for a long time in Madhyadeśa because of "internal dissensions" leading to "a cruel and dreadful war in their own kingdom which arose amongst themselves." The Greeks appear to have lost Madhyadeśa and temporarily parts of the Punjāb and the lower Sindhu valley to Pushyamitra.[2]

Demetrius's association with India is proved by literary as well as archaeological evidence. He issued some coins of square shape with Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoshṭhī on the reverse. Scholars have identified him with king Dattamitra of the *Mahābhārata,* the "grete Emetrius, the King of Ynde" mentioned in Chaucer's *Knightes Tale,* and Timitra of a seal found at Besnagar.[3] The extent of his Indian possessions, after his withdrawal from Madhyadeśa, cannot be determined with certainty; but he seems to have held sway over considerable parts of the Uttarāpatha and Aparānta (Paśchāddeśa) divisions of India and probably reasserted Greek authority in the Śākala region. We have seen that, according to Apollodorus and Strabo, the Indo-Greek power extended over the lower Sindhu valley and Kāthiāwār. It is interesting in this connection to note that certain Sanskrit grammatical works mention a city called Dattāmitrī which belonged to the country of Sauvīra (lower Sindhu valley to the east of the river).[4]

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[1] The passage seems to indicate that the Yavanas blockaded the city by a mud wall and confusion set in throughout the dominions.

[2] The expulsion of the Greeks from the eastern part of the Punjāb and the adjoining region is indicated by references in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Divyāvadāna* mentioned above (pp. 96-97).

[3] Dr. P. C. Bagchi equates Demetrius with Krimisa, the Yaksha, who destroyed Pushyamitra, according to a story in the *Divyāvadāna* (*IHQ* XXII, 81 ff).

[4] Inhabitants of this famous city which seems to have been founded in the vicinity of the ancient Patala, capital of Patalene, near modern Brāhmanābād (six miles to the west of Mansuriya in Sind), are often referred to in Indian literary and epigraphic texts as *Dāttāmitrīyaka* (*Dātāmitīyaka* in Prakrit).

Some other cities in India and Afghānistān appear to have been named after Demetrius and his father Euthydemus. There was a city called Demetriaspolis in Arachosia according to Isidor of Charax, while Ptolemy's *Geography* recognises Euthymedia, usually believed to be a mistake for *Euthydemia* (a city supposed to be named after Euthydemus), as another name of Sagala or Śākala, modern Siālkot in the Punjāb. According to Indian Buddhist traditions, Śākala was the capital of the Indo-Greek king Milinda (Menander) who either belonged to, or was intimately associated with, the house of Demetrius.

4. *Eucratides*

The Indian conquests and struggles of Demetrius, necessitating no doubt a long stay in this country, must have loosened his hold on Bactria which soon after revolted under an exceptionally vigorous leader named Eucratides. The occupation of the Bactrian throne by Eucratides, who founded the city of Eucratidaea in Bactria, seems to have taken place about 171 B.C. Justin, whose work is a compilation from that of Pompeius Trogus (a contemporary of Augustus), says: "Almost at the same time that Mithradates (the first Parthian king of that name who reigned, according to many scholars, from 171 to 136 B.C.) ascended the throne among the Parthians, Eucratides began to reign among the Bactrians .... Eucratides carried on several wars with great spirit and, though much reduced by his losses in them, yet when he was besieged by Demetrius, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only 300 soldiers, he repulsed by continuous sallies a force of 60,000 enemies" Being harassed for about four months Demetrius was compelled to raise the siege. Strabo (a contemporary of Augustus) says that Eucratides made himself master of the thousand cities, possibly those of Bactria, while Justin says that "he reduced India (probably the land on the Sindhu) to subjection". 'India' seems to have been subjugated after the death of Demetrius that may be roughly assigned to about 165 B.C.

Some scholars have pointed out that Timarchus, satrap of Babylon, who revolted against the Seleucid emperor in 162 B.C., issued coins in imitation of the Indian coinage of Eucratides and that therefore 'India' must have been conquered by Eucratides some time before the above date. But Eucratides's success in India was only partial and, in regard to some areas, temporary. There is evidence to show that he had to fight hard with several princes of the Euthydemian house who maintained their hold on parts of India and Afghānistān. Certain copper coins of a king named Apollodotus Soter were restruck by Eucratides and no doubt point to the latter's victory over the former. The reverse of these coins representing Zeus enthroned with the symbols of a mountain and elephant's head and containing the Kharoshṭhī legend *Kaviśiye nagara-devata* (city divinity of Kāpiśī) shows that Apollodotus was actually ousted by Eucratides from the Kāpiśa country, *i.e.* Kāfiristān and the valleys of the Ghorband and Panjshir. He is also supposed to have been deprived of Arachosia and Drangiana by Eucratides. Two other members of the house of Demetrius are known to have issued commemorative medals claiming relation with earlier kings (which was far-fetched in some cases) either to point out that Eucratides was a usurper who had no claim for kingship like themselves or to counteract his claim of Seleucid blood. We have medals issued by king Agathocles in the name of 'Alexander son of Philip', 'Antiochus the conqueror', 'Diodotus the saviour', 'Euthydemus the Divine', and 'Demetrius the unconquered'. Similar medals of another king named Antimachus issued in the names of Diodotus and Euthydemus have also been discovered.

Agathocles and another ruler named Pantaleon, who appear to have been closely related to each other, issued coins of square shape (in imitation of the Indian punch-marked coins) with the reverse legend in Brāhmī instead of the usual Kharoshṭhī prevalent in Uttarāpatha and the adjoining region. Although the coins are found in Afghānistān, they apparently point to the claim of these rulers to have been successors of Demetrius, especially in regard to some districts of northern India with which they may have been associated during the latter's reign. It is possible that Eucratides had to fight with all these champions of the cause of the Demetrian house. As if to give a reply to the commemorative medals of his rivals, Eucratides issued some propaganda coins in the name of Heliocles and Laodice. Numismatic evidence suggests that Heliocles was the son and successor of Eucratides. It was therefore supposed by Droysen and Von Sallet that the commemorative issues of Eucratides were struck to celebrate the marriage of his son with Laodice, who was probably the daughter of Demetrius by his Seleucid wife, the daughter of Antiochus III. Cunningham and Gardner, however, believed that Heliocles was the father, and Laodice the mother of Eucratides. The fact that, in the representation on the coins, Heliocles appears with a bare head but Laodice with a diadem shows that she belonged to a royal family, probably the imperial house of the Seleucids.[1] It is not improbable that Eucratides came to Bactria as a champion of the Seleucid cause.

According to Justin, even during the early part of his reign, Eucratides had not only to fight with Demetrius but also with the Sogdiani (people of Sogdiana or the Bokhara region to the north of the Oxus). It is probable that Sogdiana was then under the barbarian hordes (vaguely called Scythians by classical authors) about which Teleas spoke to Antiochus III. When Eucratides was totally exhausted owing to continuous wars, the Parthians under the great king Mithradates I (*c.* 171—136 B.C.) attacked the Bactrian kingdom and permanently annexed two districts of the country. The names of these districts are given as Aspionus and Turiva, supposed by some scholars to be meant for Aria (Herāt) and Arachosia (Kandahār) About this time it had become difficult for Eucratides to attend to the administrative necessities of his big empire and he had made his son a colleague in the kingship. Justin records that when Eucratides was on a march homewards to Bactria, he was murdered (*c.* 150 B.C.) by his son. The name of the parricide is unknown; but he may be no other than Heliocles who next ascended the throne.[2]

5. *The End of Yavana Rule in Bactria*

Heliocles was the last Greek king who held sway over Bactria. Justin says: "The Bactrians harassed by various wars lost not only their dominions but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians and the Indians, they were at last overcome, as if exhausted, by the weaker Parthians." The reference to the struggle of the Bactrian Greeks with the Indians and Drangians, especially the latter over whose land also they had extended their power, is interesting.

It is evident that the anti-Bactrian policy of the Parthians, introduced by Mithradates I with the occupation of two districts of Bactriana, was pursued with vigour. A Roman historian named Orosius

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[1] Tarn, with his usual power of imagination, conjectures that Laodice, mother of Eucratides, was a daughter of Seleucus II and a sister of Antiochus III. He further assumes that Eucratides was originally the governor of the Upper satrapies under his first cousin Antiochus IV and fought with the Euthydemians on the latter's behalf.

[2] Tarn's conjecture that Eucratides was killed by a son of Demetrius may not be unwarranted. Cf. certain medieval European traditions regarding Eucratides's death quoted in *JRAS*, 1950, pp. 7-13.

(c. A.D. 417) says that Mithradates I conquered all the peoples who lived "between the Hydaspes and the Indus." This Hydaspes is probably not the Jhelum, but the Persian stream called Medus Hydaspes by Virgil. Thus we have probably a reference to the expansion of Parthian power to the lower Sindhu from their bases in East Irān. According to Strabo, "the best known of the nomad tribes are those who drove the Greeks out of Bactria—the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli, who came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes, over against the Sacae and Sogdiani, which country was also in occupation of the Sacae." The lost history of Pompeius Trogus, according to its Prologue, is reported to have described how "the Saraucae and the Asiani (probably the same as the Sacae and the Asii) seized Bactria and Sogdiana." According to some writers, the Saraucae-Sacae and the Asii-Asiani were respectively the Śakas and the Yueh-chi.

Whatever be the correctness of these identifications, it seems that the Bactrian kingdom was occupied partly by the Parthians and partly by the northern nomads. We learn from the Chinese sources that some time after 165 B.C. the Yueh-chi occupied the Śaka land to the north of the Jaxartes and also the whole of Sogdiana lying to the south-west and south of the river, driving the Śakas before them into Ta-hia or Bactria to the south of the Oxus. Some years later the Yueh-chi crossed the Oxus, dispersed the Śakas and conquered the whole land up to the Hindu Kush in the south. According to Chinese evidence, therefore, parts of the Greek kingdom of Bactria were occupied by the Śakas who were later overthrown by the Yueh-chi. Heliocles, the last Greek king of Bactria, had apparently to fall back, after the loss of Bactria, on his dominions in the Kābul Valley and India (c. 125 B.C.). His success in India is believed to be indicated by the fact that the coins jointly issued by Agathocleia and Strato I, who belonged to the house of Demetrius, are sometimes found restruck by a king named Heliocles.

III. INDO-GREEK RULERS

After the loss of Bactria, the Yavanas continued to rule in central and southern Afghānistān and in north-western India. The history of Yavana rule in these regions is characterised by internecine fighting amongst the various princes belonging to the houses of Demetrius and Eucratides. More than thirty names of the Indo-Bactrian Greek rulers are known from the coins, most of them being unknown from any other source. Thus we have the names of Agathocleia, Agathocles, Amyntas, Antialcidas, Antimachus, Apollodotus, Apollophanes, Archebius, Artemidorus, Demetrius, Diodotus, Diomedes, Dionysius, Epander, Eucratides, Euthydemus, Heliocles, Hermaeus, Hippostratus, Lysias, Menander, Nicias, Pantaleon, Peucolaus, Philoxenus, Plato, Polyxenus, Strato, Telephus, Theophilus and Zoilus. Of these the names Antimachus, Apollodotus, Demetrius, Diodotus, Eucratides, Euthydemus, Strato and Zoilus are believed to have been borne by two kings, a father and a son or a grandfather and a grandson. All these rulers are assigned to a date earlier than the establishment of the suzerainty of the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushāṇas in north-western India and Afghānistān.

The fact that about thirty rulers, who flourished after Demetrius and Eucratides, have to be placed in the comparatively short period of less than two centuries suggests that some of them ruled contemporaneously with others in different parts of the Yavana dominions. It thus appears that the Puranic estimate of Yavana rule in India is much near the truth. "There will be Yavanas here," observe the Purāṇas, "by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruptions of the age. Massacring women and children and killing one another, the (Yavana) kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the Kali age."

1. *Menander*

We have seen that Strabo, on the authority of Apollodorus, regards Menander and Demetrius as the greatest of the Indo-Greek kings. The author of the *Periplus* (c. A.D. 70—80) says that "to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza (Broach) bearing inscriptions in Greek letters and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, namely, Apollodotus and Menander." The Broach region possibly formed part of the Yavana dominions during the rule of Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander. Apollodotus and Menander are also mentioned as Indian kings in the title of the lost forty-fourth book of Justin's work. Plutarch tells us that Menander was noted for justice and enjoyed great popularity with his subjects and that upon his death, which occurred in a camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes (cf. the story of the distribution of Buddha's ashes). Curiously enough, of all the Yavana kings of India, Menander alone has found a prominent place in Indian

Buddhist tradition as a scholar and patron of Buddhism. He is identified with king Milinda who is one of the two leading characters in the *Milinda-pañha*, 'Questions of Milinda,' a famous Buddhist text written in the form of a dialogue between the king and the Buddhist monk Nāgasena. The monk is represented as solving all puzzles put to him by the king and as ultimately suceeding in converting the latter. The Indian form of the king's name is given as Milindra in Kshemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā* and the Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur* collection, while the Shinkot inscription gives it more correctly as Menadra (*i.e. Menaṁdra, Menandra*), which is found on the coins. According to the *Milinda-pañha* tradition, Menander was born at a village called Kalasī-grāma in the *dvīpa* or Doāb of Alasanda (Alexandria near Kābul), and had his capital at Śākala, the modern Siālkot in the Punjāb. It is said that Menander handed over the kingdom to his son, retired from the world, and became not only a Buddhist monk but an *Arhat*. This fits in with Plutarch's story about his ashes. Kshemendra refers to Menander a story which is sometimes also told about Kanishka, while an Indo-Chinese tradition associates him with the most famous statue of Buddha in Indo-China. Of course such legends are not always authentic; but the most interesting thing in this connection is the impression the foreign king must have made on the Indian mind.

Menander is usually assigned to the middle of the second century B.C., but he seems to have ruled at a later date, probably about 115-90 B.C. Some scholars, perhaps relying on the vague tradition ascribed to Apollodorus, believe that Menander was the Yavana ruler who invaded Sāketa and Madhyamikā during the lifetime of Patañjali, a contemporary of Pushyamitra. They apparently ignore the fact that the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* assigns the Greek invasion of Madhyadeśa and eastern India to a date soon after the reign of the later Maurya king Śāliśūka and probably before the accession of Pushyamitra about 187 B.C. As Menander's reign is unanimously placed by scholars after Demetrius's death which took place about 165 B.C., he may have, at best, been a later contemporary of Pushyamitra, and could not have been the Yavana king invading Madhyadeśa and eastern India in the first quarter of the second century B.C. It may of course be suggested that Pushyamitra had to fight with the Yavanas, first under Demetrius before and soon after his accession, and for a second time under Menander about the close of his reign. There is, however, an Indian tradition which seems to assign Menander to a date later than the end of Pushyamitra's rule. According to the Buddhist traditions of north-western India as recorded in the *Milinda-pañha,* Menander flourished 500 years after the Parinirvāṇa, *i.e.* in the sixth century after Buddha's death.[1]

Other authorities have suggested that Menander was a later contemporary of Eucratides, because "some of their square copper coins are so similar in style that they may reasonably be assigned not only to the same general period, but also to the same region—a region which must have passed from one rule to other." But similarity or dissimilarity of coin types appears to be due more to local and other reasons than to contemporaneity. As Menander probably flourished after the immediate successors of Demetrius, namely, Apollodotus, Agathocles and Antimachus, who fought with Eucratides, the beginning of his rule has to be assigned to a date later than the middle of the second century B.C. If it be true that he succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over all other Indo-Greek potentates of his time, the absence of Bactrian issues would rather place his reign after the Yavanas had lost Bactria and probably also Drangiana and parts of Arachosia.

The wide extent of Menander's dominions is indicated by the great variety and wide distribution of his coins which are found in large numbers not only in the valleys of the Kābul and the Sindhu but also in the western districts of the U.P. His coins again are known to have been current in Kāthiāwār in the first century A.D. According to a tradition ascribed to Apollodorus of Artemita, Menander "crossed the Hyphanis to the east and reached the Isamus." The Hyphanis is very probably the same as the Hyphasis or the Beās, while *Isamus* seems to be the Greek corruption of Prakrit *Ichchumaī* (Sanskrit *Ikshumatī*), a river of the Pañchāla country often identified with the modern Kālīnadī running through Kumaun, Rohilkhand and the Kanauj region.

The Shinkot steatite casket containing two groups of Kharoshthī inscriptions, the earlier of them referring to the reign of Menander, was discovered in the Bajaur tribal territory about twenty miles to the west of the confluence of the Panjkora and the Swāt. Some relics of Śākyamuni Buddha are said to have been installed in the casket for worship first by a prince named Viyakamitra, apparently a feudatory of Menander, and afterwards by a chief named Vijayamitra who may have been the son or grandson of Viyakamitra.[1] The discovery of the Shinkot record points to Menander's hold over the Peshāwar region and possibly also over the upper Kābul valley. There could therefore have been no independent Yavana ruler at Takshaśilā and Pushkalāvatī during this period. Member's dominions appear to have comprised the central parts of Afghānistān, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjāb, Sindh, Rājputāna and Kāthiāwār, and probably also a portion of the western U.P.

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[1] Hiuen Tsang speaks of four different traditions about the epoch of the Parinirvāna, *viz.* (1) about the end of the 3rd century B.C., (2) about the middle of the 6th century B.C., (3) about the middle of the 7th century B.C. and (4) about the middle of the 9th century B.C. The first, second and fourth epochs are either too early or too late for Menander. The third epoch would place the Yavana king between the middle of the second and the middle of the first century B.C. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kielhorn suggested an epoch of the Parinirvāṇa falling in 638 B.C. with which the astronomical details of the date of an inscription (List of Northern Ins. No. 575) work out satisfactorily.

2. *Antialcidas*

Besides Menander another Indo-Greek king is prominently mentioned in an Indian epigraphic record found at Besnagar. The inscription records the erection of a *garuḍa-dhvaja* (a column with its capital adorned by the figure of Garuḍa) in honour of Lord Vāsudeva, by a Yavana of Taxila named Heliodorus who had become a *bhāgavata* (devotee of Vāsudeva or Vishnu) and had come to the court of *Rājan* Kautsīputra Bhāgabhadra in his 14th regnal year as an envoy of *Mahārāja* Aṁtalikita, no doubt the same as Antialcidas known from coins. It is usually believed that the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas had his headquarters at Taxila which was the home of his ambassador. He is also supposed to have belonged to the Eucratidian house and to have been the successor of Eucratides in Kāpiśa region as he is known to have issued coins with the type of the city divinity of Kāpiśī,[2] with which Eucratides restruck the coins of Apollodotus. It may be pointed out in this connection that the dominions of the Eucratidian princes are supposed to have comprised a number of kingdoms including Kāpiśa, Pushkalāvatī and Takshaśilā, which have been identified from their coin types.[1]

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[1] *EI.* XXIV, 7; *Sel. Ins.* I, pp. 102-04; *NIA,* January 1940, pp. 639-48; *NumChron.* 1944, pp. 99-104. The intervening period between the establishment of the relics by Viyakamitra and its re-establishment by Vijayamitra was estimated by N. G. Majumdar to be about half a century and by the writer of these pages to be only a few years. But the recent discovery of coins of Indravarman, son of Vijayamitra, and his identification with Indravarman, father of Aśpavarman who was a feudatory of Azes II (*c.* A.D. 35-79), suggest that Majumdar is right. Sten Konow's theory that the relics were established by Menander and that Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra are identical is quite unconvincing.

[2] The Kāpiśī coins of Eucratides have on the reverse the legend *Kaviśiye nagaradevata* and the representation of enthroned Zeus with the forepart of an elephant in the left and a mountain symbol in the right. Zeus in this case no doubt stands for the Indian god Indra, who was therefore the tutelary deity of the capital city Kāpiśa. In Indian tradition, Indra is associated with the elephant called Airāvata and the mountain of gold known as the Sumeru.

Antialcidas's relation with Heliocles, son of Eucratides, is indicated by the common coin-type—bust of king on the obverse and elephant on the reverse—with which Heliocles restruck the coins of Agathocleia and Strato I. Sometimes it is even conjectured that Antialcidas was the son of Heliocles and grandson of Eucratides. But on some coins, whose origin is attributed to the Takshaśilā region, Antialcidas is associated with a senior ruler named Lysias who was probably his father. Lysias's rule seems to have intervened between the reign of Heliocles and that of Antialcidas. Although it is often suggested that these princes may have been ruling at the same time (about the middle of the second century B.C.) in different provinces like Kāpiśa, Pushkalāvatī and Takshaśilā, there is reason to believe that Antialcidas has to be assigned to a little later date.

We have seen that an embassy of Antialcidas was received at the court of Vidiśā in the fourteenth regnal year of king Bhāgabhadra. As this corresponds to about 113 B.C.,[2] the Indo-Greek king seems to have been reigning about this time. It is not improbable that Antialcidas sought the friendship of the Indian king in his struggle against the contemporary Euthydemian monarch Menander who, as we have seen, must have subdued the Eucratidian princes in the Taxila and Pushkalāvatī regions.

3. *End of Yavana Rule in India*

There is an interesting group of Yavana rulers known only from their coins. They very probably belonged to the house of Euthydemus and Demetrius. Some of the coins were issued by a queen named Agathocleia jointly with a king of junior rank called Strato. Scholars have suggested that these coins were struck when the queen was ruling as regent during the minority of Strato who was probably her son. Strato, called Soter, afterwards ruled alone and issued coins with his own name only; but at the fag end of his long life, he is found associated on some coins with another ruler of inferior rank called Strato Philopater who was his *potra* (Sanskrit *pautra*), *i.e.* son's son. It has been suggested on the basis of the similarity of names and coin-types that Agathocleia, mother of Strato I Soter, was the daughter of king Agathocles and the wife of king Menander. Although there is nothing absurd in the suggestion itself, it has to be admitted that even if it were not irreconcilable with the date of Menander accepted in these pages, it would go against the evidence of the coins of Agathocleia and Strato I restruck by Heliocles with his own devices. This Heliocles is usually believed to have been the son of Eucratides who, however, seems to have ruled earlier than Lysias and Antialcidas and probably also Menander. But the difficulty is explained if we regard Heliocles, contemporary of Agathocleia and Strato I, as a later Eucratidian prince, probably a successor of Antialcidas, and not the same as Eucratides's son who ruled about the third quarter of the second century B.C. A king named Archebius, sometimes associated with the Taxila region, was connected with or ruled contemporaneously with Heliocles who may have been the earlier or later prince of that name.

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[1] While the 'city goddess and Indian bull' is the type of the Pushkalāvatī coins, the '*pilei* (caps) of the Dioscuri' is associated with the city of Takṣhaśilā. Similarly 'ox-head' is regarded as the type of Bucephala and 'Nice to right' that of the city of Nicaea.

[2] As, according to the Purāṇas, the first four kings of the Śuṅga dynasty ruled for 61 years, the fifth king Bhāgabhadra, called Bhadraka in some Puranic texts, seems to have ascended the throne 61 years after Pushyamitra's accession (about 187 B.C.), *i.e.* about 126 B.C. His fourteenth regnal year thus seems to correspond to c. 113 B.C. See above, p. 98.

After Menander's death, his descendants probably lost their hold on Gandhāra and Afghānistān. Agathocleia and Strato I appear to have ruled only over the eastern part of the Punjāb. The facts that Strato I possibly began to rule as a minor and that his latest coins represent him as a very old man with sunken cheeks go to suggest that his reign covered a period of more than half a century. Thus Strato I appears to have ended his rule not much earlier than 30 B.C. The later Euthydemian princes, *viz.* Dionysius, Zoilus, Apollophanes, Hippostratus and Apollodotus (II or III) may be roughly assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C., and Hippostratus and Apollodotus, whose coins were restruck by the Śaka king Azes I (c. 5 B.C.-A.D. 30) may have actually been descendants of Strato I.

The debased style of the latest issues of Strato I and the joint issues of Strato I and Strato II point to the evil days that befell the princes of the Euthydemian house. The 'Athene Promachos' type of the coins of the rulers of this family was imitated not only by Scythian satraps like Rañjuvula but also by Indian kings like Bhadrayaśas, who may have had some share in the overthrow of the Yavanas of the eastern Punjāb. A *Yavana-rāja,* whose name is sometimes doubtfully read as Dimita in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, seems to have flourished about the close of the first century B.C. The record refers to Mathurā which probably formed a part of his kingdom. Nothing definite is known about the Yavana possessions of western India during this period; but large parts of those regions must have been overrun by the Śakas of East Irān before the closing years of the first century B.C. Gandhāra and Afghānistān were apparently in the possession of princes of the Eucratidian house. Amongst them Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenus, Artemidorus and Peucolaus may probably be associated with the city of Pushkalāvatī, which seems to have been the provenance of coins with the humped bull on the reverse.

An interesting coin-type actually represents on the obverse the city goddess of Pushkalāvatī (*pakhalavadi-devada*) wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus (*pushkala*) in her right hand, and on the reverse the Indian bull. The Eucratidian princes of the Takshaśilā and Pushkalāvatī regions were ousted by the Śakas of the lower Sindhu valley under their king Maues (*c.* 20 B.C.-A.D. 22) about the beginning of the first century A.D. Maues imitated the 'Artemis: Indian bull' type of the coins of king Artemidorus, probably of Pushkalāvatī.

Another branch of the house of Eucratides was possibly represented by Amyntas and Hermaeus who appear to have held sway over the Kāfiristān and Kābul regions. Hermaeus is found associated on some coins with his wife Calliope whose marriage, if she was really an Euthydemid princess, may have been the result of a peace ending the struggles between the houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides. On some other coins of Hermaeus, he is found to be in association with the Yueh-chi or Kushāṇa chief Kujula Kadphises, who probably acknowledged, during the earlier part of his eventful career, the suzerainty of the Yavana king. We have already referred to the occupation of Bactria first by the Śakas and then by the Yueh-chi. It will be seen from our subsequent discussion on the Kushāṇas that, about the time of Kujula Kadphises, the Yueh-chi were in actual possession of parts of the Kābul District. Hermaeus who flourished in the first half of the first century A.D. was the last Yavana king of the Kābul valley which soon passed to the Parthians and then to the Kushāṇas.

Reference has already been made to the extension of Parthian power up to the lower Sindhu during the reign of Mithradates I about the middle of the second century B.C. About a century later eastern Irān (the Drangiana or Seistān country), originally governed by the viceroys of the Parthian emperors, became an independent kingdom. Arachosia (Kandahār region in southern Afghānistān) formed a province of this new kingdom and must have passed from the Greeks to the Parthians long before the time of Hermaeus, probably in the reign of Mithradates I himself. As will be shown in the next chapter, the Parthian king Gondophernes (c. A.D. 21-50), originally a ruler of Arachosia, extirpated Yavana rule from the Kābul region; but soon after the Parthians were themselves overthrown by the Kushāṇas about the middle of the first century A.D.

We have traced above the gradual disappearance of Yavana suzerainty from Bactria, north-western India and Afghānistān. But the relation of the Yavanas with Indian politics did not end with the establishment of Scytho-Parthian and Kushāṇa supremacy. There is evidence to show that the services of qualified Yavanas were gladly accepted by the new lords of the land. There must have also existed numerous petty principalities under Yavana chiefs acknowledging the suzerainty of the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushāṇas. The Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (c. A.D. 106-30) claims to have come into conflict with the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. The territory of these Yavanas probably lay not far from Kāthiāwār and Mālwā, which formed the northern provinces of Gautamīputra's dominions. The same Yavana principality is probably referred to in the *Raghuvaṁśa* by Kālidāsa who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. While describing Raghu's *dig-vijaya,* Kālidāsa places the country of the Yavanas on the land-route from Aparānta (northern Konkan) to the land of the Pārasīkas (*i.e.* Persia), probably in the lower valley of the Sindhu. A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of the second half of the third century A.D. refers to the Yavana country which, among other lands, was visited by some Ceylonese nuns; but in this case we cannot be sure that the reference is not to the Graeco-Roman colonies that existed in the Far South of India in the early centuries of the Christian era.[1]

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W. W. Tarn. *The Greeks in Bactria and India.*

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[1] Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (first half of the tenth century) locates the Yavanas in the western division of India near about Brāhmaṇavāha (Brāhmanābād in Sind). Whether, however, the reference is to the inhabitants of an ancient Greek settlement or to the Arab conquerors of Sind and Multān cannot be definitely determined.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ŚAKAS AND THE PAHLAVAS

I. ŚAKA SETTLEMENTS

In the lists of foreigners who played an important part in Indian politics, the literary and epigraphic texts of ancient India often mention the Śakas (Scythians) and the Pahlavas (Parthians) together with the Yavanas (Greeks). As a result of tribal movements as well as of the aggression of neighbours, the Scythians, who were originally a tribe of Central Asian nomads, appear to have founded various settlements in different regions even in very ancient times. In the records of the early emperors of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persia, reference is made to no less than three settlements of the Śakas who were subjects of the Achaemenids. These were the Sakā Tigrakhaudā (Śakas with pointed helmets), Sakā Haumavargā and Sakā Taradarayā (Śakas over, or beyond, the sea). The Śakas with pointed helmets are probably also referred to in the Achaemenian records as those who lived beyond Suguda or Sogdiana (modern Bukhāra region) and in the work of Herodotus as the neighbours of the Bactrians.[1] They are supposed to have lived in the plains of the Jaxartes or Syr Darya "of which the modern capital is the city of Turkestān."[2] The Sakā Haumavargā have been identified by Thomas with the Scythian settlers of Drangiana in the Helmund valley, which afterwards came to be known as Sakastān (the land of the Śakas; Sanskrit *Śakasthāna;* medieval *Sijistān*; modern *Seistān*) The Śakas of the land beyond the sea are usually believed to have been those who dwelt in the Russian steppes to the north of the Black Sea.

As regards the Śaka settlement in eastern Irān, some scholars believe that after the dispersal of the Śaka tribes from the Oxus valley by the Yueh-chi, their main movement, checked by the Greek kingdom of Kābul, went westwards in the direction of Herāt and thence southwards to Seistān. It is further pointed out that the tide must have been actually flowing from the time when the Śakas had been displaced by the Yueh-chi from their home beyond the Jaxartes in the second century B.C. The Parthian emperors who were then in possession of eastern Irān struggled hard with the Scythians, and Phraates II (138-128 B.C.) and Artabanus I (128-123 B.C.) lost their lives in the strife. It was Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) who finally subdued the Śakas. The tide of Scythian movement, thus checked by the Parthians, ultimately flowed towards the valley of the Sindhu But many of the Śaka chiefs appear to have accepted the suzerainty of Parthia. It is again probable that some of the Śaka chieftains entered the Parthian army and came to eastern Irān in the train of the Parthian governors of those regions.

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[1] According to Arrian, a chief named Mauaces or Mavaces (*i.e.* Maues) who led the Sacians (Śakas), a Scythian tribe dwelling in Asia not far from Bactria and Sogdiana, was an ally of Darius III.

[2] *PHAI*. 358.

There is no doubt that Śaka occupation of the western part of Northern India was principally the work of the Śakas of eastern Irān. It is interesting to note that the name of Sakastān in Irān and of its capital, the city of Min, which are mentioned by Isidor of Charax about the beginning of the first century A.D., are both found also in India. The *Periplus* (c. A.D. 70-80) mentions the district of Scythia, from which flows down the river Sinthus (Sindhu), and its capital Min-nagara.[1] The same district is also known from the *Geography* of Ptolemy (c. A.D. 140) as Indo-Scythia, *i.e.* the Indian Sakastān, which comprised Patalene (the Sindhu delta), Abiria (Ābhīra country between Scythia on the lower Sindhu and the coast country of Surastrene according to the *Periplus*) and Surastrene (Saurāshtra).

The nomenclature of the early Śakas in India shows an admixture of Scythian, Parthian and Irānian elements. This no doubt suggests that the Śakas, before their entry into India, lived for a considerable period of time in the Irānian Sakastān under Parthian rulers, when they must have also received a good deal of admixture of blood. In India the Scythians soon adapted themselves to their new environs and began to adopt Indian names and religious beliefs. They are also known to have contracted matrimonial relations with Indian families. It is therefore no wonder that as early as the time of Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*,[2] the Śakas, like the Yavanas or

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[1] The *Periplus* refers to another Min-nagara which was the capital of the Scytho-Parthian king Mambarus. For this ruler, see the section on the Scythian rule in western India.

[2] Patañjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga (c. 187-151 B.C.); but his work, which appears to have undergone revisions at the hands of later grammarians of the same school, probably contains some interpolations. As the Śakas could have got a place in Indian society only some time after their advent into India, the *Mahābhāshya* passage in question may be a later addition to Patañjali's work. See *IHQ*. March, 1929, pp. 38 ff.

Greeks, found a place in the Indian society as the *aniravasita* (clean) Śūdra. The *Manusaṁhitā* recognises not only the Yavanas and Śakas but also the Pahlavas and Pāradas[1] as degraded Kshatriyas.

For the early history of Śakas we are specially indebted to the Chinese and classical writers. The Chinese encyclopaedia of Ma-twan-lin (thirteenth century) observes: "In ancient times the Hiung-nu having defeated the Yueh-chi, the latter went to the west to dwell among the Ta-hia, and the king of the Saï (the Śakas) went southwards to live in Ki-pin. The tribes of the Saï divided and dispersed, so as to form here and there different kingdoms." According to the *Ts'ien-Han-shu* (History of the First Han Dynasty) also, "formerly when the Hiung-nu conquered the Ta-Yueh-chi (the Great Yueh-chi) the latter emigrated to the west and subjugated the Ta-hia; whereupon the Saï-wang (the Śaka king) went to the south and ruled over Ki-pin."

The suggestion of scholars that by Ta-hia the Chinese indicated the kingdom of Bactria seem to be justifiable; but the Chinese name might actually represent the Tukhāra country, which probably formed a northern province of Bactria.[2] The Śakas were thus successively driven by the Yueh-chi from the valley of the Jaxartes to that of the Oxus, and thence to Ki-pin.[3] The location of Ki-pin is difficult to determine, some scholars favouring its identification with Kāpiśa (Kāfiristān) and others with Kāshmir. It is not improbable that Ki-pin of the Chinese vaguely indicated the wide region known in earlier times as the *Mahā-janapada* of Kāmboja which, as noted above,[4] seems to have extended from the Rajauri valley in Kāshmir in the east to Kāfiristān in the west. As, however, Ki-pin is placed to the south of Ta-hia, the land actually indicated appears to be in the Kāfiristān region.

The earliest Śaka ruler of Ki-pin known from Chinese sources is Wu-t'ou-lao whose son was ousted, with Chinese help by Yin-mo-fu, son of the prince of Yung-kü. Yin-mo-fu, the Scythian king of Ki-pin, was a contemporary of the Chinese emperor Hsüan-ti (73-48 B.C.) and Yüan-ti (48-33 B.C.). His successor seems to have sought without success the help of the Chinese emperor against the

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[1] The Pahlavas (from old Persian *Parthava*) are regarded as the Parthians; but when the Pāradas (apparently, the Parthians) are separately mentioned, the term *Pahlava* possibly indicates the Sassanians or Persians in general.

[2] According to early Muslim authors, Tukhāristān usually indicated the old Bactria to the south of the Oxus; but, properly speaking, it was the mountainous country on both sides of the river as far as Badakhshān. See J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, Calcutta, 1927, p. 470.

[3] See above, Ch. VII, §5.

[4] See p. 15.

Yueh-chi. The relations of the Śakas of the Ki-pin country, mentioned by the Chinese, with India proper as well as with the Śakas of eastern Irān, who occupied wide regions of western and north-western India, are unknown.

II. VONONES AND HIS FAMILY

We have already referred to the Parthian conquest of eastern Irān and the adjoining parts of India under Mithradates I. Direct control of these lands by the government of Ctesiphon (the Parthian capital on the left bank of the Tigris not far from modern Baghdad), however, lasted only for a short time. The struggle of the Parthians with the Scythians, in which two of their emperors lost their lives, must have led to relaxation of the grip of the central Parthian government on the remote provinces. This naturally led to the establishment of independent or semi-independent states in the eastern part of the empire under the leadership of governors of Parthian or Scythian or mixed Scytho-Parthian nationality.[1]

The earliest local Parthian ruler of east Irān, who known from his coins to have assumed the imperial title "great king of kings", was Vonones (Persian *Vanāna*). It has been pointed out that amongst the Parthian emperors the above title was for the first time assumed by Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.)[2] and that, therefore, Vonones, who may have originally been the viceroy of Drangiana (east Irān), must have flourished after that monarch. The name of Vonones is Parthian, but his brothers (probably step-brothers by the Scythian wives of his father) bore names having Persian and Scythian features. Vonones seems to have ruled southern Afghānistān and the eastern parts of his dominions through viceroys.

An interesting feature of the coins of Vonones' family is the association of the suzerain, the "great king of kings", whose name is given in the Greek legend on the obverse, with the viceroy whose name occurs in the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse. Sometimes two subordinate rulers are similarly associated, the name of the senior one occupying the obverse of the coins and that of the junior the reverse. The family relations between the king whose name occupies the obverse and the ruler who is mentioned on the reverse are often indicated in the coin-legends. Vonones, the great king of kings, is seen to have ruled conjointly with his brother or step-brother Śpalahora and his nephew Śpalagadama, son of Śpalahora. Śpalahora and his son probably ruled over Arachosia (southern Afghānistān). On the early coins of another ruler named Spalirises (Śpalirisha) the prince is described, without any royal title, as the brother of *the king* who is usually identified by numismatists with Vonones.

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[1] Thomas says: "It would seem probable that the tribes from eastern Irān who invaded India included diverse elements mingled indistinguishably together, so that it is not possible to assert that one dynasty was definitely Parthian while another was Śaka." (*JRAS*, 1906, p. 215.)

[2] Cf. *CHI*, I. 567.

If this identification is to be accepted, Spalirises was another brother or step-brother of Vonones and ruled as the latter's viceroy over a territory (probably about South Afghānistān) where the 'Zeus standing' coin-type of Heliocles prevailed. In another series of coins of the same type Spalirises, as the senior using the Greek legend on the obverse, is associated with a ruler named Aya (Azes) as the junior using the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse. Both of them bear the subordinate or viceregal title 'the great king' and were probably ruling under Vonones. Spalirises later issued coins of the type 'Zeus enthroned' (known from the issues of Heliocles Hermaeus and others) as the successor of Vonones in the suzerainty of east Irān. This type of Spalirises is sometimes found restruck on some coins of Vonones. This fact probably indicates that Vonones, in his old age, was overthrown by his younger brother or step-brother Spalirises. It is interesting to note that Spalirises is also known to have restruck some coins issued jointly by Spalyris (identified by some scholars with Śpalahora) and Śpalagadama, who were probably ousted by Spalirises because they were loyal to the cause of Vonones and did not submit to the usurper of his throne.

The easternmost districts of the old empire of Mithradates I appear later to have been under rulers of Śaka nationality, who were probably either semi-independent viceroys owing allegiance to Vonones or subordinate allies of that king, but appear to have assumed complete independence by disregarding Spalirises' claim of suzerainty after his usurpation of Vonones' throne. The earliest independent Scythian king of Indo-Scythia seems to have been Mauses (Moa, Moga) who is not only known from his coins but also from a Taxila inscription dated in the year 78 of an era apparently of Scytho-Parthian institution. There is reason to believe that the origin of the era was associated with Vonones, the founder of an independent kingdom in Drangiana, and that it was carried to India by the Scythians and ultimately after many centuries came to be known as the Vikrama-Saṁvat.[1] Vonones seems to have begun his viceregal career in 58 B.C., the epoch of this era, quite early in life. Later he assumed independence and probably ended his career about 18 B.C. He was succeeded in the sovereignty of eastern Irān by his brother or step-brother Spalirises (c. 18-1 B.C.).

III. MAUES AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The Śaka ruler Maues (c. 20 B.C.-A.D. 22) not only severed his relations with the Great King of Kings of east Irān soon after the usurpation of Spalirises, but extended Śaka suzerainty over large parts of north-western India and himself assumed the dignified title of 'great king of kings.'[1] The coins of Maues are copied from those issued by princes of both the Indo-Greek houses, the Eucratidians ruling in the upper Kābul valley and the Euthydemians in the eastern Punjāb. The occupation of Gandhāra by Maues, as suggested by the Taxila inscription of the year 78 of the Scytho-Parthian era, corresponding to A.D. 21 according to the system of chronology followed by us, shows that by his conquests Maues drove a wedge between the two Indo-Greek kingdoms. Although the extirpation of the Indo-Greek kingdom of the eastern Punjāb seems to have been left for his successor, the Śakas extended their power, during Maues' rule, as far as Mathurā in the east. The Mathurā region was conquered long before the year 72, corresponding to A.D. 15, which is the date of an inscription of the time of the Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Śoṇḍāsa.

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[1] Early Indian rulers used to date their records according to their own regnal reckoning, which fact points to the absence of any popular era in ancient India. The use of an era is first noticed in India in the records of the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushāṇas who were no doubt responsible for its popularisation in this country. It is interesting to note that these foreigners entered India through lands where the use of two of the earliest eras in the history of the world—the Seleucid era of 312 B.C. and the Arsacid (Parthian) era of 248 B.C. —must have been quite familiar.

As, moreover, the name of the month in the date of the Taxila inscription of 78 is Parthian, it has been suggested that the era is of Parthian origin and that it probably marks the establishment of a new kingdom in east Irān (cf. *CHI*, I, 570). It is therefore quite probable that the first year of the reign of Vonones, the earliest independent Parthian ruler of Drangiana, came to be regarded as the beginning of a new reckoning that was instituted to oust the imperial Parthian era of 248 B.C. As Vonones seems to have flourished about the middle of the first century B.C., it is not unreasonable to place his accession in 58 B.C. which is the epoch of the earliest extant Indian reckoning of a historical character.

It is thus possible that the Scytho-Parthian era starting from the accession of Vonones about the middle of the first century B.C. is no other than the so-called Vikrama-Saṁvat of 58 B.C., which was known in early times as the Kṛita era or the reckoning associated with the republic of the Mālava tribe. The Mālavas originally lived in the Punjāb and apparently submitted to the Greek and Scytho-Parthian conquerors of that land. Under foreign pressure, they gradually migrated to Rājputāna and ruled over the district round Nagar (ancient Mālava-nagara) in old Jaipur State. Ultimately they gave their name to Mālwā (Mālava) in Madhya Bhārat. It was therefore the Mālavas who probably carried the Scytho-Parthian era of 58 B.C. from the Punjab to Rājputāna and Madhya Bhārat. The era came to be known in these regions as the reckoning associated with the Mālavas and with Kṛita who seems to have been an illustrious leader of the Mālava tribe. See *infra*, section on the Mālavas. In some parts of central and western India the Scytho-Parthian era became a rival of the reckoning of 78 A.D. used by the Śaka rulers of those regions, who were ousted by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

With the development of the legend of Vikramāditya Śakāri, the rival of the Śaka era became, about the eighth century A.D., associated with the name of Vikramāditya, the extirpator of the foreigners. As we shall presently see, the identification of the old Scytho-Parthian reckoning of Drangiana with the Vikrama-Saṁvat of 58 B.C. is remarkably supported by the Takht-i-bahi inscription of Gondophernes dated in the year 103, apparently of the same era. The progressive career of the Scytho-Parthian era was checked in north-western India by the establishment of a new reckoning from the accession of Kanishka; but it did not die out because of its popularity with some of the Scythian families that often used it even during the sovereignty of the Kushāṇas of Kanishka's house.

Numismatic evidence suggests that Maues was succeeded by Azes (c. 5 B.C.-A.D. 30). This Azes seems to be no other than the ruler of that name who was a colleague of Spalirises in the rule of a territory about southern Afghānistān. As the conjoint rule of a king and a sub-king, of a senior and a junior ruler, and of a governor and a subordinate governor was an important characteristic of Scythian rule in India, and as the relation was not usually indicated when the junior or subordinate ruler was the son of the senior ruler or sovereign, it has been suggested that Azes was the son of Spalirises. If this suggestion is accepted, it has to be assumed that Azes became the 'great king of kings' of the Śaka possessions in India after Maues, by virtue of conquest or more probably by some relationship that may have existed between himself and Maues. It is not improbable that Azes, son of Spalirises, was the son-in-law of Maues. Azes is known to have restruck the coins of the Euthydemian kings Apollodotus II and Hippostratus and imitated some of their distinctive monograms. The most noteworthy of his coin-types is 'Athene Promachos' on the reverse, which was, again, characteristic of the coins of Menander and his successors in the eastern Punjāb. It has therefore been supposed by numismatists that Azes not only ruled over the empire of Maues but extirpated the independent rule of the Euthydemian house.

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[1] The earliest coins of Maues have the legend *Basilêôs Mauou* in Greek, sometimes with *Maharajasa Moasa* in Kharoshṭhī. But his later issues have *Basilêôs Basilêôn Mêgalou Mauou* and *Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Moasa.*

Some coins were issued by Azes jointly with another king named Azilises. Both the rulers are styled the 'great king of kings', but the name of Azes as the senior is given in the Greek legend on the obverse and that of Azilises as the junior in the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse. Thus Azilises (c. A.D. 28-40), who was probably the son of Azes, ruled for some time conjointly with the latter whom he ultimately succeeded on the throne. There is another group of coins on which the name of Azilises occupies the place of honour in the Greek legend on the obverse and that of Azes is given in the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse. Most scholars now believe that this Azes (c. A.D. 35-79) was a second ruler of that name who was probably the son and successor of Azilises and ruled for some time conjointly with his predecessor. Thus, according to the chronology and order of succession followed above, the Indo-Scythian kings may be represented in a table like the following:—

1. Maues (Moa, Moga), c. 20 B.C.-A.D. 22.
2. Azes (Aya) I, c. 5 B.C.-A.D. 30; son (?) of Spalirises of east Irān and son-in-law (?) of No. 1.
3. Azilises (Ayilisha), c. A.D. 28-40; son (?) of No. 2.
4. Azes (Aya, Aja) II, c. A.D. 35-79; son (?) of No. 3.

Some numismatists believe that Azes and Azilises are two forms of the same name, while another group of scholars suggests that Azilises I was succeeded by Azes whose successor was Azilises II. But these theories are not quite convincing. According to some writers, Azes I was the founder of the Vikrama-Saṁvat of 58 B.C. It is, however, more probable that the Vikrama era is identical with the Drangian reckoning that may have been started to indicate the independent status of east Irān and to oust the Arsacid era starting from 248 B.C., when Parthia itself threw off both the Seleucid yoke and the Seleucid era of 312 B.C.

Azes I, even if he was the son of Spalirises, seems to have little to do with the kingdom of east Irān. It is probable that after he had succeeded Maues in India, the relations of Azes I with Spaliries became unfriendly. The hostile relations between the two neighbouring kingdoms of Drangiana (including Seistān and Arachosia) under the Parthians (or Scytho-Parthians) and Indo-Scythia under the Scythians are indicated by numismatic and other evidences. According to some scholars, the 'Heracles seated' type coins of Azilises point to his direct control over the district of southern Afghānistān. Epigraphic and numismatic records of Gondophernes (*c.* A.D. 21-50), the Parthian ruler of Arachosia, prove that he conquered large parts of north-western India probably during the reign of Azes II.

About the beginning of the first century A.D., when Isidor of Charax wrote, the easternmost provinces of the Parthian empire are said to have been Aria (Herāt), the country of Anauoi (Farrah), Drangiana and Sakastān (the districts between the Hamun and the Helmund), and Arachosia (Kandahār), although these territories had formed a separate kingdom about the middle of the first century B.C. It is not known whether Sakastān in this case indicated the wide regions then under the sway of the Śakas. In A.D. 43-44, however, when Apollonius of Tyana visited Taxila, that region was occupied by Phraotes, no doubt a Parthian. The *Periplus* (*c.* A.D. 70-80) refers to the Parthian occupation of Min-nagara, the capital of Indo-Scythia.

IV. GONDOPHERNES

Gondophernes (Persian *Vindapharna*, 'Winner of Glory') seems to have been originally the Parthian viceroy of Arachosia under the 'Great King of Kings' Orthagnes (Persian *Verethragna*, 'the victorious'), who was probably the successor of Spalirises on the throne of Drangiana.[1] As a viceroy Gondophernes was associated with another subordinate ruler named Guḍa or Guḍana whose name sometimes appears alone on some coins of Orthagnes. Gondophernes gradually extended his power in different directions and became an emperor. He used some of the coin-types of Orthagnes, which may point to his control over east Irān. The distinctive sign of Gondophernes found on his coins is sometimes found countermarked on the issues of the Parthian emperors Orodes I (57-38 B.C.) and Artabanus III (A.D. 10-40). This has been taken to indicate that he conquered certain districts of the Parthian empire.

In the north, Gondophernes seems to have ousted Hermaeus, the last Greek king of the upper Kābul valley, in spite of the help the latter received from his Kushāṇa ally, Kujula Kadphises. As regards the Parthian occupation of Kābul, we have seen that Isidor, about the beginning of the first century, does not include that region in the list of the eastern provinces of the empire of the Parthians,

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1. It is not improbable that Orthagnes was a Parthian and that he ousted Spalirises who may have had Scythian blood in his veins.

although Philostratus refers about A.D. 43-44 to the extension of Parthian rule to this land. The Chinese historian Fan-ye seems to refer to the Parthian conquest of Kābul before its occupation by the Kushāṇas, *i.e.* about the middle of the first century A.D., when he says: "whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien-chou (India proper) Ki-pin (Kāfiristān and the adjoining eastern region) and Ngan-si (Parthia) became powerful, it brought Kābul under subjection. When it grew weak it lost Kābul. ....Later Kābul fell under the rule of Parthia." It seems that the rulers of the eastern provinces of the Parthian empire, even after their assumption of independence, were sometimes regarded as nominal subordinates of the Parthian emperors.

The success of Gondophernes in the Upper Kābul Valley was, however, short-lived. According to Fan-ye, Kujula Kadphises, the first Kushāṇa king of the Yueh-chi, occupied Kao-fu (Kābul), apparently about the middle of the first century A.D. Numismatic evidence suggests that Kujula Kadphises also extended Kushana rule over southern Afghānistān.

Gondophernes' success against the Śakas in India was more conspicuous. The discovery of a record of his reign at Takht-i-bahi in the Yusufzai territory near Mardan in the Peshāwar District, coupled with the tradition of a Parthian named Phraotes ruling in Taxila in A.D. 43-44, point to the Parthian occupation of Gandhāra.

King Gondophernes is associated on his coins not only with his nephew Abdagases (who never ruled independently but only as a viceroy, probably of Seistān and Kandahār), but also with his governors Sapedana and Satavastra and his *stratega* (Greek *strategos* corresponding to Sanskrit *Senāpati*) or military governors Aspavarman, son of Indravarman, and Sasa, son of Aspavarman's brother. The style of Sapedana and Satavastra, *viz.* 'great king, king of kings', possibly shows that even during the lifetime of Gondophernes, 'the great king, supreme king of kings', the allegiance of the governors was becoming nominal. Indravarman is known from his own coins on which he is described as the son of Vijayamitra, probably the chief of that name mentioned in the Shinkot or Bajaur casket inscriptions. His son Aspavarman (Sanskrit Aśvavarman) is no doubt the governor of that name who is associated on some coins with Azes, apparently Azes II. It is clear that Aspavarman first ruled over a district in north-western India as a Viceroy of the Śaka king Azes II and next transferred his allegiance to the Parthian conqueror Gondophernes, and that he was succeeded in the viceroyalty by his nephew Sesa (Sanskrit Śaśan), who later served Pacores, the successor of Gondophernes. It, however, cannot be said that the entire Indian possession of Azes II was conquered by Gondophernes.

But the loss of the western provinces may have encouraged the feudatories ruling over other parts of the empire of Azes II to become practically independent. In this critical time, the Śaka king seems to have sought the help of the Kushāṇas, then established in Afghānistān after having ousted the Pahlava successors of the Greeks. The Kushānas possibly gave shelter to Azes II and gradually drove out the Parthians from the Gandhāra region. Kushāna war-lords made extensive conquests in the western parts of northern India and the conquered lands were soon consolidated and annexed to the Kushāna empire. Azes II, the protégé of the Kushāṇas, was probably never again in actual possession of his lost kingdom.

The above outline of events leading to the establishment of Kushāna domination over the Scythian possessions in India appears to be the most probable in the light of the scanty data available to us. Although it cannot be regarded as a definitely established fact, it is supported by evidence that will be more elaborately discussed in the next chapter.

The Takht-i-bahi inscription of Gondophernes is dated in the year 103 of the Scytho-Parthian or Vikrama era and in the year 26 of his own reign. The king thus ruled from A.D. 21 to at least up to A.D. 46. According to Christian tradition, Gūdnaphar (Syriac version) or Goundaphoros (Greek vesion) was "the king of India" at whose court the Apostle Thomas was received shortly after the Crucifixion in A.D. 29 or 33, that is to say about the middle of the first century A.D. Scholars have identified this king with Gondophernes (Guduhvara of the Takht-i-bahi inscription) who has to be assigned exactly to the above epoch, if the date (year 103) of his record is referred to the Vikrama era. The Kushāna occupation of the Gandhāra region is indicated by the Panjtar (on the borders of the Peshāwar and Hazāra Districts) inscription of the year 122, and the Taxila (Rāwalpindi District) inscription of the year 136, both the dates being referable to the Scytho-Parthian era and corresponding respectively to A.D. 65 and A.D. 79. The Kushānas thus

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1. The story of the conversion of Gondophernes to Christianity and the martyrdom of St. Thomas is given in detail by V. A. Smith but though current as early as the 3rd century A.D., its truth is doubted by many, cf. *EHI*⁴. 246-50; CHI, I. 578.

appear to have driven out the Parthians from the Gandhāra region before A.D. 65. But the most important thing to be considered in this connection is that the records do not mention any Kushāṇa ruler by name, the Panjtar inscription referring to the *rājya,* probably of a governor styled *Mahārāja* Gushaṇa (Kushāṇa), and the Taxila inscription to a king or a semi-independent governor designated *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* Khushaṇa (Kushāṇa).

It is also to be noted that the Taxila inscription is dated in the year 136 of Aya, just as the Kalawan epigraph, which does not refer to the Kushānas, is dated in the year 134 of Aja. *Aya* and *Aja* are both Indian forms of the name Azes, who in these cases must be Azes II. The name of Azes II occupies the same position in these dates as does that of Moga (Maues) in the Taxila inscription of the year 78, the only difference being that, while the name of Moga is endowed with royal titles, Azes II is mentioned without any marks of royalty. The omission of the Kushāna ruler from the Kalawan record and of the personal names of the Kushāṇa rulers in the Panjtar and Taxila epigraphs, coupled with the mention of Azes II in two of the above epigraphs without any royal title, no doubt points to an indefinite political situation. Probably the Kushāṇas conquered the land on behalf of Azes II who was now living with them as their protégé; but they did not for some time formally claim to have been the actual lords of the territories. The Panjtar inscription uses the word *rājya* to indicate the *de facto* rule of the Kushānas; but the fiction of the *de jure* reign of Azes II may have been restricted to certain localities and to Scythian families devoted to the Śaka king. By A.D. 79, the Kushāṇas must have become absolute masters of large parts of northern India not only at the expense of Pacores, the successor of Gondophernes, but also of a number of independent or semi-independent Scythian and Indian princes.

A remarkable hoard of coins from Taxila was found to contain two types of Gondophernes, one of Pacores, and one of Wema Kadphises, son of the Kushāṇa king Kujula Kadphises. The first two types bear the portrait and symbol of Gondophernes with the names respectively of his viceroys Sapedana and Satavastra who, as already noticed, are styled 'great king, king of kings' and were apparently reigning practically as independent rulers. The coins of Pacores have on the reverse the name of the 'great king' Sasa, son of Aspa's brother, who had originally been a viceroy of Gondophernes, the predecessor of Pacores. The find of the coins of

Wema Kadphises, "the great king, supreme king of kings, the Kushāna chief", along with those of Gondophernes and Pacores may be regarded as indicating the extirpation of Parthian rule from the Taxila region by the Kushānas.

The exact relation of Gondophernes with Phraotes, apparently a Parthian whom Apollonius of Tyana is said to have seen, according to Philostratus, in possession of Taxila in A.D. 43-44, is unknown. Phraotes was not only independent of the Parthian emperor Vardanes (c. A.D. 39-47) but was himself powerful enough to exercise suzerain power over the satrap of the Sindhu valley. It seems that Phraotes was for some time the semi-independent governor of Gandhāra under Gondophernes. Philostratus refers to the perpetual quarrel of the "barbarians" (no doubt the Kushāṇas) with the Parthian king of the Indian borderland. That Parthian rule continued in the lower Sindhu valley as late as the eighth decade of the first century A.D. is evidenced by the *Periplus* which says: "Before it (Barbaricum on the principal mouth of the Sindhu) there lies a small island and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Min-nagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out."

A Parthian king, known from his coins with a purely Greek legend, was Sanabares, who probably ruled in east Irān as a successor of Pacores. Some coins discovered in the Jhelum District have been attributed to the son of a chief named Bagapharna, probably an Indo-Parthian. Numismatic source discloses the name of an Indo-Scythian king called Aṭhama who is supposed to have belonged to the family of Azes II. Aṭhama, however, was a subordinate ruler. Some other rulers known from their coins may be mentioned in this connection. They are Miaus or Heraus, Arsaces Theos, Arsaces Dicaius, Hyrcodes, Sapaleizes and Phseigacharis. But nothing definite is known about their history and nationality.

V. THE SATRAPAL FAMILIES

The word *Satrap*, meaning a provincial governor, is derived from pseudo-Sanskrit *Kshatrapa* (Prakrit *Chhatrava*, *Chhatrapa*, cf. the pseudo-Sanskrit royal title *Chhatrapati*), which is the same as old-Persian *Kshathrapāvan*. In India a more dignified title *Mahākshatrapa*, Great Satrap, was coined in the same way as *Rājan* and *Mahārāja*. In the Indo-Scythian administration there is reference not only to the joint rule of two kings, but also of two Kshatrapas as well as of a Mahā-kshatrapa and a Kshatrapa (cf. the joint rule of the *Rājan* and the *Yuvarāja* in ancient Indian administration). Some of the satraps who may have been military governors were styled *Stratega* (Greek Strategos; cf. the other satrapal title *Meridarkha*, Greek *Meridarch*).

We have already referred to the Satrap Aspavarman, son of Indravarman, serving under Azes II and Gondophernes, and to Aspa's nephew Sasa who served under Gondophernes, and Pacores. Mention has also been made of Sapedana and Satavastra who ruled over an Indian district as semi-independent viceroys of Gondopheres. All these satraps are usually assigned to the Taxila region, although the provenance of coins can hardly be regarded as a very satisfactory evidence in this respect.[1]

An earlier satrap, associated with Taxila, is the Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka, who probably belonged to the Kshaharāta family and ruled over the district of Chukhsa (modern Chach, north-west of Taxila) as a viceroy of Moga (Maues) in the year 78 (A.D. 21). His son was the *Mahā-dānapati* Patika. A Mahākshatrapa named Kusulaa Padika (*i.e.* Patika Kusuluka) and a Kshatrapa named Mevaki Hiyika are mentioned in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions of the time of Mahākshatrapa Rañjuvula and his son Kshatrapa Śoṇḍāsa.[2]

As Śoṇḍāsa is styled a Mahākshatrapa (to which position he must have attained after his father's death) in another Mathurā inscription of the year 72 (A.D. 15), the Lion Capital epigraphs have to be assigned to a slightly earlier date. Probably about A.D. 10. The Mahākshatrapa Patika Kusuluka, known from the Lion Capital records, therefore, cannot be identified with the *Mahādānapati* Patika, son of the Mahākshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka mentioned in the Taxila inscription of A.D. 21, even if the *Mahādānapati* became a Mahākshatrapa after his father's death. It is not improbable that Patika Kusuluka of the Mathurā inscriptions was the father of Liaka Kusuluka and the grandfather of Patika of the Taxila record. The satrapal houses of Taxila and Mathurā were possibly related to each other.

Another Kshatrapa, connected with the western Punjāb, was Zeionises (Jihunia), son of the Kshatrapa Maṇigula, who is known from his coins and is supposed on numismatic grounds to have been a contemporary of Azes II. A Taxila inscription of the year 191 (A.D. 134), refers to a Kshatrapa of Chuksha named Jihoṇika (Zeionises) who was probably the son of a *Mahārāja,* whose name cannot be read. Sten Konow's suggestion that Jihonika was the son of a brother of Azes II is based on a conjectural restoration of a defaced portion of the inscription. Zeionises of the Taxila record was probably a grandson of Zeionises, son of Manigula. An inscription from Manikiala mentions a Kshatrapa. probably of Kāpiśī (capital of Kāiśa in Kāfiristān) He was the son of another Kshatrapa whose name, sometimes read as Graṇavhryaka, is doubtful. A Kshtrapa named Śivasena is known from a copper seal discovered in the Punjāb. His ascription to the city of Abhisāraprastha is based on a conjectural reading. It is probable that these satraps were all viceroys of the Kushānas.

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[1] The Shinkot inscription of the grandfather of Aśpavarman suggests that the territory ruled by Aśpa and Sasa included the Bajaur tribal area.

[2] The nasal sound in the names Rañjuvula and Śoṇḍāsa has often been ignored. Another form of Rañjuvula's name was Rājūla.

Another Kshatrapa named Kharaosta or Prakharaosta, son of Arṭa is known from his coins. He is usually identified with the *Yuvarāja* Kharaosta who was related to the satrapal house of Mathurā and is mentioned in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions. He was probably the son of a daughter of Mahā-kshatrapa Rañjuvula. Sten Konow's suggestion that Kharaosta was the father-in-law of Rañjuvula and that he was inheritor to the position of 'king of kings' after Moga does not appear to be convincing.

Mathurā, capital of the ancient Śūrasena *Mahā-janapada,* probably became the headquarters of a satrapal family of Śakas as early as the time of Maues. The earliest Scythian Kshatrapa of Mathurā seems to have been Rañjuvula who first ruled as a Kshatrapa, and then as a Mahākshatrapa jointly with his son Śondāsa as Kshatrapa.[1] The Kshatrapa Śoṇḍāsa became a Mahākshatrapa after his father's death. A Mathurā inscription of the time of the Mahākshatrapa Śoṇdāsa is dated in the year 72 of the Scytho-Parthian or Vikrama era corresponding to A.D. 15. Some scholars refer the date to the Śaka era of A.D. 78. But this is improbable if the Śaka-kāla is identified with Kanishka's reckoning.

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[1] Rañjuvula's earlier coins bear legends in Greek and Kharoshṭhī, but later issues have legends only in Brāhmī, which was the script prevalent in Mathurā. His son Śonḍāsa as well as the other Kshatrapas of Mathurā used Brāhmī only in their coin-legends. The facts that Rañjuvula's coins were found in the Punjab and in the western part of the U.P. and that his commonest type is copied from the coins of Strato I and II, while his rarest issues are imitated from the coins of the local rulers of Mathurā, show that the Śaka chief, who seems to have been a semi-independent general of Maues, established himself at Mathurā late in life. For the local rulers of Mathurā, see *infra*, Ch. XI.

An interesting fact about Rañjuvula and Śoṇḍāsa is that no overlord is mentioned in the records of their time. On his coins Rañjuvula is represented in the Kharoshṭhī legend as the *apratihata-chakra* Kshatrapa and in the corrupt Greek legend as *Basilêi Basilêôs Sôteros,* probably indicating 'king of kings, the saviour'. These satraps therefore appear to have ruled the easternmost province of the Śaka empire as semi-independent chiefs. On coins issued by Śondāsa as a Kshatrapa he is represented as the son of Rañjuvula or of the Mahākshatrapa.

There are some coins of a Kshatrapa named Taraṇaḍāsa or Bharanaḍāsa. who was also the son of a Mahākshatrapa. This ruler may have been a son of Śoṇḍāsa. A later Kshatrapa of Mathurā was Hagāna who issued coins jontly with another Kshatrapa named Hagāmasha. Coins issued by Kshatrapa Hagāmasha alone are fairly common. A satrap named Ghaṭāka, who belonged to the Kshaharāta family, is known from an inscription found at Ganeshra near Mathurā. His relations with other satraps of the locality are unknown. We have also coins of two Kshatrapas named Śivaghosha and Śivadatta, who were probably Hinduised Śakas. The Scythian satrapal dynasty of Mathurā seems to have been overthrown by the Kushāna king Kanishka about the beginning of his career.

The suzerainty of the Kushāṇas in India, who supplanted that of the Scytho-Parthians, however, did not totally uproot the numerous Śaka principalities under subordinate chiefs. We have already seen that even in the second quarter of the second century A.D. when Ptolemy wrote his *Geography,* the principal Indo-Scythian possessions, apparently under the sovereign rule of the Kushāṇas, covered large parts of Western India including the lower Sindhu valley and Saurāshṭra. The Śaka satraps of Western India, owing allegiance to the Kushānas, continued to rule in those regions for a long time after the decline of the Kushāna imperial power in India. It will, therefore, be convenient to discuss their history in a later chapter along with that of the other states that flourished on the ruins of the Kushāna empire.

CHAPTER IX

THE KUSHĀṆAS

I. ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

The Kushānas, who played such a dominant part in Indian politics, were a branch of the famous Yueh-chi tribe whose early history is noticed in several Chinese historical works.[1] The Yueh-chi originally dwelt in the land between the Tsenn-hoang or Tun-huang country and the K'i-lien or Tien-shan range in Chinese Turkestān, in the province of Kan-su according to some scholars. There they were defeated and expelled from the land, about 165 B.C. according to most authorities, by a neighbouring tribe called the Hiung-nu, who killed the leader of the Yueh-chi horde and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The widow of the slain ruler now came to power and guided the tribe in the course of its westward migration.

While the Yueh-chi were passing through the land to the north of the Taklamakan desert, they came into conflict with a horde known as the Wu-sun who occupied the valleys of the Ili river and its southern tributaries. After having defeated the Wu-sun and slain their chieftain, the Yueh-chi marched on westwards, beyond Lake Issiq Köl, in search of a suitable home. A small section of the people, however, went to the south to settle on the Tibetan frontier and became known as the Little Yueh-chi. The main branch of the tribe, the Ta-Yueh-chi or Great Yueh-chi, in the course of their westward march, met the Sse, Saï or Sek (Śaka) dwelling in the plains on the northern bank (both the northern and southern banks, according to some writers) of the Jaxartes or Syr Darya.

The Śakas were defeated and dispersed[2] and the Great Yueh-chi settled in their country. But the Yueh-chi occupation of the Śaka land did not last long. The son of the slain king of the Wu-sun, who had now grown to manhood under the protection of the Hiung-nu, attacked the Yueh-chi with Hiung-nu help and drove them out of the land which they had wrested from the Śakas. The Yueh-chi, thus forced, moved further west and south to the valley of the Oxus or Amu Darya, defeated the Śakas and settled in the country called Ta-hia, which is usually identified with Bactria. The natives of this country, who were unskilled in war[1] and devoted to commerce and were wanting in cohesion, were easily subjugated and the Yueh-chi established their capital in the modern Bokhāra region (ancient Sogdiana) to the north of the Oxus. The Chinese envoy Chang-kien visited the Yueh-chi capital in that locality about 125 B.C.

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[1] Some of these have been mentioned above, p. 122. For other Chinese passages cf. *IA*. 1908, pp. 26 ff; *JDL*, 1920, pp. 71 ff; *Num. Supp.* XLVII.

[2] *Ante*, p. 122.

From Pan-ku's history of the first Han dynasty dealing with the period down to A.D. 24, we learn that the Yueh-chi capital to the north of the Oxus was Kien-chi or Kien-she and that Ki-pin[2] lay on the southern border of the Yueh-chi kingdom. We also know that the Yueh-chi were no longer nomads and that their country had become divided into five principalities,[3] one of them being the Kuei-shuang or Kushāṇa.

According to Fan-ye's history of the later Han dynasty, more than hundred years after this division "the *Yabgou* (chief; the same as *Yavuga* of the coin legends) of Kouei-chouang named K'ieou-tsieou-k'io attacked and vanquished the four other *Yabgous* and called himself king (*wang*); he invaded Ngan-si (the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kao-fu (Kābul), overcame Po-ta (not far from Kābul) and Ki-pin (Kāfiristān and the adjoining eastern region) and became completely master of these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-k'io died at the age of more

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1. The *Periplus* which describes the Bactrians as a warlike nation possibly refers to the Greek population of the country. As has already been suggested, Ta-hia, probably represented, in a narrow sense, the Tukhāra country which seems to have been a northern province of Bactria. The fact that the Yueh-chi are said to have had their capital to the north of the Oxus, possibly after their settlement in Ta-hia, may suggest that the Ta-hia country, as known to the Chinese, lay on both sides of that river. It is often believed that the Śakas had been driven only from Sogdiana by the Yueh-chi before Chang-kien's visit to the Yueh-chi capital, *CHI*. I. p. 566. But cf. *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I. xxii.
2. *Ante*, p. 122.
3. These were Hieou-mi or Heo-mi (supposed to be the same as Wakhan), Chou-angmi or Shuang-mi (often identified with Chitral), Kouei-chouang or Kuei-shuang (the Kushāna principality sometimes located in the land between Chitral and the Panjshir), Hi-tun or Hi-thoun (identified with Parwan on the Panjshir) and Kao-fu (Kābul). The *Hou-Han-shu* or 'Annals of the Later Han Dynasty' (dealing with the history of the period from A.D. 25 to 220) by Fan-ye, who died in A.D. 445, gives an account of the Great Yueh-chi and some other western powers, chiefly based on the report of Pan-young (c. A.D. 125), We learn from it that Kuei-shuang or Kushāna was the name of one of the five Yueh-chi sub-tribes and that Kao-fu is a mistake for Tou-mi. This authority assigns the Yueh-chi or Kushāna occupation of Kābul to a later date. The discrepancy between the two accounts as regards the extension of Yueh-chi or Kushāṇa rule over Kābul, however, vanishes if it is held that Tou-mi originally formed a part of the Kābul District still under the Greek king and that Pan-ku only refers to the partial occupation of the Kābul country by the Yueh-chi before A.D. 24. This is probably suggested by the fact that Fan-ye refers to the later mastery of the Kushānas over three kingdoms including Kao-fu as *complete*.

than eighty. His son Yen-Kao-tchen succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered T'ien-tchou (India proper, probably indicating the Punjāb region) and established there a chief for governing it. From this time the Yueh-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designated them Kushāṇa; but the Han retained the old name and called them Ta-Yueh-chi."

K'ieou-tsieou-k'io is apparently the same as *Kujula* (i.e. *Kusuluka*),[1] a distinguishing title of Kadphises I who is known from coins struck in the land to the south of the Hindu Kush. On some coins the name of Hermaeus, the last Greek ruler of Kābul, is mentioned in the Greek legend on the obverse and that of Kadphises I in the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse, which runs: *Kujula-kasasa Kushāṇa-yavugasa dhrama-ṭhidasa*, "of Kujula Kasa, the Kushāna chief who is steadfast in the faith." In some cases we have *sacha-dhrama-ṭhita* (steadfast in the true faith) instead of *dhrama-ṭhida*. This seems to refer to his adoption of a new religion, probably Buddhism. The fact that the Kushāṇa chief is mentioned in the Kharoshṭhī legend without any royal title no doubt points to his subsidiary position to the Greek 'king of kings' of Kābul during the early part of his life. It is to be noted that the Kushāna chief is endowed with dignified royal titles in the legends of some of his later coins, which run: *maharajasa mahatasa kushaṇa-kuyula-kaphasa* (of the great king, the great Kuyula Kapha, the Kushāna) and *maharajasa rajatirajasa kuyula-kaphasa* (of the great king, the king of kings, Kuyula Kapha).[2] It is not improbable that Kadphises I subdued the four other Yueh-chi principalities with Hermaeus' help. As has already been suggested, Hermaeus was overthrown by the Parthians in spite of the help he might have received from Kadphises I who however extirpated Parthian rule from both the Kābul and Kandahār regions after a short time.[3]

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[1] Cf. *Kusuluka*, the name of a Scythian satrapal family of Taxila (*ante*, p. 133), with which K'ieou-tsieou-k'io may have been related on his mother's side.

[2] The identification of Kadphises I with the early Kushāṇa ruler Kujula-kara Kadphises known from his coins with the Kharoshṭhī legends *maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyulu-Kara-Kaphasasa* (of Kujula-kara Kaphas the great king, the king of kings, the son of Heaven) and *Kuyula-kara-Kapasa maharayasa rayatirayasa* (of Kujula-kara-Kapa, the great king, the king of kings), is now usually rejected. See *infra*.

[3] Some scholars believe that Hermaeus was dead long before Kadphises I occupied Kābul and that coins bearing his name were continued to be struck for a long time after he had passed away. Whatever, however, be the length of the interval between the overthrow of Hermaeus and the Kushāṇa occupation of Kabul, there seems to be little doubt that Kadphises I began his long life as a subordinate ally of Hermaeus and that success against the Parthians of Afghānistān was achieved by him as a champion of the cause of his dead overlord.

We have seen that, during the reign of Kadphises I, Kushāṇa rule extended over Ki-pin and other lands, but not over T'ien-chou. As the exact boundaries of both Ki-pin and T'ien-chou are unknown, it is difficult to determine whether the Panjtar inscription of the year 122 (A.D. 65) belongs to the reign of Kadphises I himself or of his son and successor. Fan-ye places his reign as a *wang* or king more than a century after the division of the Yueh-chi kingdom in Bactria into five principalities, which again has to be assigned to a date later than *c.* 125 B.C. when Chang-k'ien visited the Yueh-chi capital. Thus the reign of Kadphises I cannot be placed earlier than the first century A.D. Numismatists have pointed out that the Roman head on his coins was directly imitated from the issues of Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14). Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) or Claudius (A.D. 41-54). The reign of Kadphises I, who died at the ripe old age of more than eighty, may be assigned roughly to the period A.D. 15-65. Konow's suggestion that he is mentioned in the Takht-i-bahi inscription of the year 103 (A.D. 46) is, however, based on a fanciful reading and its unwarranted interpretation.

Kadphises I was succeeded by his son, who is called Yen-Kao-tchen by Fan-ye, and is identified with Wema (Yen) Kadphises (Kao-tchen) known from coins. According to Chinese evidence Wema (Vima) or Kadphises II was the first Kushāṇa king to extend his rule over Tien-tchou or India proper, identified by most writers with the Punjāb region watered by the Sindhu. There seems to be no evidence in support of the suggestion that Wema began to rule in A.D. 78 and started the Śaka era. The institution of an era requires the continuation of the regnal reckoning of a king by his successors and this is quite inapplicable in Wema's case.[1]

Kadphises II established a gold coinage suggested by the Roman *aureus* (124 grains or 8.035 grammes, the Roman weight-standard) He also issued an extensive copper or bronze coinage. Some of the coins of Wema are of the weight of two *aurei*. Only a few coins of gold struck in India in the two centuries before the time of this monarch have so far been discovered. But the gold currency of Wema Kadphises was continued not only by his Kushāṇa successors but also by the Guptas when the supremacy of northern India passed to them. This extensive gold coinage has been attributed by scholars to the influx of Roman gold into India during the Kushāṇa period.[1]

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[1] No epigraphic record of this king has so far been discovered. The ascription of the Khalatse (Ladakh District, Kāshmir) inscription of the year 184 (A.D. 127) or 187 (A.D. 130) of Kadphises II rests on the extremely doubtful reading of the name of the *Maharaja*, referred to in that record, as *Uvima Kavthisa*. The ruler mentioned in the Khalatse epigraph seems to be a Scythian governor of parts of Kāshmir under the Kushāṇas of Kanishka's house. As has already been suggested, the use of the Scytho-Parthian era was popular with certain Indo-Scythian families even after the establishment of the Kanishka era.

On the reverse of the coins of Kadphises II is often found a representation of the gold Śiva with two arms, hair in spiral top-knot, and tiger's skin over left arm, grasping combined trident and battle-axe in right hand. The Kharoshṭhī legend on these coins reads *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarva-loga-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa wima kathphiśasa tratarasa*, 'of Wima Kathphiśa the great king, the king of kings, the lord of the whole world, the Mahiśvara, the Saviour.' The word *mahiśvara*, if it is equated with Sanskrit *mahīśvara*, 'lord of the earth', seems to be rather tautological in view of the expression *sarva-loga-iśvara*, in spite of the fact that the word *loga* (Sanskrit *loka*) may be taken in the sense of 'man.' Probably the epithet *mahiśvara* stands for the Sanskrit *māheśvara*, 'devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva)'. It therefore seems that Kadphises II was a Śaiva, unlike his father who was probably a Buddhist.

A large number of coins found "all over the Punjāb as well as in Kandahār and in the Kābul valley" bears a particular symbol and a corrupt Greek legend *Besilêus Basilêuôn Sôter Mêgas*, 'the king of kings, the great saviour,' sometimes with the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa tratarasa* 'of the great king, the king of kings, the great saviour.' The issuer of these coins is associated with Wema Kadphises by the use of the nominative instead of the more usual genitive in the Greek inscription, and of the title *Sôter Mêgas*, as well as by the similarity in form between certain letters both in the Greek and Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.

This nameless king, as he is usually styled, is further to be associated with the *nameless* Kushāṇa ruler or rulers mentioned in the Panjtar inscription of the year 122 (A.D. 65) as *maharaja Gushaṇa* (the great king, the Kushāṇa) and in the Taxila inscription of the year 136 (A.D. 79) as *maharaja-rajatiraja-devaputra-Kushaṇa* (the great king, the king of kings, the son of Heaven, the Kushāṇa) The title *Devaputra*, again, connects the unnamed Kushāṇa ruler of the Taxila inscription not only with Kujula-kara Kadphises, known from his coins, but also with the emperors of Kanishka's house. It is not altogether impossible that the issuer of the *Sôter Mêgas* coins was the semi-independent governor of the Indian possessions of Wema and is mentioned in the Panjtar inscription of A.D. 65, and that Kujula-kara Kadphises, probably identical with the Kushāṇa ruler mentioned in the Taxila inscription of A.D. 79, was the governor's son and successor. For a short time after the death of Wema, Kujula-kara, and possibly also his father, about the closing years of his life, appear to have ruled independently and to have even extended their influence over the Kābul and Kandahār regions.

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[1] Cf. Ch. XXIV.

II. KANISHKA

Kanishka was the greatest of the Kushāṇa emperors. His rule extended over the Madhyadeśa, Uttarāpatha and Aparānta divisions of ancient India. His empire seems to have stretched from Bihār in the east to Khorāsān in the west, and from Khotān in the north to the Konkan in the south. It is usually believed that Kadphises II was succeeded by Kanishka, although the date of Wema's death and his relations with Kanishka are unknown. There is no evidence that Kanishka was the sole ruler of the Kushāṇa possession in Bactria, Afghānistān and India at his accession. The most interesting fact about Kanishka's rule seems to be that his earliest records have been discovered in the U.P., the inclusion of which in the dominions of Kadphises II may only be conjectured but cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge. Kanishka may have originally been one of the several Kushāṇa chieftains who tried to make their fortune in India and may have come out successful in the struggle for supremacy that seems to have followed the death of Wema. If these suggestions and those offered above as regards the *Sôter Mègas* and Kujula-kara Kadphises are to be accepted, we have possibly to assign Wema's death to a date earlier than the extension of Kanishka's power over north-western India and the adjoining regions. Kanishka seems to have conquered those territories from Kujula-kara Kadphises whose title *Devaputra* he is known to have appropriated.

Epigraphic records of the reign of Kanishka himself prove his control over the U.P., Punjāb, N.W.F.P. and the Bahāwalpur region north of Sindh. Officers like the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Lala and the *Kshatrapas* Veśpaśi and Liaka were serving in north-western India while parts of eastern U.P. were under the joint rule of the *Mahā-kshatrapa* Kharapallāna and the *Kshatrapa* Vanasphara. The discovery of a large number of Kanishka's records at Mathurā, with one from Sui-vihār 16 miles from Bāhawalpur and of an epigraph of one of his immediate successors at Sānchī (former Bhopāl State, Central India) near Vidiśā, the ancient capital of East Mālwā, as well as the establishment of a satrapal house of the Śakas in Western India about his time seems to suggest that Sind, Rājputāna, Mālwā and Saurāshṭra also came under the sphere of Kanishka's influence. The find of an inscription of another of Kanishka's immediate successors near Kābul and a tradition recorded by Alberuni point to Kanishka's rule over Afghānistān and the adjoining parts of Central Asia.

The name of Kanishka (sometimes Sanskritised as Kanishṭha) is very famous in Buddhist traditions which, however, may have confused the activities of more than one king of that name. He is said to have led an expedition against the Parthians. Chinese and Tibetan writers refer to Kanishka's successful expeditions against Soked (Sāketa) and Pāṭaliputra, which may suggest the extension of Kushāṇa influence over Bihār. The discovery of Kushāna coins in Bengal and Orissa and the possibility of the Kanishka era being used by the Lichchhavis of Nepāl may not, however, indicate any political subjection of those territories. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and some Buddhist traditions refer to Kanishka's rule in Kāshmir. Hiuen Tsang speaks not only of this king's hold over Gandhāra with Purushapura (Peshāwar) as the capital but also of his control over the territory to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains and of a Chinese prince detained as a hostage at his court.[1] This tradition no doubt points to Kanishka's relations with Central Asia and China.

In his old age Kanishka seems to have led an unfortunate expedition in the north, probably against the Chinese in Central Asia. In an interesting legend about his death the Kushāṇa king is reported to have exclaimed: "I have subjugated three regions; all men have taken refuge with me; the region of the north alone has not come to make its submission." This tradition regarding Kanishka's failure in the north no doubt suggests his identification with the Yueh-chi king, who was defeated by the Chinese general Pan-chao and was compelled to pay tribute to the emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 89-105). Chinese intercourse with the 'western' kingdoms, which ceased in A.D. 8, was revived in the eighth decade of the first century as a result of the victories of Pan-chao who, between A.D. 73 and 94, subdued the kings of Khotān and Kashgar, reduced Kucha and Karashahr, and almost reached the shores of the Caspian Sea and confines of the Roman empire. The success of the Chinese induced the Kushāna king to assert his equality with the Chinese emperor by demanding in A.D. 87 or A.D. 90, a Chinese princess in marriage. The proposal being considered by Pan-chao an affront to his master, the Kushāna king dispatched a force of 70,000 cavalry under his viceroy Si, across the Tsung-ling range or Taghdumbash Pāmir. Sufferings during the passage of the mountains, however, so much shattered the Kushāna army that it reached the plain below only to be defeated by the Chinese under Pan-chao.[1]

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[1] It is said that the king of one of the vassal states of the Chinese empire lying to the west of the Yellow river sent his son as a hostage. The prince and his attendants spent the summer in Kāpiśa (Kāfiristān), the winter in India (in a district called Chīnabhukti in the Punjāb) and the spring and autumn in Gandhāra. The inclusion of Kāfiristān in Kanishka's empire and the separation of 'India', i.e. India proper, from Gandhāra are to be noted.

[2] The Kharoshṭhī records discovered in Chinese Turkistān bear traces of Kushāna rule in names like Kushanasena and in the royal titles like *Devaputra*. The Kharoshṭhī script and the Prakrit language appear to have been introduced in those regions during the rule of the Kushānas.

Kanishka must have flourished after, but not long after, Kadphises II who, according to Chinese evidence, extended Kushāna rule for the first time over India proper. As the reign of Kadphises II, who succeeded his father about the middle of the first century A.D., may be roughly assigned to the period A.D. 65-75, Kanishka should probably be ascribed to a date not earlier than the last quarter of the first century A.D. He was the founder of an era in the sense that his regnal reckoning was continued by his successors.[2] As Kanishka's rule may be assigned to the close of the first century A.D., it is highly probable that the Kanishka era is no other than the Śaka-kāla of

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1. Some scholars, who are inclined to identify the Kushāṇa king defeated by Pan-chao with Kadphises II, point out that Kanishka "must have been a monarch of some celebrity and if the Chinese had come into victorious contact with him, their historians would have mentioned it." But the weakness of the argument is satisfactorily demonstrated in the following comment: "If we identify Pan-chao's Kushāṇa contemporary with Kadphises II, the silence of the Chinese becomes still more mysterious and inexplicable, because he was certainly well-known to the annalists. On the other hand, Kanishka (who became famous in Chinese Buddhist literature probably after importation of foreign legends to that country) was not known to them and the non-mention of his name, if he were Pan-chao's contemporary, cannot be more surprising than that of his predecessor Wema. In favour of Kanishka's identity with Pan-chao's antagonist we may urge that Kanishka is known to have come into conflict with the Chinese, but the same cannot be said in regard to Wema, the events of whose reign, as recorded by the Chinese annalists, do not include any first class war with China." (*PHAI.*, 396).
2. In the records of the time of the Kushāṇa kings of Kanishka's house the reign of Kanishka is associated with the years 2-23, of Vāsishka with 24-28, of Huvishka with 28-60, of Kanishka, son of Vajishka, with 41, and Vāsudeva with 67-98. The reading of the date of the Peshāwar casket inscription, sometimes believed to be year 1 of Kanishka's reign, is extremely doubtful. For a Mathurā inscription of Vāsudeva dated in the year 67, see *PIHC.*, Hyderabad, 1941, p. 164.

A.D. 78, which is connected by its very name with foreigners and is the second popular era in the history of India.[1]

If the identification of the Kanishka era with the Śaka-kāla of A.D. 78, supported by many scholars, is to be accepted. Kanishka ruled from A.D. 78 to A.D. 101 or 102. It must, however, be admitted that there is a good deal of controversy on this point. According to some writers. notably Fleet, Kanishka was a predecessor of Kadphises I and Kadphises II and was the founder of the era of 58 B.C., which ultimately came to be known as the Vikrama-Saṁvat. This view about the chronology of the Kushānas is not favoured by more recent authorities.[2] There are two theories ascribing Kanishka to the third century A.D. One of them assigns Kanishka's accession to A.D. 278, while another suggests that Kanishka ascended the throne in A.D. 248 and was the founder of the era used by the rulers of the Traikūṭaka and other dynasties.[1] Neither of these views has received any support from scholars.

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[1] As has already been suggested (*ante*, p. 125 n. 1) the use of an era was introduced and popularised in India by foreign rulers. The Śaka satraps of western India appear to have been originally feudatories of Kanishka and his successors and naturally used the era of their overlords. The continued use of the Kanishka era by these Śakas for a long time even after the decline of Kushāṇa power in India was apparently at the root of its being famous as "the era of the Śaka rulers" in Central and Western India and the adjoining territories. That of all the historical and popular eras of ancient India only the Vikrama-Saṁvat (the Scytho-Parthian era originated in Drangiana) and the Śaka-kāla are still in use is probably due partially to the fact that both of them came to be used in the region about West Mālwā where the city of Ujjayinī became one of the strongest centres of astronomical studies in India. presumably under the patronage of Śaka and Gupta rulers. The Persian priests (Magi) who migrated to India and were known as the Maga-Brāhmaṇas of Śaka-dvīpa (Seistān) appear to have contributed to the growth of the Ujjain school of astronomy in the age of the Śakas. The spread of the use of the Śaka era over South India was to a considerable degree due to the Jains whose principal centre was in the Gujarāt-Saurāshtra region within the dominions of the Śakas. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Jains have largely contributed to the development of the legends about Śaka-Śālivāhana and Vikramāditya who are associated respectively with the Śaka-kāla (later Śālivāhana-Śaka, the word Śaka in this case signifying 'an era') and the Vikrama-Saṁvat.

[2] Fleet's theory seems to go against Chinese evidence which makes Kujula or Kadphises I the first Kushāṇa king of the Ta-Yueh-chi, and Kadphises II the first Kushāṇa ruler whose dominions included some interior districts of India. Kadphises I coined little gold; his coinage therefore could have hardly intervened between the extensive gold issues of Kanishka and Wema Kadphises. Kanishka was responsible for the innovation of issuing coins with Greek legends in both obverse and reverse in place of bilingual issues of the earlier foreign rulers of India with Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoshṭhī on the reverse. Another interesting feature of Kanishka's coinage is the diversity of gods represented on the reverse. The coinage of Kadphises I and Kadphises II, which is bilingual and without the diversity of gods, is thus rather out of place after Kanishka and. for the matter of that, after Vāsudeva, there being no break in the succession between Kanishka and Vāsudeva.

It has also been pointed out in this connection that at the excavations at Taxila, coins of the Kanishka group of Kushāṇa kings were found in the upper (*i.e.* later) strata of the earth and those of the Kadphises group in lower (*i.e.* earlier) strata. Some numismatists believe that Kanishka's gold coinage was suggested by the Roman *solidus* and that, therefore, he could not have flourished earlier than Titus (A.D. 79-81) and Trajan (A.D. 98-117). The title Kaïsara (*Caesar*) adopted by Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41 also points to a date considerably later than Augustus who died in A.D. 14. The unmistakable influence of Sassanian coins on the coinage of the later Kushāṇas shows that Kanishka's accession cannot be assigned to such an early date as 58 B.C.

There is, however, an important group of Indologists who believe that Kanishka began to rule shortly before A.D. 130. Certain Tibetan and Chinese documents are cited as placing Kanishka's reign in the second century A.D. and the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva, who ended his rule about a century after the accession of Kanishka, is supposed to be no other than the Ta-Yueh-chi king Po-t'iao who sent an ambassador to China in A.D. 230. Another argument in favour of this date for Kanishka's accession (as well as of the date A.D. 248) is believed to be furnished by Yu-houan, author of the *Wei-lio*, a history of the Wei dynasty (A.D. 220-64), which was composed between A.D. 239 and A.D. 265 but covers the period of the Wei down to the reign of the emperor Ming (A.D. 227-39). According to this authority Ki-pin, Ta-hia, Kao-fu and T'ien-tchou were all subject to the Ta-Yueh-chi during the period of the three kingdoms, which indicates the period

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[1] Both the suggestions have been criticised by scholars who have shown that even the earlier of the two dates is too late for the first of the Kushāṇa rulers bearing the name Kanishka. The Kushaṇa king Vāsudeva is known to have held sway over Mathurā up to the year 98 of the Kanishka era which, if it is identified with the Traikūṭaka era of A.D. 248, would prove Vāsudeva's rule at Mathurā in A.D. 346. The earliest Gupta record at Mathurā is an inscription of Chandra-gupta II dated in the Gupta year 61 corresponding to A.D. 380, although the locality seems to have been conquered from a ruler of the Nāga dynasty by Samudra-gupta, father of Chandra-gupta II. The Purāṇas suggest the rule of no less than seven Nāga kings at Mathurā in the period intervening between the occupation of the Kushānas and that of the Guptas.

The considerable period of Nāga rule at Mathurā before the conquest of the Guptas probably indicates for Vāsudeva a date much earlier than the middle of the fourth century A.D. It should be noted in this connection that the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta mentions several Nāga kings of Āryāvartta as extirpated enemies of the Gupta monarch, but the Daivaputra-Shāhī-Shāhānushāhī (*i.e.*, the contemporary Kushāṇa king) only as his subordinate ally. It has also been pointed out that, according to traditions, Kanishka was a contemporary of king Vijayakīrti of Khotān (2nd century A.D.) and that his successor Huvishka was a contemporary of the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna and therefore of a Sātavāhana emperor who could not have flourished much later than the second century A.D. Then, again, according to the catalogues of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, Anshi-kao (A.D. 148-70) translated the *Mārgabhūmi-sūtra* of Saṁgharaksha who was the chaplain of Kanishka. The earliest of the kings with the name Kanishka thus must have flourished long before A.D. 170. If Kanishka ascended the throne in A.D. 248, it is difficult to find a place amongst his predecessors for Po-t'iao (probably Sanskrit *Vāsudeva*) the king of the Ta-Yueh-chi, who sent an ambassador to China in A.D. 230 according to Chinese sources. The fact that the later Kushānas had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sassanians at least about the close of the third century A.D. also goes against the ascription of Kanishka to the middle of that century.

A.D. 221-77, though the statement may refer to the time earlier than A.D. 239.

These arguments no doubt go strongly against the ascription of Kanishka's accession to A.D. 78, which is mainly based on the probable identification of the Śaka and Kanishka eras. But the difficulties can be explained away. As to traditions placing the rule of Kanishka in the second century A.D., we have actually a Kanishka, son of Vajhishka, whose Ārā inscription of the year 41 would give the date A.D. 119 if it is referred to the Śaka era. Numismatic evidence points to the existence of a still later Kushāṇa king named Kanishka who probably flourished in the third century A.D. The date of a Mathurā inscription of Kanishka, written in a developed script almost resembling the alphabet of the Gupta records, has been read as the year 14.[1] If the reading of the decimal symbol is right, this is probably a third century Kanishka who wanted to emulate his great predecessor and namesake by trying to establish a reckoning of his own. Thus it appears that the Kanishka legends absorbed the activities of several kings of that name belonging to Kushāṇa dynasty, just as the achievements of a number of Gupta emperors styled Vikramāditya seem to have contributed to the growth of the saga of king Vikrama.

As to the identification of Po-t'iao with Vāsudeva who ruled between the years 67 and 98 of the Kanishka era, it has to be remembered that numismatic evidence suggests the existence of a Kushāna king named Vasu, *i.e.* Vāsudeva who flourished much later than his namesake, probably in the third century A.D., although it is sometimes believed that "coins bearing the name of Vāsudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away." Thus Po-t'iao who ruled in A.D. 230 may not have been the first Kushāṇa king of that name. As regards the evidence of the *Wei-lio,* it cannot be denied that, by the second quarter of the third century A.D., the successors of Vāsudeva lost actual control over many parts of the original Kushāna possessions in India; but their nominal sovereignty seems to have been still acknowledged by all feudatories and governors. There is no reason to believe that they lost hold even on the Punjāb, N. W.F.P. and Afghānistān by the middle of that century. Chinese and Tibetan evidence therefore does not preclude the possibility of Kanishka having begun to rule in A.D. 78 and being the founder of the Śaka era.

According to traditions which appear to be supported by epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Kanishka was a Buddhist. Hiuen

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[1] But cf. *India Antiqua,* 1947, pp. 296-303.

Tsang and Alberuni have recorded legends that refer to the grand monastery built by Kanishka at Peshāwar, which was not only famous throughout the Buddhist world, but is actually known to have been a centre of Buddhist culture from an epigraph of the ninth century A.D. Kanishka is said to have convoked, on the advice of Pārśva or Pārśvika, the great Buddhist Council held in Kāshmir according to some traditions, but in Gandhāra or Jālandhara according to others. The Buddhist theologians possibly met at a monastery called the Kundala-Vana-Vihāra, chiefly for the purpose of collecting manuscripts and preparing commentaries on them. Vasumitra acted as the President of the Council, while the famous author Aśvaghosha, who is said to have been carried off by Kanishka from Pāṭaliputra, was appointed Vice-President.

Kanishka was a great patron of learning. Not only the Buddhist philosophers Aśvaghosha, Pārśva and Vasumitra enjoyed his favour but another learned man named Saṅgharaksha is known to have been his chaplain. Nāgārjuna, the great exponent of the Mahāyāna doctrine, as well as the celebrated physician Charaka probably flourished at Kanishka's court. Māṭhara, a politician of unusual intelligence, was a minister of the Kushāṇa emperor. These and other worthies like the Greek engineer Agesilaus "played a leading part in the religious, literary, scientific, philosophical and artistic activities of the reign." It is, however, unknown whether the Buddhist council was held under the guidance of the first Kanishka or one of his successors of that name. The worthies mentioned above may not also have all enjoyed the patronage of a single Kushāṇa ruler named Kanishka.

Although Kanishka is regarded as a Buddhist, the reverse of his coin types represents Greek, Sumerian, Elamite, Persian and Indian deities. Amongst these mention may be made of Oesho (Śiva), Sakaymo Boddo (Śākyamuni Buddha), the wind god Oado (Persian *Vādo*, Indian *Vāta*), the fire-god Athsho (Persian *Atash*), the moon-god Mao, the sun-god Miiro, or Miuro or Mioro (Persian *Mithra, Mihr;* Indian *Mitra, Mihira*), the Elamite or Sumerian mother-goddess Nana, Nanaia or Nana-shao (cf. Bībī Nānī of Baluchistān and Nainā Devī of the Kulu valley), the war-god Orlagno (Persian *Bahram*), the fire-god Pharro (Persian *Fa'rr*), the Greek sun-god Helios (sometimes with the moon-goddess Seléné), etc. This diversity of deities appears to point to a sort of religious eclecticism, although it is usually believed that it rather reflects the various forms of religion that prevailed in the different parts of the vast empire of Kanishka. A striking feature of the coins of Kanishka and his successors, as already noticed, is that unlike the issues of the earlier foreign rulers of India, they have no Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse. Although the script of the legends is a corrupt form of Greek, the language is sometimes Persian; cf. the title *Shaonano Shao* which is the same as the old Persian *kshāyathiya kshāyathiỵānạ̄m*, modern Persian *Shạhạn Shāh* and Indian *Shāhānushāhī.*[1]

Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī (I, 168-73) seems to refer to the joint rule over Kāshmir of three kings of the Turushka race named Hushka (probably Huvishka), Jushka (possibly Vajhishka who may be the same as Vāsishka) and Kanishka, who founded respectively the cities of Hushkapura (modern Ushkur inside the Baramula Pass), Jushkapura (modern Zukur to the north of Srinagar) and Kanishkapura (modern Ḳanispor on the Baramula-Srinagar road). Jushka is also credited with the building of the town of Jayasvāmipura in Kāshmir and all the three kings are said to have founded many Buddhist establishments styled *maṭha* and *chaitya* and to have given shelter to numerous wandering monks. As regards this tradition, it is interesting to note that Huvishka (years 28-60) actually ruled jointly with Vāsishka (years 24-28) and Vajhishka's son Kanishka (year 41).[2] Some scholars believe that Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41 is identical with the Kushāṇa king of that name known from his records of the years 2-23. The patronymic *Vajhishka-putra*, however, seems to be used to distinguish Kanishka of the year 41 from an earlier namesake. If Kanishka ruled from year 1 to 41, it is significant that his numerous records refer only to the early twenty-three years of the reign. It is not improbable that Kanishka I ruled, during the later years of his life, with Vāsishka (the same as Vajhishka), probably his brother or son, as his junior partner[3] who, after his predecessor's death, ruled for some time as the senior king with Huvishka, probably his brother or son, as the junior. The absence of Vāsishka's coins points to his short rule being practically under the domination of that of his partners. After

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[1] The omission of the Kharoshṭhī legend is difficult to explain. It is not, however, unlikely that Kharoshṭhī was given up, because it was not understood in all parts of the vast empire of Kanishka, especially in Madhyadeśa where Brāhmī was the script in use. The association of Kharoshṭhī with rulers of inferior rank in some of the joint issues may have, moreover, led Kanishka to omit it from imperial issues and reserve the use of local scripts only for the coins of rulers of subordinate rank.

[2] The date of Huvishka's Mathurā inscription of the Macedonian month of Gorpaius (corresponding to the Indian Bhādra) of the year 28 is earlier than that of the Sānchī inscription of Vāsishka dated the fifth day of *Hemanta*, falling in the *pūrnim-ānta* month of Mārgaśīrsha, of the same year.

[3] Vamatakshama (?) of the Mathurā Ins. and Vaskushāna of the Sānchī Ins. (year 22) may have been other junior partners of Kanishka I.

Vāsishka's death his son Kanishka II ruled as the junior partner of Huvishka. It may be that some of the coins attributed to Kanishka I were really issued by Kanishka II.

The reference to the Kushāṇa family as of Turushka or Turkish origin in the Kāshmir chronicle is supported by a tradition recorded by Alberuni. According to this traditon the Hindus had kings residing in Kābul, who were said to be Turks of Tibetan origin. The first of them, Barha-takīn, came into the country and entered a cave in Kābul. He wore Turkish dress, a short tunic open in front, a high hat, boots and arms.[1] Now people honoured him as being of miraculous origin, "who had been destined to be king, and in fact he brought those countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of a *Shāhiya of Kābul.*" The rule remained among his descendants for about sixty generations. Alberuni was told that the pedigree of this royal family, written on silk, existed in the fortress of Nagarkot (Kot Kangra in the Punjāb) and that "one of this series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the *Vihāra* (Buddhist monastery) of Purushāwar (Peshāwar). It is called after him *Kanik-chaitya.*" There is little doubt that Kanik of Alberuni is the same as the Kushāṇa king Kanishka who, according to another tradition recorded by the Chinese pilgrims, erected at Purushāpura (Peshāwar) a great *stūpa* more than six hundred feet in height.[2] In that case Barha-takīn may probably be identified with Kadphises I.[3] In Indian literature the Kushāṇas are probably referred to as Tukhāra, apparently because they had once settled in the Tukhāra country, which seems to have originally been a northern district of Bactria. It is interesting to note that the Musalman conquerors of India mostly of Turkish origin, are mentioned in medieval works like Vidyāpati's *Kīrtilatā* as *Turuk-Tokhār*, *i.e.* Turushka-Tukhāra.

III. KANISHKA'S SUCCESSORS

Much of what we know about Vāsishka, who succeeded Kanishka, I, has already been discussed. His inscriptions, dated in the years 24 and 28, corresponding respectively to A.D. 102 and A.D. 106, have been discovered in the Mathurā District of the U.P. and in the Bhopāl State in Central India. He may be identified with Vajhishka, father of Kanishka II of the Ārā inscription, and with Jushka, founder of Jushkapura, mentioned in the Kāshmir chronicle. Vāsishka ruled, for some time at least, conjointly with Huvishka whose dates range between the years 28 and 69, *i.e.* between A.D. 106 and 138. The inscription at Wardak near Kābul proves Huvishka's hold on Afghānistān. He is probably identical with Hushka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, who founded the city of Hushkapura in Kāshmir. A Mathurā inscription refers to his *pitāmaha* (father's father) who described as *sacha-dhrama-ṭhita*, 'steadfast in the true faith' (probably indicating a true Buddhist), which, curiously enough, was an epithet of Kadphises I. In the present state of our knowledge, however, we are not sure whether Huvishka is to be regarded as the grandson of Kadphises I. An interesting reference in this record is to Huvishka's *pitāmaha-devakula* which may indicate a 'royal gallery of portrait statues' containing a statute of Huvishka's grandfather. Huvishka was himself a patron of Buddhism and another Mathurā epigraph refers to a *Vihāra* built by or named after *mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* Huvishka. According to an interesting record, a certain lord of Kharāsalera and Vakana (probably Wakhan in Central Asia), who may have been a viceroy of the Kushāna king, made permanent endowments of 1,100 silver coins called *purāṇas* in favour of a *Puṇyaśālā* (an institution for free distribution of food) at Mathurā for the religious merit of Shāhi Huvishka.

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[1] Barha-takīn's dress as described by Alberuni is remarkably similar to the dress of the Kushāna emperors known from their representation on coins as well as from the headless statue of Kanishka discovered near Mathurā.

[2] Fa-hien, Sung-yun and Hiuen Tsang have described the magnificence of this *stūpa*. The relic casket which it contained has been found *in situ* in course of excavations. It bears an effigy and inscription of Kanishka. For descriptions of the *stūpa*, cf. Ch. XX.

[3] It may be pointed out that *barha* is a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit *brihat*, while *takīn* is the Turkish *tegin* which means the same thing as the Pahlavi *Kad* 'chief', often supposed to be the origin of the name *Kadphises*.

The reverse of Huvishka's coin-types represents a number of interesting divinities, including some already noticed in connection with Kanishka's coins. We have the figures of Roma, Heracles, Sarapo (Sarapis), Manaobago (Mao), the goddess of abundance Ardoksho, the sun-god Anio, the goddess Oanao or Oaninda, the war-god Shaoreoro (Persian *Shāhrewar*) and the Indian gods Ooshna (Vishnu), Maaseno (Mahāsena), etc. On some specimens we have Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena, while others represent Skanda, Kumāra, and Viśākha. On another interesting coin-type of Huvishka we have an Indian god with a bow and the conspicuous Brāhmī legend reading *gaṇesa*, probably indicating Śiva. A seal-matrix, generally attributed to Huvishka, represents the king as a devotee of Vishnu.

Huvishka, as already pointed out, ruled conjointly with Vāsishka or Vajhishka and with the latter's son Kanishka II

(A.D. 119). The reign of Kanishka II may not have been so short as is suggested by the paucity of his records, as this may have been due to the fact that he for the most part ruled jointly with his senior partner Huvishka whose reign was naturally referred to by the people. Kanishka II assumed the title Kaïsara, *i.e.* 'Caesar', in imitation of the contemporary Roman emperors.

The next king Vāsudeva has a purely Indian name that offers additional evidence of the naturalisation of the Kushāṇa family in India. His known dates range between the years 67 and 98 corresponding to A.D. 145 and 176. The religious eclecticism evidenced by the coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka is only partially noticed in Vāsudeva's coins. As most of his issues exhibit the figure of Śiva with his bull Nandin, it has been suggested that, like Kadphises II, Vāsudeva was a Śaiva although his name points to the Vaishṇava faith.

IV. LATER KUSHĀṆAS

The history of the Kushāṇas after Vāsudeva is obscure. Amongst the later Kushāṇas who ruled in the last quarter of the second century and the first half of the third, the most important appear to have been Kanishka (III?) and a Vasu or Vāsudeva (II?) known from their coins. This Vāsudeva is probably identical with the Yueh-chi king Po-t'iao of the Chinese annals, who sent an embassy to the Chinese court in A.D. 230. It is, however, possible that more than one Kanishka and Vāsudeva adorned the Kushāṇa throne in the third century A.D. Some of the later Kushāṇa coins of the third century bear enigmatic symbols like *Bha*, *Ga*, *Vi* and *Nu* (either mint-marks or initials of viceroys) as well as names (probably of viceroys) like Pāsana and Shilada. The influence of the issues of the earlier Sassanian kings is noticed on these coins, which will be discussed in detail in the next volume.

There is no doubt that, in India, the Kushāṇa power declined shortly after the reign of Vāsudeva (A.D. 145-176). The Śaka satraps originally owing allegiance to Kanishka I began to rule large parts of Western and Central India practically like independent monarchs. In different parts of the Kushāṇa possessions in India, especially in the U.P. and Rājasthān, subordinate ruling houses and tribes gradually raised their head and Kushāṇa power was eliminated even from Mathurā, where rulers of a Nāga family came to power.

An account of the numerous Indian states that arose on the ruins of the Kushāna empire will be given in Chapter XI.

In spite, however, of the weakening of Kushāṇa power in India, the successors of Vāsudeva I appear to have been exercising complete control over the Punjāb, N. W.F.P. and Afghānistān up to about the middle of third century A.D. This is suggested, as already indicated, by Yu-houan, author of the *Wei-lio*, who speaks of Ta-Yueh-chi sovereignty over Ki-pin, Ta-hia, Kao-fu and T'ien-chou. It is, however, difficult to agree with some writers when they assert that "the power of the Kushāṇa kings was at its climax" in the middle of the third century in view of the fact that the Sassanians were actually extending their power towards the east about that time. But the details of the tradition recorded by the medieval Muslim historian Firishta, according to which Ardashīr I Babagan (A.D. 226-41), founder of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, conquered Balkh, Khorāsān and Kābul and advanced as far as Sirhind beyond the Sutlej in the eastern Punjāb cannot possibly be accepted in its entirety. The discovery of a coin of Ardashīr I in the Jhelum District of the Punjāb cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence in support of Firishta's tradition. In spite, however, of the evidence of the *Wei-lio*, it is not improbable that the first Sassanian monarch, about the end of his career, claimed the contemporary Kushāṇ king as one of his subordinate allies. The Paikuli inscription, possibly to be assigned to the close of the third century, appears to refer to several Indian rulers including the kings of the Surāshṭras, Avantis, Kushāṇas Śakas and Ābhīras, as subordinate allies, if not as feudatories, of the Sassanians. The Sassanian emperor Hormazd II (A.D. 301-10) married a daughter of a Kaushāṇa king. On some of his coins, he is called *Kushān Malka* (Lord of the Kushāṇas) and *Kushān Malkān Malkā* (lord of the Kushāṇa rulers). His coins, again, bear the figure of Śiva and his bull as well as the Indian altar, which are found on most of the later Kushāṇa coins. Some later Kushāṇa issues are supposed to have been counter-struck with Sassanian device. A Persepolis inscription in Pahlavi, attributed to the early years of Shāpur II (A.D. 310-79), refers to the Sassanian governor of Sakastān as the *Sakān Shāh* (king of the Śakas) as well as the *Dabīrān Dabīr* (minister of ministers) of Hind (India), Sakastān and Tukhāristān. When Shāpur II besieged Amida in A.D. 360, his victory over the Romans was won with the help of an aged king named Grumbates who is usually assigned to the Kushāṇa dynasty.

Certain coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing legends in Nāgarī, Sassanian Pahlavi and an undeciphered script (probably a modification of the Greek alphabet) are attributed to some Sassanian or Scytho-Sassanian families that probably ruled in the Sindhu valley. At the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. A.D. 500) the western part of the Sindhu valley belonged to Persia. These facts no doubt suggest that the Kushāṇas for a time acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sassanian emperors. But the prominent mention of the Kushāṇa king as the *Daivaputra-Shāhī-Shāhānushāī* in a Gupta record of the middle of the fourth century A.D. shows that they were still regarded as a notable power in the Uttarāpatha division of India.

V. THE AGE OF THE KUSHĀṆAS

The Kushāṇa period marks an important epoch in Indian history. For the first time after the fall of the Mauryas there was a vast empire which not only embraced nearly the whole of North India, but also considerable territories outside it, as far as Central Asia. India was thus brought into close contact with the outside world. The period also witnessed important developments in religion, literature and sculpture, especially the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Gandhāra art, and the appearnce of the Buddha figure. It has been suggested that the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva is probably to be identified with a king of that name mentioned in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* as a patron of poets and as a *sabhāpati* (president of a society of learned men). An eminent writer has justly observed: "That the Kushāṇa age was a period of great literary activity is proved by the works of Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna and others. It was also a period of religious ferment and missionary activity. It witnessed the development of Śaivism and the allied cult of Kārttikeya, of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and the cults of Mihira and Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa, and it saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kāśyapa Mātaṅga (c. A.D. 61-67). The dynasty of Kanishka opened the way for Indian civilization to Central and Eastern Asia."[1]

GENERAL REFERENCES

Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions* (CII, Vol. II, Part I), Introduction.
V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, Fourth Edition (1924) & references there given.

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[1] PHAI, 399-400. Also cf. *infra*, Chs. XXIV-XXV.

CHAPTER X

THE VIKRAMA SAṀVAT AND SAKABDA

The two ancient eras still widely current in India are the Vikrama Saṁvat and Śakābda, starting respectively in 58 B.C. and A.D. 78. The origin of both these eras is shrouded in obscurity and naturally many theories are current on the subject. Some of these, now generally held, have been noted in the two preceding Chapters,[1] and there are others besides, none of which can be regarded as more plausible than the rest. A special importance therefore attaches to the traditional account of the origin of these eras, which, though generally rejected by modern scholars, should not be altogether ignored, so long at least as we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion on the subject.

I. VIKRAMA SAṀVAT

The traditions about king Vikramāditya, the reputed founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat, fall into three distinct classes. Under one category we may include the legends found in the *Vetāla Pañchaviṁśati, Dvātriṁśat Puttalikā* and other books of this nature describing his supernatural qualities of head and heart, particularly his charity, patronage of learning, and association with the renowned literary circle known as the Nine Gems or *Nava-Ratna*. These have hardly any historical value beyond proving that Vikramāditya was regarded as an ideal king long after his death. Possibly these legends originally referred to more than one ruler of that name, and later grew round one semi-mythical figure. This is best proved by the list of persons constituting the Nine Gems, all of whom certainly did not flourish during one reign. The second category includes the heroic achievements of Vikramāditya such as we find in the literature derived from the *Bṛihatkathā*.[2]

Far different, however, is the class of traditions which are contained partly in standard works of Jain literature and partly in narratives connected with the history of Jain religion. Merutuṅga's

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[1] See pp. 125, 127, 144 ff.

[2] Dr. Pusalker has attempted to prove the historical character of these tales (*C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume*) but without much success.

Therāvalī may be taken as a type of the first and Kālakāchārya's narrative as an example of the other.

After referring to the reigns of Pradyota, king of Avanti, the Nandas, Mauryas and Pushyamitra, Merutuṅga continues his account of the kingdom of Ujjayinī as follows:[1]

"Then came Balamitra and Bhānumitra, whose joint reign covered 60 years, and Nabhavāhana, who ruled for 40 years. Then came the Gardabhilla dynasty which was in power for 152 years. Gardabhilla reigned for 13 years and was then expelled by the Śaka kings who ruled for 4 years. Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, regained the kingdom of Ujjayinī, commenced the Vikrama era and reigned for 60 years. His four successors ruled respectively for 40, 11, 14, and 10 years. Then the Śaka era commenced."

The Kālakāchārya-kathā[2] gives the story of the Śaka conquest of Ujjayinī in fuller details. It may be summed up as follows:

"Kālakāchārya had a sister called Sarasvatī who joined the convent. King Gardabhilla of Ujjayinī was fascinated by her beauty and ravished her. Kālakāchārya, being enraged, went to the west of the Sindhu and lived with a Shāhī (Śaka) chief over whom he obtained great influence by means of his astrological knowledge. Gradually he came to learn that his patron and 95 other chiefs who lived in the same locality all obeyed a common overlord. Kālakāchārya persuaded his patron to invade the kingdom of Gardabhilla with the aid of his 95 fellow-chiefs and himself joined the army that marched along Sindh and Gujarāt, and besieged Ujjayinī. Ujjayinī fell and the Śakas established their supremacy in Mālava. After 17 years Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, regained his kingdom by expelling the Śakas. Kālakāchārya, after defeating Gardabhilla and releasing his sister, went to the court of king Sātavāhana at Pratishṭhāna."

The above story is related in various other works, and *gāthās* containing the incident have also been found. In some of them we get the additional information that "135 years after Vikrama having passed, again the Śakas expelled Vikramaputra (Vikrama's son or descendant) and conquered the kingdom."

The Jain traditions have definite historical background. In spite of minor discrepancies in dates, the general account given above is fully in keeping with the known facts of history. For, as we have seen above, the invasion of Mālava by the Śaka chiefs from beyond the Sindhu on which the whole story rests, was undoubtedly a historical fact. Further, the final establishment of the Śaka power in Mālwā in A.D. 78, the epoch of the Śaka era, is supported by the fact that the early Śaka rulers of Mālwā flourished about that time and are known definitely to have used the Śaka era in their records. It is true that we have as yet no definite evidence of the existence of a king Vikramāditya who defeated the Śakas in 58 B.C. But there is nothing to warrant the belief that is freely expressed that Vikramāditya of 58 B.C. is a myth and there was no such king in that period.[1] Further, it should be remembered that the tradition about Vikramāditya is a long and complete story in definite historical setting, and not a mere vague statement that he defeated the Śakas and founded an era. To regard therefore one or other later historical king as the Vikramāditya of tradition simply because he defeated the Śakas (or Hūṇas) or patronised learning can hardly be justified.

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[1] *JBBRAS*, IX, 147 ff.

[2] *Ibid*, 139 ff; *CII*, II. xxvi ff; *JBORS*, XVI, 233, 293; Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*. The Shāhī chiefs in the story are said to belong to Sagakula and their overlord is called Shāhānushāhī.

The scholars who regard Vikramāditya as a myth rely chiefly on the fact that the era of 58 B.C. is not specifically associated with king Vikramāditya in the earlier period. The view may be summed up in the following words:[2]

"For the first five hundred years, the years of the era are simply referred to as Saṁvat. In the fifth century A.D. the era is for the first time called 'the era of the Mālavas', and in the eighth century A.D. 'the era of the Mālava lord or lords'. The earliest use of the word Vikrama occurring in a date, we find in an inscription in which the year 898 is referred to the time called Vikrama. Had it been founded by king Vikramāditya it would indeed be more than strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years."

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[1] In a thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in 1912, the writer of this chapter argued in favour of the old traditional view. A Bengali translation of the portion relating to Vikramāditya and the Vikrama era was published in a Bengali Journal, *Pratibhā*, in 1913. Since then MM. H. P. Sastri (*EI*. XII, p. 319) and Sten Konow (*Ibid*. XIV, p. 294) have incidentally supported the old tradition, but without any detailed discussion. The present writer has recently discussed the problem in a paper contributed to the volume published on the occasion of the Vikrama Bi-Millennium celebrations.

With the exception of the two scholars mentioned above, almost all are definitely of opinion that there was no king Vikramāditya in the first century B.C. Dr. Fleet, for example, remarks: "Later research, however, has shown that there was no such king Vikramāditya and that the story (of his founding an era in 58 B.C.) is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A.D." (*JRAS*, 1913, p. 997). Other writers following him have held that "it has been established that there was no Vikramāditya in the 1st century B.C." (*IHQ*. XI, p. 212).

[2] *IA*, XIX, XX.

It is not generally recognised that these facts and arguments may be urged equally well against the modern theories, according to which the era was founded by Vonones, Azes or Kanishka, for none of these names is ever found associated with the era. As a matter of fact, however, the arguments are of little weight as the example of the Śaka era shows. Here also the era is not associated with the Śakas for the first five hundred years or more when it is simply called *Varsha*. After that came into use 'the era of the Śakas' and 'the era of the Śaka king' exactly corresponding to the 'era of the Mālavas', and 'the era of the Mālava lords', which we find in the case of Vikrama Saṁvat. The name of the Śaka king who founded the era never occurs, even after the lapse of 'more than a thousand years'.

The case of the Gupta era is also similar. Of the first fifty dates in that era found in epigraphic records, only three refer to the era as Guptakāla; the remaining forty-seven call it simply *Varsha* or *abda*, and none mentions the founder of the era.

These analogies prove that the so-called peculiarities in the use of the Vikrama Saṁvat in earlier periods cannot be regarded as arguments against the historicity of Vikramāditya. On the other hand the fact that all the early records, definitely known to be dated in the era of 58 B.C., some of them going back to the third century of the era, have been found in Mālwā and Rājasthān certainly supports the Vikramāditya tradition.

Many of these inscriptions use the word Kṛita along with the year of the era, and in some cases this occurs together with a reference to the Mālavas. This word has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Some regard it as a technical astronomical term, while others think that it was the name of a king who founded the era.[1] If the latter view be held, it goes a great way in supporting the Jain tradition, for we may easily hold that this was the king who assumed the title Vikramāditya, as many others did in later times.

On the whole there is no reason to be dogmatic. The era might after all have been founded by a foreigner, as stated above.[2] But there is no inherent incongruity in the belief that king Vikramāditya founded it in 58 B.C. to commemorate his recovery of Ujjayinī by defeating the Śakas.

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[1] For the different views on the subject cf. *R. G. Bhandarkar Com. Vol.* pp. 188 ff.; *EI, XII*, 319, *XIV*, 140, *XXIII*, 49; *CII*, II, xxvi. See also *ante*, p. 125 n. 1.

[2] See p. 125, n. 1, 127, 144, n. 1.

II. ŚAKA ERA

As regards the Śaka era, there is a consensus of opinion in favour of the view that it was either founded by a Scythian ruler to commemorate his accession, or arose out of the continual reckoning of the regnal years of a Scythian king by his successors. The identity of the Scythian king is, however, a matter of dispute. As the era was used from the very beginning by the Śaka satraps of Western India, there can be little doubt that it commemorates the reign of their Śaka overlord. If it can be proved on independent evidence that Kanishka flourished about A.D. 78, he can certainly be regarded as this overlord and the founder of the era, a view that is now widely accepted. But, unfortunately, as noted above,[1] there is a great diversity of opinion regarding his date, and none of the views command general acceptance.

The question must therefore be left open until we have a more definite idea of the chronology of the Scythian rulers. As already mentioned above, the era is not associated with the Śakas till more than five hundred years after its foundation. This proves that a continuous tradition about the origin of the Śaka era was current, although there is no recorded evidence of it; and the same thing may be true of the Vikrama Saṁvat.

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1. See pp. 143 ff.

CHAPTER XI

NORTHERN INDIA AFTER THE KUSHĀNAS

I. GENERAL REVIEW

Numismatic evidence discloses the names of many tribal republics and members of monarchical ruling families, which flourished in different parts of the central and western regions of northern India in the centuries immediately preceding and following the commencement of the Christian era. The dates of their coins are variously given by numismatists; but, since the fashion of mentioning the name of the ruling authority in the coin-legend was inspired and popularised in India by foreign kings beginning with the Indo-Greeks, most of the coins bearing such legends should preferably be assigned to a date later than the early decades of the second century B.C. This suggestion is supported by the palaeography of the legends on the coins in question. It is well known that stone inscriptions and coin-legends usually exhibit less developed forms of letters. Nevertheless, even the earliest inscribed coins do not appear to be earlier than the Besnagar inscription of the end of the second century B. C. The angular form of letters exhibited by most of these coins cannot be much earlier than the age of the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva (end of the first century B.C.) and of the records of the Śakas of Mathurā (beginning of the first century A.D.).[1]

In Rājasthān and the adjoining regions, the tribal states of the Ārjunāyanas,[2] Uddehikas.[3] Mālavas, Śibis,[4] Rājanyas[5] and Yaudheyas, together with the Uttamabhadras[1] known from epigraphic sources, appear to have submitted to the Scythians and their successors, the Kushāṇas. Some of these tribes, especially the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas and Yaudheyas, grew powerful with the decline of Kushāna power in that area about the end of the second and the beginning of the third century A.D., but together with the Madrakas[2] of the Punjāb and the Ābhīras[3] of Rājputāna as well as with the Nāgas of Padmāvatī and other places and several tribes[4] of central and western India, they had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas of Magadha about the second half of the fourth century. In the western part of the U.P. and the adjoining region of the Punjāb, the indigenous ruling family of Mathurā was subdued by the Śakas, while the Kuṇinda[1] and Kulūta[2] tribes that began to rule independently in the Kāngra area after the decline of Yavana power in the Punjāb are believed to have been overthrown by the Kushāṇas.

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[1] In the following pages we shall give our own views regarding the dates of the coins and their issuers. For other views referring these coins to somewhat earlier periods, see the various catalogues of coins cited under general reference. Most of the coins with Brāhmī legends show angular and developed forms of letters *j, l, h, m, v,* etc.

[2] The history of the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas and Nāgas as well as of the kings of Ahichchhatra, Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī will be discussed in this section in some detail. The history of the powers will be briefly noticed in the foot-notes.

[3] The Uddehikas are located in Madhyadeśa in the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*. According to Alberuni, their country lay near the city of Bazana, which lay to the south-east of Kanauj, the distance between the two places being the same as that between Kanauj and Mathurā. Bazana, called the capital of Gujarāt (*i.e.* the Gurjara country), is no doubt modern Bayānā in the Bharatpur State. Coins bearing the legend *udehaki* and *udehaki Suyamitasa* may be assigned to the second half of the first century B.C.

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[4] The Śibi people, probably the same as the Śivas of the *Ṛigveda,* had their capital at Sibipura, modern Shorkot in the Jhang District of the Punjāb. Alexander met the Sibis, who had 40,000 foot soldiers, in that region in the fourth century B.C. They are said to have dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts and had clubs for their weapons. After their Punjāb homeland had been threatened by the foreigners, the Śibis migrated to Rājasthān and settled in the district around Madhyamikā (modern Nagarī near Chitor), which was ancient city known to Patañjali's *Mahabhāshya.* Coins of the Sibi tribe found in this area have the legend *majhamikāya-śibi-janapadasa,* i.e. 'coin of the Śibi State struck at Madhyamikā', in a script that cannot be earlier than the latter half of the first century B.C. A branch of the people probably settled in Sind. A Śibi country is located in the *Daśakumāracharita* on the banks of the Kāverī; but in this case the reference may be to the land of the Cholas who probably claimed connection with the ancient tribe. It may be noted in this connection that we have an Ikshvāku family in the Krishṇā-Guntur region and a Kekaya family in Mysore.

[5] Coins of Rājanya *janapada,* with legends either in Brāhmī or in Kharoshṭhī may be assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C. The Rājanyas probably lived somewhere in northern or north-western Rājasthān where both the scripts were in use. *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* places them in the north along with the Yaudheyas and Trigartas. Certain coins of the first century B.C. with the legend *trakata-janapadasa* in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī have been attributed to the Trigartas who inhabited the Jālandar region. Another republican tribe may have been Agratyas of Agrodaka, identified with modern Agroha in the Hissār District, Punjāb (*JNSI,* IV, 54).

[1] The Uttamabhadras were the neighbours of the Mālavas in Rājasthān and probably lived in the neighbourhood of Pushkar near Ajmer. They were allies of the Śakas of Western India and received hẹlp from the Śaka chief Ṛishabhadatta (A.D. 119-23), son-in-law and viceroy of Nahapana, in their struggle against the Mālvas.

[2] A branch of the Madrakas or Madras, known as the Uttara-Madras, were the neighbours of the Uttara-Kurus and lived in the Himālayan region. The Madras proper had their capital at Śākala (modern Siālkot in the Punjāb), which later became the capital of the Indo-Greek empire under Menander. The Madras were probably subjects of the younger Porus (Paurava king) in the days of Alexander. The mention of the Madrakas in the list of tribes that came under the influence of Samudra-gupta suggests that, after many centuries of foreign subjection, the people acquired an amount of political importance after the decline of the Kushāṇas. No coins of this tribe have so far been discovered.

[3] There were several Ābhīra settlements in different parts of western, central and southern India. The most important section of the people lived in the northern Konkan and the adjoining part of the Marāṭhā country. Their history will be discussed elsewhere. The Ābhīras, who came under Gupta influence about the middle of the fourth century, may, however, have been those of central or western India.

[4] These were the Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas Kākas and Kharaparikas mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription. They will be discussed in connection with the Guptas in Vol. III.

The Kushāna king Kanishka I appears to have been responsible for the subjugation of the reigning dynasty of Almora,[3] the Audumbaras and Vemakis[4] of the land between the Upper Sutlej and the

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1. The distribution of the Kuṇinda coins suggests that the tribe "occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwālik hills between the Yamunā and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper courses of the Beās and Sutlej." A *Mahārāja* named Amoghabhūti, who was the *Rājā* of the Kuṇindas, is known from coins of the Indo-Greek module with legends sometimes in both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī, but in some cases in Brāhmī only. Another class of the Kuṇinda coins of the module of the Kushāṇa copper money bears the figure of Śiva and the Brāhmī legend *bhagavataḥ chatreśvara-mahātmanaḥ*. Śiva in the form of Chatreśvara (*sic.* Chhatreśvara?), lord of Chatra or Chhatra (probably the Kuninda capital or a contraction of its name; *cf.* Ahichchhatra and Chhatravatī), appears to have been the tutelary deity of the tribe in whose name the tribal coins were issued. It is usually believed that Amoghabhūti carved out a kingdom on the ruins of the Indo-Greek empire about the end of the first century B.C. and that the Chatreśvara coins were issued after the fall of the Kushāṇas at the end of the second or in the third century A.D. The suggestion is not improbable; but it is also probable that the coins of both the types belong practically to the same period. It would not go against palaeographic evidence, if Amoghabhūti, who had a long reign, is assigned to the second or third century A.D. The Kharoshṭhī legend and Greek module of his coins may point to the extension of his power over territories where coins of the Greek period were still in use. There is evidence to show that in ancient and medieval India coins never became out of date. It seems that the Kunindas were overcome by the Kulūtas some time after Amoghabhūti.
2. The Kulūtas who inhabited the Kullu valley of the Kāngra District are mentioned in the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* and the *Mudrārākshasa*. Hiuen Tsang visited the Kulūta country in the seventh century A.D. The Kulūta king Vīrayaśas, whose coins have been discovered, probably flourished about the latter half of the third century A.D. The Kulūta country may have been subjugated by the Guptas.
3. Coins of three kings named Śivadatta, Śivapālita and Haridatta are known. They may be assigned to the beginning of the first century A.D.
4. The Audumbaras are located in the area formed by the eastern part of the Kāngra District as well as Gurdāspur and Hoshiārpur Districts *i.e.* "the valley of the Beās or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Rāvi." They represented one of the six sections of the ancient Sālva tribe, the others being the Tilakhalas, Madrakāras (or Bhadrakāras. probably related with the Madras), Yugandharas, Bhuliṅgas and Śaradaṇḍas. The earliest Audumbara coins that were issued in the name of the god Mahādeva or Śiva bear the Prakrit legend, in both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī, indicating *bhagavato mahādevasya rājarājasya*. On the coins of the early Audumbara rulers like Dharaghosha (whose issues bear the representation of Viśvāmitra), Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa, we have the legends indicating "of the king so-and-so, the Audumbari; of (the god) Mahādeva." On some square copper coins of the Audumbaras there is the representation of a Śaiva temple characterised by a *dhvaja*, a trident and a battle-axe (*JNSI*, IV, 55 ff). Coins of a king named Rudravarman, who belonged to the Vemaki tribe associated with the Audum-

Ravi, as well as the royal families of Ahichchhatra, Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī. But Mathurā, Ahichchhatra, Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī became centres of powerful monarchical states after the removal of the strong hand of the early emperors of Kanishka's house. About the middle of the fourth century, however, all these re-animated kingdoms were gradually absorbed into the growing empire of the Guptas.[1]

A problem offered by the coins referred to above is that in some cases they lead to the attribution of a large number of rulers, associated with a particular locality, to a comparatively short period of time. It is, however, not improbable that some of the kings, usually assigned to the same place and family, were actually ruling contemporaneously over adjoining districts. It also seems that the Kushāṇa emperors were not especially against the circulation of viceregal money and local coinage for which the *sarafs* (bankers and money changers) were mainly responsible. We have actually coins of the Śaka satraps of Western India as well as the rulers of the Kauśāmbī region which have to be assigned to the times of the successors of Kanishka I. If this may be regarded as the result of the weakening of the Kushana hold, after that monarch, on the outlying provinces of the empire, it may be suggested that local coinage, if it was effectively stopped at all, was stopped only for the duration of Kanishka's rule.

With these introductory remarks we may now proceed to give an account of the more important states, both republican and monarchical, that played a part in Indian history during the period following the decline of the Kushāna power.

II. THE TRIBAL REPUBLICS

1. *The Ārjunāyanas*

The Ārjunāyana people probably claimed descent from the Pāṇḍava prince Arjuna or from the Haihaya king of that name. They have been assigned to the region lying west of Agra and Mathurā about the Bharatpur and Alwar States of Rājputāna. Coins of the

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baras (*IHQ*. XX. 59 ff), have been discovered. All the coins referred to above may be assigned to the end of the first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D. Some other kings, known from their coins and often believed to have been Audumbaras, are Ajamitra (or Āryamitra) Mahīmitra, Bhūmimitra and Mahābhūtimitra. In this connection it may be pointed out that the name of the Adamvira or Admera section of the Johiya Rājputs resembles very closely that of the ancient Audumbaras.

[1] This point will be discussed in Vol. III.

tribal republic of the Ārjunayanas bear the legend *ārjunāyanānāṁ jayaḥ* in the Brāhmī script of about the closing decades of the first century B.C. The Ārjunāyanas, like their neighbours the Yaudheyas appear to have begun to grow powerful with the gradual decline of the Indo-Greek power about the middle of the first century B.C., but were subdued by the Śakas about the end of the same century. They recovered their political position after the decline of the Kushāṇas, but had soon to submit to the Guptas about the middle of the fourth century. In the sixth century, Varāhamihira refers to the Ārjunāyanas as an important people of the northern or north-western division of India.

2. *The Mālavas*

The name of the Mālavas, like that of the Malaya mountain range, is probably derived from the Dravidian word *malai*, meaning hill. In literary and epigraphic records, the name Mālava is applied to a number of communities and territories in different parts of central, western and north-western India. In the fourth century B.C. when Alexander invaded India, the Mālavas lived in the land lying north of the confluence of the Rāvi and the Chenāb, and were probably confederated with Kshudrakas who lived about the Montgomery District of the Punjāb. The army of the two peoples consisted of 90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots. The association of the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas is also known to the *Mahābhārata* and the early grammarians, who class these tribes amongst the *āyudha-jīvins*, 'those who live by the profession of arms.' From the Punjāb, the Mālavas, or at least a large section of the tribe, migrated to Rājputāna. This movement may have begun during the Indo-Greek occupation of the Punjāb, but seems to have continued down to the Scythian conquest of that country.

The Mālavas are the earliest Indian people who are definitely known to have used an era which has been identified with the so-called Vikrama-Saṁvat of 58 B.C. According to some scholars, the Mālavas themselves started the era to commemorate some important event in their history, probably the foundation of their republic in Rājasthān. But, as suggested above,[1] it is more probable that they adopted the use of the Drangian era of 58 B.C. from the Śakas in the Punjāb and carried it to their settlement in Rājasthān. The Drangian era, used by the Mālavas in Rājasthān, soon came to be known as Kṛita probably after an illustrious Mālava leader of that name, who secured the independence of his tribe frome foreign yoke.[1]

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[1] See p. 125, n. 1.

In Rājasthān the capital of the Mālava republic was *Mālava-nagara*[2] which has to be identified with modern Nagar or Karkoṭa nagar in Uniyara in the former Jaipur State, lying about 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonk and about 45 miles to the north-north-east of Bundi. As early as the beginning of the second century A.D. the Mālavas of South Jaipur are known to have fought with their neighbours, the Uttamabhadras of the Ajmer region, as well as with the latter's allies the Kshaharāta-Śakas of Western India. But soon after the decline of the Kushanas, they appear to have extended their power in different directions. This is suggested by the use of the Kṛita era in the records of the third and fourth centuries, discovered in the Bharatpur, Kotah and Udaipur States. According to the Nandsa (Udaipur State) inscriptions of A.D. 226, freedom and prosperity had returned to the country of the Mālavas before that date owing to the brilliant achievements of a Mālava chief whose name has not been fully deciphered. The reference seems to be to the success of the Mālava people chiefly against the Śakas. It is probable that the Maukhari *Mahāsenāpati* Bala, known from the Badva inscriptions of A.D. 238, owed allegiance to the Mālava republic.

There seems to have been a long-drawn struggle between the Mālavas using the Kṛita era and the Kārdamakas (Western satraps) using the Śaka era, in the third and fourth centuries A.D. But both the powers had soon to submit to the Guptas. While, however, the Śaka house was extirpated by the conquerors, the Aulikaras, apparently a Mālava dynasty, flourished at Daśapura (modern Mandasor, formerly in the realm of the Kārdamakas) under the vassalage of the Gupta emperors. It was probably the Aulikaras, especially the mighty Aulikara king Yaśodharman (A.D. 532), who were responsible for the name Mālava being applied to a wide region of Central and Western India, including the old *janapadas* of Avanti (district round Ujjayinī) and Ākara or Daśārna (district round Vidiśā). It may be noted that the kings, even when they were subordinate to the Guptas, used the Kṛita era (then also called the era of the Mālava people or their republic) in preference to the era of the Guptas. The favour shown to the Mālava family of the Aulikaras and to the Mālava era in contradistinction to the attempt of Chandra-gupta II Vikramāditya, and probably also his father Samudra-gupta Vikramāditya, to extirpate both the Śakas and their era might have contributed to the growth of the Śakāri Vikramaditya saga attributing the foundation of the era of 58 B.C. to Rājā Vikrama.

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[1] For Kṛita as a personal name, see *Mbh.* XVIII, 91, 31; *Hv.* 1, 20, 42; *Bhāg. P.*, IX, 24, 46; *Vayu P.*, 96, 139 etc. For the origin of the era, see above, p. 157. If Kṛita was the Mālava leader who secured the independence of his tribe from foreign yoke, it was easy to confuse his achievements with that of Vikra-māditya, 'the exterminator of the Śakas.' Later the era was associated with Mālava people or their republic, then with the Mālava kings and ultimately with the king of Mālava (*i.e.* king Vikramāditya of tradition). Cf. Ch. X.

[2] An inscription dated V.S. 1043 (A.D. 986) which has been recently discovered at Nagar, calls the place Mālava-nagara and describes its prosperity (*Bhārata-kaumudī*, I. pp. 271-72). The name Karkoṭa-nagar, often applied to the city, probably suggests that, for a time it passed to the Nāgas. In fabric the later Mālava coins are somewhat similar to the coins of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī with whom they may have been closely connected.

Coins attributed to the Mālava tribe have been discovered in large numbers at Nagar and its neighbourhood. At Rairh in the former Jaipur State some Mālava coins have been found together with a lead stamp seal with the legend *mālava-janapadasa*. Some of the Mālava coins may be assigned to the first century B.C., but most of them are later. The coins are usually divided into two broad groups, the first of which seems to bear the legend *jayo mālavanam* or *mālavānāṁ jayaḥ*. The second class of coins bears short legends such as *Bhapaṁyana, Majupa, Mapojaya, Mapaya, Magajaśa, Magojava, Mapaka, Yama, Pachha, Jamapaya, Jāmaku*, etc. The real significance of these is unknown. They are sometimes taken to be names of chiefs of foreign origin. It has also been suggested that "they are not names, but in most cases meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of *mālavānāṁ jayaḥ*." Nothing definite, however, can be asserted on this point.

3. *The Yaudheyas*

Although little is known of the detailed history of the republican tribe of the Yaudheyas, there are enough indications of their great power and authority and the vicissitudes of their political fortune. The forms *Yodheya* and *Yaudheya* are derived from *Yodha* and signify 'a warrior'. In the *Mahābhārata*, Yaudheya appears as the name of a son of Yudhishṭhira, and it is not improbable that the Yaudheya people claimed descent from the Pāṇḍava king. They are mentioned in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* and are often classed with the Trigarttas and other peoples amongst the *āyudha-jīvī* Kshatriyas. Clay seals of the Yaudheyas have been found in the Ludhiāna District, while their coins have been discovered in the area extending from Sahāranpur to Multān. Yaudheya coins have been recently found also in the Dehra Dun District.[1] Some interesting coin-moulds of the tribe have come from Rohtak.[2] The heart of the Yaudheya territory may have been the eastern Punjāb, but they dominated also over the adjoining tracts of the U.P. and Rājasthān.

The Yaudheyas, whose tutelary deity was Brahmaṇyadeva (Kārttikeya), are probably to be identified with the Mattamayūraka people of Rohītaka (modern Rohtak District of the Punjāb), which is described in the *Mahābhārata* as a place specially favoured by the god Kārttikeya. A clue to the extent of the Yaudheya territory is given by the discovery of an inscription of this people at Bijaygarh lying about two miles to the south-west of Bayānā in the Bharatpur State of Rājputāna. Another indication is offered by the probable identification of the Yaudheyas with the Johiya Rājputs inhabiting the tract of land called Johiyabar along both banks of the Sutlej on the borders of the former Bahāwalpur State.

The Yaudheyas, like many of their neighbours, grew powerful with the decline of the Indo-Greek power; but they appear to have submitted to the Śakas and the Kushānas. As early, however, as the middle of the second century A.D., when a successor of the Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka I was ruling, the Yaudheyas were powerful enough to challenge the authority of the mighty Śaka satrap, Rudradāman. The Kushāṇas soon lost effective control over Western India, and the Yaudheyas, like the Kārdamakas and Mālavas, grew still more powerful in the third century A.D. They were subdued by the Guptas in the next century.

We have seen that the ancient Yaudheyas were professionally warlike. In the Junāgarh inscription of A.D. 150 they are described as untamable owing to their pride, resulting from the ascription of the title of "hero" to them amongst all the Kshatriyas. The Śaka ruler Rudradāman claims to have defeated them. The Bijaygarh inscription of about the third century A.D. speaks of a *Mahārāja-Mahāsenāpati* who was placed at the head of the Yaudheya republic *(Yaudheya-gaṇapuraskṛita)*.

It is interesting to note that the head of the Yaudheya tribe, like that of the Lichchhavis of earlier times, assumed an unpretentious viceregal title (*cf.* also the style of the contemporary Kārdamaka kings). A large Yaudheya clay seal from Ludhiāna of about the fourth century A.D. bears the representation of a bull and the legend *Yaudheyanaṁ jaya-mantra-dharāṇāṁ*, *i.e.*, the seal of the Yaudheyas who were in possession of a victory-charm. In the Allāhābād inscription of the middle of the same century, the Yaudheya people are mentioned as a subordinate ally of the Gupta emperor. A later reference to the Yaudheyas is found in the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* which locates them in the northern or north-western division of India along with the Ārjunāyanas. They are also mentioned in the Purāṇas.

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[1] *JNSI*, II, 109 ff.

[2] *Proc. N.S.I.*, 1936; *Mem. N.S.I.*, No. 3.

The earliest Yaudheya coins, which may be attributed to a period about the end of the first century B.C., bear the legend *bahudhāñake Yodheyānāṁ*, showing that they were struck by the Yaudheya people at Bahudhānyaka. The city of Bahudānyaka has probably to be located in the Rohtak region where the moulds of these coins have been discovered. Another type of the Yaudheya coins, both in silver and copper, was issued in the name of Brahmaṇyadeva-Kumāra (*i.e.*, Skanda-Kārttikeya), who was the tutelary deity of the people. The complete legend on these coins, which may be assigned to the second or third century A.D., appears to be *bhagavataḥ svāmino brahmaṇyadevasya kumārasya: yaudheyānām*.

In some cases, the god is called Brahmaṇyadeva only, while on a few specimens the coins appear to be called the *dramma* (from Greek *drachma*) of the deity. This class of coins, which is connected closely in style and type with the coinage of the Kunindas, bears the representation of the six-headed god Skanda. On some of the coins the god Skanda is found on the obverse, while a goddess with six heads is represented on the reverse.[1] This deity has been identified with Shashṭhī or Devasenā, wife of Skanda.

A third class of the Yaudheya coins in copper shows Kushāna influence in style and types and may be assigned to the third and fourth centuries A.D. The legend on these coins runs *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jayaḥ*, 'victory be to the republic of the Yaudheyas'; but in some cases we have either *dvi* or *tri* (or *tṛi*) in addition. It has been suggested that *dvi* and *tri* are contractions respectively of the words *dvitīya* and *tṛitīya* indicating the second and third sections of the Yaudheya tribe. One of these sections may have been the Mattamayūrakas of Rohtak. The present-day Johiyas are also divided into three tribes, *viz.* Langavira (Lakvira), Mādhovira (Madhera) and Adamvira (Admera).

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[1] *JNSI*, V, pp. 29 ff.

It has been recently suggested that the Yaudheyas were especially responsible for extirpating Kushāna rule from the Punjāb, but the theory can only be partially true. There is no doubt that the rise of feudatories and subordinate allies is partly responsible for the decline of an imperial house, and also that the weakness of the imperial government is partially responsible for the rise of the subordinates. The known story of the decline and downfall of the Tīmurids in India, however, shows that the eclipse of an empire cannot always be attributed to the rise of a single feudatory. In the present state of our knowledge there is nothing to single out the Yaudheyas or any of their neighbours in the Punjāb, U.P., and Rājasthān as having been solely responsible for the collapse of Kushāṇa rule in India.[1]

III. THE MONARCHICAL STATES

1. *The Nāga kingdoms*

The Nāgas were serpent-worshipping non-Aryan tribes of ancient India. Their great power, culture and political prestige are hinted at in such epic legends as those relating to Vāsuki and Takshaka, the death of Parikshit, and the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya as well as in literary traditions like that of Nīlanāga, the prehistoric protector of Kāshmir. According to some scholars, one of the earliest historical Nāga royal lines was the dynasty (or dynasties) represented by Śiśunāga and Nāga-Darśaka, kings of Magadha. Serpent-worship was a popular cult in all parts of ancient India. The existence of the Nāgas in different parts of India in the early and medieval periods and of their descendants in the present time is evidenced not only by epigraphic, numismatic and literary records, but also by numerous localities named after the Nāgas (*e.g.*, Nāgapura, Uragapura, Nāgarakhaṇḍa, etc.) and a large number of families (including many royal houses) with the cognomen Nāga. In the present section we are concerned only with the

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[1] The main cause of the decay of Kushāṇa power in India seems to have been the division of power between the joint rulers as well as the personal incapacity of the successors of Kanishka I to exercise control over the outlying provinces of the empire. Another strong factor must have been the foundation of a strong monarchy in Persia by the Sassanians who knocked at the western gates of the Kushāna empire from about the middle of the third century A.D. But as we know from the *Wei-lio*, even about this time the Kushāṇa emperor was regarded as the lord of *T'ien-chou* (probably the Punjāb and the adjoining regions) and other countries. The importance of the Kushāṇa ruler's position in Uttarāpatha in the fourth century A.D. is indicated by his prominent mention in the Allāhābād inscription of Samudra-gupta.

Nāga dynasties that became powerful at the expense of the later Kushāṇas and were ultimately suppressed by the Guptas of Magadha.

According to the evidence of the Purāṇas, Nāga kings flourished, apparently after the decline of the Kushānas, at Vidiśā, Kāntipurī, Mathurā and Padmavatī. Mention is also made of the powerful Nāga rulers of Vidiśā named Śesha, Bhogin and Sadāchandra, surnamed Chandrāṁśa, who is described as the second Nakhavat (*i.e.*, Nahapana) and may have been associated with the Śakas. The prevalence of Nāga rule over considerable portions of northern India in the third and fourth centuries A.D. is also attested by epigraphic and numismatic evidence, and most of the Nāga kings, known from these sources, have probably to be connected with one or other of the Nāga centres mentioned in the Purānas.

A Lahore copper seal of about the fourth century A.D. refers to prince Maheśvaranāga, son of Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭṭa;[1] but the land over which the Nāga Mahārāja ruled cannot be determined. The Vākāṭaka records mention Mahārāja Bhavanāga as the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I, whose grandson was a contemporary of Chandra-gupta (A.D. 376-414). Bhavanāga, therefore, may be assigned to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A.D. He is described as belonging to the family of the Bhāraśivas "whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Śiva that was caused by their carrying a Śiva *liṅga* placed as a load upon their shoulders," and "who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of the Bhāgīrathī that had been obtained by their valour." Thus the name of the Bhāraśivas, a family of Nāgas who were usually Śaivas, has been explained by their carrying a *liṅga*. It is also suggested that their home was away from the Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) but that they extended their power as far as the valley of that river.

The Bharaśivas are further credited with the performance of no less than ten Aśvamedha sacrifices. The suggestions that the Bhārasivas were responsible for the overthrow of Kushāna supremacy in India and that the Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ at Banaras owes its name to the celebration of the ten horse-sacrifices by the Bhāraśivas on that spot may be regarded as fantastic; but there is no doubt that the Bhārasiva Nāgas were one of the most important powers that flourished on the ruins of the Kushāna empire. Some coins bearing the name of Bhavanāga (supposed to be styled *Mahārāja* or *Adhirāja*) have been discovered at Padam Pawāyā, the ancient Padmāvatī near Narwar in old Gwālior State.[1] If this Bhavanāga was no other than the Bhāraśiva ruler of that name, the royal family of the Bhāraśiva-Nāgas must have had its capital at that well-known centre of Nāga power. The city of Padmāvatī has been immortalised by Bhavabhūti (middle of the eighth century A.D.) who made this flourishing city the scene of his *Mālatīmādhava*. It was situated in the old Gwālior State on the banks of the Sindhu (modern Sind), and other rivers in its vicinity were Pārā (modern Pāra or Pārvati), Lavaṇā (modern Lunā) and Madhumatī (modern Madhuwār).

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[1] This seems to be the natural interpretation of the legend *mahārāja-nāgabhaṭṭa-putra-maheśvaranāga.*

The Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta claims to have 'extirpated' a number of Āryāvarta kings about the middle of the fourth century; two of these rulers, *viz*. Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena, were Nāgas. That the Gupta emperors maintained friendly relations with the suppressed Nāga houses is evidenced by the marriage of Samudra-gupta's son with Kuberanāgā who was a Nāga princess. A Nāga chief named Śarvanāga was appointed a *vishaya-pati* (provincial governor) and was ruling the Antarvedī district (between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā and between Prayāga and Hardwār) under Skanda-gupta in the year A.D. 466. Nothing is known about the particular families to which Kuberanāgā and Śarvanāga belonged; but both the kings Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena appear to have been scions of the house of Padmāvatī.

Some coins bearing the name of *Mahārāja* Gaṇendra or Gaṇapa have been discovered at Padmāvatī and also at Vidiśā and Mathurā. This king of Padmāvatī, who may have extended his influence over the other Nāga centres, has been identified with king Gaṇapatināga extirpated by Samudra-gupta. No coins of Nāgasena have as yet been discovered; but the *Harshacharita* refers to a tradition that the confidential deliberations of Nāgasena of the Nāga-kula having been divulged by a *sārikā* bird led to his destruction at Padmāvatī. It is not improbable that, after the overthrow of Gaṇapatināga, Samudra-gupta placed Nāgasena on the throne of Padmāvatī as his vassal; but later Nāgasena himself was also extirpated possibly as a result of an attempt on his part to assume independence.

The Purāṇas refer to the rule of nine Nāga kings at Padmāvatī, and, as we have seen, three of them may have been Bhavanāga, Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena. Some other Nāga rulers are also known from coins discovered in the neighbourhood of Padmāvatī. They are *Mahārāja* Bhīmanāga, *Mahārāja* Skandanāga, *Mahārāja* Bṛihaspatināga and *Mahārāja* Devanāga. A few Padmāvatī coins have been recently attributed to a Nāga *Mahārāja* named Vibhunāga.[1] Certain rare coins of the same region with the legend *vyāghra* have been assigned to a king Vyāghranāga.

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[1] *JNSI*, V. pp. 21 ff.

According to a Puranic statement, seven Nāga kings ruled at Mathurā apparently after the Kushānas. The issuers of the coins attributed to Mathurā, however, had names that do not end in the word Nāga. The earliest coins of Mathurā appear to be those issued by Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Dṛiḍhamitra, Sūryamitra and Vishṇumitra who are mentioned without any royal title. These coins may be roughly attributed to the first century B.C. Other early coins attributed to the locality bear the names of Purushadatta (without any royal title), Uttamadatta (sometimes called *rājā*), Rāmadatta (sometimes called *rājā*), *Rājā* Kāmadatta, *Rājā* Śeshadatta, *Rājā* Bhavadatta and *Rājā* Balabhūti. These rulers may have been vassals of the Kushāṇas and flourished about the second century A.D., after the extirpation of the Śakas of Mathurā.

Besides the above rulers, a very powerful king named Vīrasena is known to have flourished after the Kushānas and held large tracts in the western parts of the U.P. It is not improbable that he was a Nāga and had his capital at Mathurā. The coins of Vīrasena have been found in Mathurā and also in Bulandshahr, Etah and Farrukhābād Districts. A few specimens have come from the Punjāb. An inscription of this king, probably dated in his thirteenth regnal year, was discovered at Jankhat in the south of the Farrukhābād District. King Vīrasena may be assigned to the third or fourth century A.D. One of his successors seems to have been ousted by the Guptas.

2. *Ahichchhatra*

Ahichchhatra (or -trā) or Adhichchhatra, sometimes also called Chhatravatī, was the capital of North Pañchāla in early times when South Pañchāla to the south of the Gaṅgā had its headquarters at Kāmpilya, modern Kampil, in the Farrukhābād District. Ahichchhatra has been identified with modern Rāmnagar near Aonla in the Bareilly District of the U.P. and North Pañchāla must have comprised Rohilkhand and the adjoining area.

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[1] *JNSI*, V. pp. 26-27.

A remarkable series of coins, characterised by a well-marked obverse incuse containing the issuer's name without royal title beneath a group of three symbols, is regarded by numismatists to have been issued by the kings of Ahichchhatra. As, however, the coins of a few of the rulers are common as far as the Basti District in the east, some writers prefer to call these kings 'lords of Pañchāla and Kosala.' Owing to the fact that many of the kings have names ending in the word *mitra*, they are often styled 'the Mitra kings'. As mentioned above[1], some of these kings are identified with the Śuṅga and Kāṇva kings of these names, but this cannot be regarded as certain.

The so-called Ahichchhatra coins reveal the names of Bhadraghosha, Sūryamitra, Phalgunīmitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Dhruvamitra, Agnimitra, Vishnumitra, Jayamitra, Indramitra, Bṛihatsvātīmitra (usually but rather inaccurately called Bṛihaspatimitra), Viśvapāla, Rudragupta and Jayagupta. Recent discoveries have added to the list the names of Vaṅgapāla, Damagupta, Vasusena, Yajñapāla, Prajāpatimitra and Varuṇamitra.[2] Some coins of Vaṅgapāla are believed to have been counterstruck by Damagupta. The coins may be assigned to the three centuries following the middle of the first century B.C. An interesting feature of the coins is that often the reverse device refers to the issuer's name; *e.g.*, the issues of Agnimitra exhibit a personification of fire (Agni) and those of Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra have solar emblems. Apparently the issuers of the coins were inclined to identify themselves with the deities indicated on the reverse of the coins; but the feature may have been inspired by the variety of deities represented on the reverse of the Kushāna coins.

Two kings of Ahichchhatra are known from the Pabhosā (near Kosam) cave inscriptions of prince Āshāḍhasena, son of the queen Gopālikā-Vaihidarī. Āshāḍhasena's father was the king Traivarṇīputra Bhāgavata who was the son of Vaṅgapāla, king of Ahichchhatra. It is very probable that Vaṅgapāla was the king of the same name known from coins. King Bhāgavata's daughter Gopālī was married to a Kauśāmbī king and was the mother of king Bṛihatsvātīmitra (probably not Bṛihaspatimitra) of Kauśāmbī.

There are two types of copper coins found at Ahichchhatra on which the name Achyuta is partially preserved. The reverses of both the types represent a wheel, probably the *sudarśanachakra* of the god Achyuta (Vishṇu) The obverse of one of the two types has 'head and neck of king to right', possibly imitated from the coins of the Śakas of Western India with whom Achyuta of Ahichchhatra may have had some relations. King Achyuta has been identified with the Āryāvarta ruler of that name, who according to the Allāhābād inscription, was ousted by Samudra-gupta about the middle of the fourth century A.D.

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[1] See pp. 98, 100.

[2] *JNSI*, II, pp. 115-16; III, pp. 79; IV, pp. 17, 20; V, 17 ff.

3. *Ayodhyā*

The city of Ayodhyā was the earliest capital of the Kosala (Uttara-Kosala) *janapada* which roughly corresponded to modern Oudh. It stood on the river Sarayū (modern Ghāghrā or Gogrā), and has been identified with modern Ajodhyā in the Fyzābād District of the U.P. Sāketa, which is often mentioned in early literature as the capital of Kosala, is sometimes taken to be another name of Ayodhyā, though it is probable that the two cities were adjoining like London and Westminster. Śrāvastī, modern Sahet-Mahet on the borders of the Gondā and Bahraich Districts, was possibly the capital of the *janapada* in the age of the Buddha; but Sāketa seems to have been reinstated in its old position soon after.

The early inscribed coins, that have been found near the site of the ancient city of Ayodhyā, may be divided into two distinct classes issued probably by two different dynasties of rulers. The first class is represented by square cast coins without any trace of foreign influence in the style and types. The obverse of these coins shows a bull (or rarely an elephant or the Gaja-lakshmī) before a symbol, while the reverse type consists of a group of five or six symbols. The rulers represented by this series are Dhanadeva, Viśākhadeva, Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Naradatta and Śivadatta. Another ruler, whose name is not fully preserved on the coins, was probably Praushṭhadatta (or -deva). None of these rulers has been called a king; but it is extremely probable that Dhanadeva of the coins is the same as the *Dharmarāja* Dhana(deva), king of Kosala, who is mentioned in an Ayodhyā inscription.[1] In this epigraph, which may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of the first century B.C., king Dhanadeva is represented as the son of Phalgudeva (who has no royal title) and as the sixth in descent, probably on the mother's side, from Senāpati Pushyamitra, the performer of two Aśvamedhas. As this Pushyamitra is undoubtedly the Śuṅga king of that name, who ruled *c.* 187 to 151 B.C., his sixth descendant may be referred to the closing decades of the first century B.C. The kings represented by the above series of coins may be roughly assigned to the two centuries following the middle of that century.

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[1] *Sel. Ins., I,* p. 96. According to some scholars, the expression *pushyamitrasya shasṭhena* means 'the sixth brother of Pushyamitra Śuṅga.' This view is quite incompatible with the palaeography of the record.

The second class of Ayodhyā coins belongs to a later group of rulers who appear to have flourished after the end of Kushāṇa rule in the eastern U.P. These coins, which are very distinct from the cast coins of the earlier epoch, are "round pieces struck from dies leaving the seal-like impression characteristic of early Indian struck coins." The usual obverse type is the bull and the reverse type "a cock and a post." The rulers represented by this series are Satyamitra, Āyumitra (sometimes believed to the Āryamitra), Saṅghamitra, Vijayamitra, Devamitra, Ajavarman and Kumudasena. Of these Kumudasena alone is called a *Rājā*. It is probably from a successor of this king that the Guptas conquered the Oudh region and annexed it to their empire.

4. *Kauśāmbī*

The ancient city of Kauśāmbī, which has been identified with the village of Kosam about thirty-five miles to the south-west of Allāhābād, appears to have been the headquarters of a provincial ruler in the age of the Maurya emperors; but, about the end of the second century B.C., it probably became the capital of a local family of rulers.

The earliest of the inscribed coins of Kauśāmbī appear to be those with the legend *Kosaṁbi* in Brāhmī characters of the beginning of the first century B.C. Next in point of date are probably the cast coins of Sudeva and Bṛihatsvātīmitra (probably not *Bṛihaspatimitra* as is usually held) which are closely connected with the early uninscribed cast coins of the locality in style and types and may be assigned to the middle of the first century B.C. Bṛihatsvātīmitra also issued die-struck coins. The struck coins reveal the names of Aśvaghosha, Parvata, Agnimitra, Jyeshṭamitra and Devamitra. Some coins recently discovered at Kauśāmbī have been attributed to Varuṇamitra, Suramitra, Radhamitra, Prajāpatimitra, Rājamitra and Vijayamitra. Coins of a king named Praushṭhaśrī have been found at Bhita, while those of the kings Bhadramagha, Śivamagha, Vaisravana and Bhīmavarman have come from the Fatehpur District. Some unclassified Kauśāmbī coins in the British Museum reveal the names not only of Vaiśravana and Vijayamagha, but also of some rulers whose names may probably have been Mūlahasta, Vishṇusri and Śaṅkumagha. A few Kauśāmbī coins have been attributed to a *Rājā* named Dhanadeva.[1] All these coins may be referred roughly to the period between the first century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.

A number of the Kauśāmbī kings who issued coins are also known from epigraphic sources. The earliest of the inscriptions, which may be assigned to about the end of the first century B.C., is the Pabhosā (near Kosam) record of Āshāḍhasena, prince of Ahichchhatra, dated in the tenth regnal year of Ūdāka. The epigraph represents king Gopālīputra Brihatsvātīmitra,[2] a contemporary or a predecessor of Ūdāka, as the daughter's son of king Traivarṇīputra Bhāgavata, son of king Śaunakāyanīputra Vaṅgapāla of Ahichchhatra. King Bṛihatsvātīmitra is known from his coins; but no coins of Ūdāka have as yet been discovered. Varuṇamitra of the coins is apparently the same as *Rājā* Gauptīputra Varuṇamitra of a fragmentary Kosam inscription of the first century A.D. Varuṇamitra's son was also a king who had the metronymic Kohaḍīputra. The dynasty of these rulers of Kauśāmbī appears to have been overthrown by Kanishka I. An inscription of the Kushāṇa monarch has been found at Kosam itself.

The records of the later kings of Kauśāmbī are characterised by the use of an era which seems to be no other than Kanishka's reckoning, *i.e.* the Śaka era of A.D. 78,[3] introduced in the locality during the rule of Kanishka I. This dynasty of rulers must have originally been subordinate to the Kushāṇas. As some of the kings of this house had names ending with the word *Magha*, it is probably that they are the *Meghas* (*sic.* Maghas) mentioned in the Purāṇas. The wide extent of the Magha dominions is indicated by the find of their epigraphic and numismatic records not only in the Allāhābad District, but also in the Fatehpur District as well as in the Rewah State of Baghelkhand in Central India.

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[1] For the new coins see *ASR*, 1911-12, pp. 50 ff; *JNSI*, II, pp. 95 ff; IV, pp. 4 ff; 133 ff. For a silver coin of Aśvaghosha, see *JBORS*, XX, p. 8. Some Kauśāmbī coins have also been attributed to Rajanīmitra, Praushṭhamitra, Śatamitra, Sarpamitra, Nāvika, Pushvaśrī and Āgaraja (cf. *JNSI*, IV, 133 ff). But the reading of some of the names appears to be doubtful. *Pushvaśriyaḥ* seems to be a wrong reading for *prashṭhaśriyaḥ* (i.e. *praushṭha°*). Agaraja has been identified with Gauptīputra Āgaraju (Aṅgāradyut), son of Gārgīputra Viśvadeva who was a feudatory of the Śuṅgas and is mentioned in a Bhārhut inscription (*Sel. Ins.* I, p. 89), while Praushṭhamitra has been supposed to be the person of that name known from a Kauśāmbī inscription (*JNSI*, IV, p. 134). Praushthamitra of the inscription, however, was not a king.

[2] See below 214.

[3] Some scholars, however, take it to be the Traikūṭaka or the Gupta era, or a local era. For full discussion on the subject cf. *NHIP*, VI, p. 41, fn. 2.

Although the new dynasty may have been founded by a lieutenant of the Kushānas named Magha, the earliest ruler known from epigraphic sources seems to be *Rājā* Vāsishṭhiputra Bhimasena of a Bhita seal. In the Bandhogarh (Rewah State) inscription of the year 51 (A.D. 129) and the Ginja (40 miles to the south of Allāhābad inscription of the year 52 (A.D. 130) Bhīmasena is credited with the more dignified title of *Mahārāja*. *Mahārāja* Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī, son of Bhīmasena, is known from six records found at Bandhogarh with dates in the years 86, 87 and 88 corresponding to A.D. 164, 165 and 166. Praushṭhaśrī is no doubt the king of that name who is known from his coins. His successor appears to have been Bhadradeva of a Bandhogarh inscription of the year 90 (A.D. 168) who is probably identical with Bhadadeva of another record of the same place.

Mahārāja Kauśikīputra Bhadramagha is not only known from his coins but also from several Kosam inscriptions dated in the years 81, 86 and 87 corresponding to A.D. 159, 164 and 165. It seems that Bhadramagha, who may have been a younger step-brother of Bhīmasena or an elder step-brother of Praushṭhaśrī, was the immediate successor of Mahārāja Bhīmasena. But Praushṭhaśrī appears to have rebelled against Bhadramagha's authority and declared himself king in the southern part of the kingdom about the closing years of the latter's reign. Later he extended his power also over the Kauśāmbī region. Some scholars are inclined to identify Bhadramagha with Bhadradeva or Bhaḍadeva of the Bandhogarh inscription of the year 90; but the suggestion is unconvincing.

Two records from Bandhogarh belong to Rājā Vaiśravaṇa who is known from his coins. This ruler, probably belonging to the same house, is represented in the inscriptions as the son of the Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala whose identification with Bhadramagha, suggested by some writers, is, however, unwarranted. Vaiśravana may have at first been the viceroy of the Kauśāmbī kings in the southern part of their kingdom; but he later established himself on the throne of his masters. A Kosam inscription of the year 107 (A.D. 185) mentions him as *Mahārāja*. A later king of Kauśāmbī was *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman who is not only known from his coins but also from two inscriptions found at Kosam dated respectively in the years 130 and 139 corresponding to A.D. 208 and 217.[1] King Śivamagha of the coins is no doubt the same as *Mahārāja* Gautamīputra Śivamagha mentioned in a Bhita seal and in several inscriptions from Kosam. But his exact date as well as his relations with the other kings such as Bhadramagha cannot be determined in the present stage of our knowledge. Nothing definite is known about the genealogical and chronological position of the other kings of the Magha dynasty whose names, known from their coins, are referred to above.

A Bhita seal of about the third century A.D. speaks of *Mahārāja* Gautamīputra Vindhyavedhana who is as yet unknown from any other sources. He is said to have received his kingdom through Maheśvara and Mahāsena and had the bull as his banner.[2] Whether Vindhyavedhana was the founder of a new dynasty cannot be ascertained. One of his successors appears to have been *Mahārāja* Śaṁkarasiṁha who is known from a Bhita seal of about the fourth century A.D. The Bhita seals also reveal the names of *Mahādevī* Rudramatī and *Mahāśvapati-Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Vishṇurakshita who were undoubtedly associated with the kings of Kauśāmbī.[3]

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[1] For the inscriptions and seals, see *Sel. Ins.*, p. 365; *EI*, XVIII, pp. 159 ff; XXIII, pp. 245 ff; XXIV, pp. 146-48; 253 ff; *Jha Comm. Vol.*, pp. 100-14; *IC*, I, p. 692; III, pp. 179, 183; *ASR*, 1911-12, pp. 50-53. For notes on the Bandhogarh records, see *NHIP*, VI. pp. 41 ff.

[2] One is reminded of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman who makes a similar claim as regards the two gods; but his banner was different.

[3] Coins reveal the names of many other rulers who flourished in different parts of northern India in the first century B.C. and the early centuries of the Christian era. The coins of three kings named Sūryamitra, Brahmamitra and Vishṇudeva have been doubtfully assigned to Kanauj. Other important names known from numismatic source include those of Ajadatta and Yugasena. None of these rulers is mentioned in the Purāṇas by name. The only king of this period, mentioned in the Purāṇas by name is the mighty Viśvasphānī of Magadha, who was very probably of foreign origin.

CHAPTER XII

THE SAKA SATRAPS OF WESTERN INDIA

We have seen how the Indo-Greeks conquered Sind, Saurāshṭra and parts of Rājasthān in the second century B.C. The Scythians of East Irān established themselves in the valley of the lower Sindhu in the following century, when they probably also penetrated as far east as Saurāshṭra and the adjoining regions. Scythian princes continued to dominate over considerable parts of Western India as late as the time of the early emperors of the Gupta family, till Chandra-gupta II finally annexed their dominions to the Gupta empire.

I. THE SCYTHIANS IN WESTERN INDIA

The earliest reference to Scythian rule in Western India can be traced in the *Periplus* (c. A.D. 70-80) The lower Sindhu valley is mentioned in this work as Scythia (*i.e.*, the land of the Scythians), although Parthian princes are represented as occupying its capital Min-nagara, the name usually applied by the early Scythians to their chief cities. The *Periplus* also refers to a powerful king named Mambarus who had his headquarters at another Min-nagara and was probably a Scythian. The family of Mambarus seems to have been originally subordinate to the Scythian emperors, but appears to have become practically independent after the Parthian occupation of the western part of the dominions of Azes II including the lower valley of the Sindhu. The *Periplus* says: "Beyond the gulf of Baraca (Dvārakā) is that of Barygaza (Broach) and the coast of the country of Ariaca (Ptolemy's Larike, *i.e.* Lāṭa) which is the beginning of the kingdom of Mambarus and of all India. That part of it lying inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria (Ābhīra) and the coast is called Syrastrene (Surāshṭra)." The kingdom of Mambarus thus seems to have comprised Saurāshṭra, Gujarāt and parts of Rājasthān. But the reference in the *Periplus* to the city of Calliena (Kalyān in the Thānā District) being at first in the possession of the elder Saraganus (Sātakarni), and later in that of Sandares, when the port was much obstructed and Greek ships were taken to Barygaza under guard, may point to the

Scythian occupation of the northern Konkan about the middle of the first century A.D. It is not improbable that Sandares was the viceroy of Mambarus[1] in Aparānta, which was conquered from the Sātavāhanas about that time. Some scholars suggest that the name Mambarus is a mistake for Nambanus, which again is supposed to be a Greek corruption of the name Nahapana. As the satrap Nahapana is known to have ruled in the period c. A.D. 119-25, the suggestion appears to be unwarranted.

II. THE KSHAHARĀTA SATRAPS

About the end of the first century A.D., the Kushāna emperor Kanishka I seems to have extended his power over Central and Western India. The ruling house represented by Mambarus was either subdued or supplanted. It is as yet unknown whether the Kshaharātas, who probably ruled Western India as Kshatrapas of Kanishka I and his successors, belonged to the same family as Mambarus. This satrapal house seems also to have been Scythian in origin.

1. *Bhūmaka*

Kshaharāta Bhūmaka is the earliest known Kshatrapa in charge of the south-western part of the empire of the Kushāṇas of Kanishka's house. His coins have been found in the coastal regions of Gujarāt and Saurāshtra and sometimes also Mālwā and the Ajmer region of Rājasthān. The use of both the Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī scripts in Bhūmaka's coin-legends probably points to the fact that the Kshatrapa territories not only comprised such districts as Mālwā, Gujarāt, and Saurāshṭra where Brāhmī was prevalent, but also some regions about western Rājasthān and Sind where Kharoshthī appears to have been in use. Traces of Greek legend on the coins of the early Kshatrapas of Western India point to the influence and popularity in Indo-Scythia of the Indo-Greek coinage to which the *Periplus* bears witness. Some writers are inclined to associate the use of Kharoshthī on the earlier satrapal issues with the northern origin of the Kshatrapas. No details of Bhūmaka's rule are known. Whether he issued coins during the lifetime of Kanishka I or after the latter's death, when the hold of the Kushāṇas on the outlying provinces of the empire was growing feeble, cannot be ascertained.

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[1] For different views cf. next Chapter.

2. *Nahapāna*

Kshatrapa Bhūmaka seems to have been succeeded by Nahapāna who belonged to the same Kshaharāta family. The exact relation between the two satraps, however, is as yet unknown. Nahapāna is known not only from his coins but also from a number of inscriptions bearing dates ranging between the years 41 and 46 of an era. As the era seems to be no other than Kanishka's reckoning, *i.e.*, the Śaka era of A.D. 78, Nahapāna very probably flourished about the period A.D. 119-25.[1] In the earlier records Nahapāna is called a Kshatrapa, while in the inscription of the year 46 he is credited with the title Mahākshatrapa. But in all these epigraphs Nahapāna has the additional title *Rājan,* which probably indicates a political position superior to that enjoyed by his predecessor, Kshatrapa Bhūmaka. On the coins Nahapāna is invariably called *Rājan,* and on none of them occurs the title Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa. It should also be pointed out that no record of Nahapāna refers to his overlord. He therefore seems to have been ruling practically as an independent king without openly disavowing his allegiance to the Kushāṇas. The Kārdamakas who succeeded the Kshaharātas also enjoyed the title *Rājan* (sometimes referred to also as *Mahārāja)* together with a satrapal designation.

Nahapāna issued both silver and copper coins. The silver issues were imitated as regards size, weight and fabric from the hemi-drachms of the Yavana kings, and in these respects they set a standard which was followed by the Western satraps for about three centuries, and afterwards by their successors the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas. Probably from the same source, as well as from the Roman coins imported into Indian ports like Broach (where, according to the *Periplus,* they yielded a profit when exchanged for native money), they derived their obverse type 'Head of King'. This type, together with a legend in Graeco-Roman characters which later degenerated into a sort of ornament, became a feature of these coins.

Nahapāna's coins have been discovered in the Ajmer region of Rājasthān in the north and in the Nāsik District in the south. The his dominions actually comprised the wide area from Ajmer to northern Marāṭhā country is indicated by epigraphic evidence. An inscription of Aryaman, who was an *amātya* of Nahapāna, has been found at Junnar in the Poona District. A number of inscriptions recording the pious gifts of the Hinduised Śaka chief Ṛishabhadatta (Ushavadāta), son of Dīnika, have been discovered in the rock-cut caves at Nāsik and at Kārle in the Poona District. Ṛishabhadatta was the husband of Dakshamitrā, daughter of Nahapāna, and was the viceroy in the southern province of his father-in-law's dominions. There is no doubt that the *āhāras* (districts) of Govardhana (Nāsik) and Māmāḷa (Poona) were in charge of Ṛishabhadatta; but he may have also ruled over southern Gujarāt and the northern Konkan from Broach to Sopārā. In connection with Ṛishabhadatta's benefactions, inscriptions refer to such localities as Kāpūr-*āhāra* (Kapura in the old Baroda State), Prabhāsa (in southern Saurāshṭra), Bhṛigukachchha (Broach), Daśapura (Mandasor in western Mālwā), Śūrpāraka (Sopārā in Thānā District) and Pushkara (near Ajmer) as well as to the rivers Tāpī, Barṇāśā (Banās, a tributary of the Chambal), Pārādā (Par in the Surat District), Damana (Damangangā near Daman) and Dāhanukā (near Dāhānu in the Thānā District). It is, however, likely that Ṛishabhadatta visited some of the holy places outside his viceregal state as a pious pilgrim; but it seems very probable that Mālwā, Saurāshṭra, Gujarāt, the northern part of the Konkan and the Marāṭhā country, and large parts of Rājasthān probably including a portion of the lower Sindhu valley, lay within the dominions of his father-in-law.

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[1] The Jogalthembi hoard shows that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi restruck the coins of Nahapāna and of no other later ruler of the Kshaharāta dynasty which he claims to have uprooted. Nahapāna and Gautamīputra were therefore contemporaries. According to the evidence of Ptolemy's *Geography,* Gautamīputra's son Pulumāvi was on the throne of Pratishthāna (the Sātavāhana capital) about A.D. 140. Gautamīputra and his contemporary Nahapāna therefore ruled about the first quarter of the second century. See the section on the Sātavāhanas.

In one of the Nāsik cave inscriptions, Ṛishabhadatta is said to have gone, at the command of the Bhaṭṭāraka, to relieve the chief of the Uttamabhadra tribe, who was besieged by the Mālayas (Mālavas, settled in the Jaipur region of Rājasthān). After inflicting a crushing defeat on the Mālayas, the Śaka chief is said to have gone to the Pushkara lake for ceremonial consecration. It is not known whether the word *bhaṭṭāraka* (lord) indicates the Satrap Nahapāna or his Kushāṇa overlord. But whichever interpretation is accepted, it cannot be denied that the Ajmer region in Rājasthān lay within the sphere of Nahapāna's influence. The Nāsik and Poona Districts had been conquered from the Sātavāhanas of Pratishṭhāna either by Nahapāna himself or by one of the earlier Scythian rulers of Western India who appear to have extended their power over the northern Konkan.

In the latter part of, or shortly after, the Śaka year 46 (A.D. 124-25), which is the latest known date of Nahapana, the satrap seems to have been defeated and killed by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarni, who annexed the southern provinces of the Kshaharāta dominions. Gautamīputra is not only said to have totally uprooted the Kshaharāta dynasty and to have extirpated the Śakas together with the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, but is also described as the lord of many countries including Surāshṭra (Saurāshṭra), Kukura (in the Gujarāt-Saurāshṭra region), Anūpa the Māndhātā or Maheśvar region on the Narmadā), Aparānta (northern Konkan), Ākara (east Mālwā) and Avanti (west Mālwā). Gautamīputra's inscriptions in the Nāsik and Poona Districts show how Nahapāna's viceroy Ṛishabhadatta was ousted by him from those regions. The large hoard of Nahapāna's coins, discovered at Jogalthembi in the Nāsik District, shows how the Sātavāhana king captured the satrap's treasury and restruck the latter's coins for re-circulation. But even after the loss of the southern provinces to the Sātavāhanas, the Sakas appear to have held the northern provinces of the Kshaharāta dominions. The Kshaharāta family, however, seems to have become extinct with Nahapana's death. In the south-western satrapy of the Kushāna empire the Kshaharātas were succeeded by the Scythian family of the Kārdamakas.

III. THE KĀRDAMAKAS

1. *Chashṭana*

The authority of the new family was established in Western India by Chashtana, son of Ysāmotika[1] of the Kārdamaka[2] family. On the earlier coins of Chashtana he is called a Kshatrapa, and in later issues a Mahākshatrapa; but in all cases he has the additional title *Rājan*. His father Ysāmotika, however, has no royal title. The early home of the Kārdamakas is unknown; but Chashtana may have been ruling in the Sind region as a feudatory of the Kushāṇas. After Nahapāna's death Chashtana seems to have been appointed by the Kushāṇas viceroy of the south-western province of their empire in place of the Kshaharāta ruler with instructions to recover the lost districts of the satrapy from the Sātavāhanas.

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[1] The name is sometimes read *Ghasāmotika;* the Andhau inscription, however, appear to support *Ysāmotika.* The value of the first conjunct of the name seems to be that of *z.*

[2] The name Kārdamaka has been derived by some from the Kardama river in Bactria (*PHAI*, 363, fn. 3).

In some provinces of the Scythian and Kushāṇa dominions the viceroy with the title Mahākshatrapa was associated in the administration with a subordinate ruler called Kshatrapa. When Chashṭana, probably in his old age, became a Mahākshatrapa, he seems to have selected his son Jayadāman as Kshatrapa who, however, died early and was succeeded by his son Rudradāman I. Inscriptions discovered at Andhau in Kachchha show that in the Śaka year 52 (A.D. 130-31) *Rājā* Chashtana was ruling jointly with his grandson *Rājā* Rudradāman. It seems that at that date Chashṭana was the Mahākshatrapa, and Rudradāman, the Kshatrapa. Thus the Kārdamakas were at least on the borders of the expanded empire of Gautamīputra Sātakarni within a few years after Nahapāna's death.

But there is evidence to show that the Śakas under Chashṭana and Rudradāman defeated the Sātavāhana king and recovered most of the northern districts of the latter's dominions originally conquered from Nahapāna. In the *Geography* of Ptolemy, written about A.D. 140 with materials gathered a few years earlier, Ozene, *i.e.* Ujjayinī, capital of Avanti (west Mālwā), is mentioned as the headquarters of Tiastenes, undoubtedly a Greek corruption of the name *Chashṭana.* In the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman, that ruler is represented as the lord of many countries including Ākara, Avanti, Anūpa, Aparānta, Saurāshṭra and Ānarta (Dvārakā region in Saurāshṭra), which had all been conquered from Gautamīputra (*c.* A.D. 106-30), probably when Rudradāman was a Kshatrapa under his grandfather. Rudradāman further claims to have twice defeated Sātakarṇi, lord of Dakshināpatha, whom he did not destroy as he was a near relative. This Sātakarni seems to be no other than Gautamīputra. The closeness of relation between the two rulers is explained by the Kānheri inscription which refers to a Kārdamaka princess as the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Ru(dra) who is generally identified with Rudradāman, and as the wife of Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, apparently a co-uterine brother of Vāsisṭhīputra Pulumāvi and a son of Gautamīputra. Rudradāman's claim to have reinstated deposed kings may have reference to the reinstatement of certain feudatories of Nahapāna, ousted by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

The early coins of Chashtana bear the type 'crescent and star' to which a hill (*chaitya* of some writers) symbol was added later. As the hill is intimately associated with the northern issues of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarni, it has been suggested that it signifies some extension of Chashṭana's power at the expense of the Sātavāhanas, "some reconquest of territories previously taken by them from his predecessor Nahapāna." After Chashṭana's rule the use of the Kharoshthī was discontinued, although the Graeco-Roman legend continued to appear as a sort of ornamental fringe around the obverse of the coins. The omission of Kharoshṭhī may be a result of the transference of the Kārdamaka headquarters from the Kharoshṭhī area to Ujjain. On the coins of Jayadāman, who was a Kshatrapa for some time during his father's rule as Mahākshatrapa before A.D. 130-31, the satrap is called *Rājan* and Kshatrapa.

2. *Rudradāman*

Some time after A.D. 130-31, Chashṭana was succeeded as Mahākshatrapa by his grandson Rudradāman I. All his known coins belong to the period when Rudradāman was a Mahākshatrapa. For the history of Rudradāman's reign we possess one exceptionally important document in the Junāgarh inscription dated in the Śaka year 72 (A.D. 150-51). The subject for the *praśasti* is the reconstruction of the dam of the Sudarśana lake, created by storing the waters of streams like the Suvarṇasikatā and Palāśinī running from the Ūrjayat (modern Girnār) hill. The lake was situated far from the city of Giri-nagara (modern Junāgarh), the old capital of Surāshṭra. A large dam for the storage of water was constructed by Pushyagupta, who was Chandragupta Maurya's viceroy in Surāshṭra, while irrigation canals from the lake were excavated by Yavanarāja Tushāspha on behalf of his master, the Maurya emperor Aśoka. The lake remained a boon to the cultivators of Surāshṭra for several centuries. Shortly before A.D. 150-51, a terrible cyclone caused a serious breach, as a result of which the Sudarśana lake ceased to exist. When the peasants were fearing failure of the annual crops, Rudradāman sent his councillors and executive officers for the repair of the dam and the reconstruction of the lake. All the officials having been unsuccessful in the task, Pahlava Suviśākha, son of Kulaipa, was appointed governor of Ānarta and Surāshṭra. The efforts of this Parthian official in the employment of Rudradāman were crowned with success, and the reservoir was again brought into being.

We have seen how Rudradāman defeated Sātakarṇi, lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, and conquered Mālwā, Saurāshṭra, Gujarāt, the northern Konkan and the Māhishmatī (modern Māndhātā or Maheśvar) region on the Narmadā. The Mahākshatrapa's territories also comprised other districts such as Kachchha (Cutch), Śvabhra (the Sābarmati valley), Maru (the Mārwār region), Sindhu (western part of the lower Sindhu valley), Sauvīra (eastern part of the lower Sindhu valley) and Nishāda (about the western Vindhyas and the Arāvalli range). Thus Rudradāman appears to have ruled over the whole of the Kshaharāta dominions with the only exception of the Nāsik and Poona Districts. He claims to have conquered all these territories by his own valour.

Rudradāman is said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the republican tribe of the Yaudheyas who inhabited southern Punjāb and the adjoining regions. It is probable that he tried to subdue the insubordinate Yaudheyas on behalf of his Kushāṇa overlords. But that he ruled almost as an independent king is indicated by the absence of any reference to the Kushāṇas in the records of his time as well as by his claim that he himself assumed the title of Mahākshatrapa. Rudradāman is said to have enjoyed royal fortune even when he was in his mother's womb. The exact significance of the claim, however, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. His good rule, we are told, rid his dominions of disease, robbers, wild beasts and other pests.

Rudradāman was not only a great conqueror and administrator, but a patron of classical Sanskrit. He was himself a pastmaster of grammar, polity, music and logic, and was reputed for the excellence of his compositions in Sanskrit, both in prose and verse. Under the Kārdamakas, the city of Ujjayinī became one of the most important seats of learning in all India. According to the Junāgarh inscription, Rudradāman attended several *Svayaṁvaras* and won the hands of a number of princesses. These matrimonial alliances of the Kārdamakas point to the gradual absorption of the Scythians into Indian society. There is evidence for the marriages of Kārdamaka girls to the families of the Sātavāhanas of Dakshiṇāpatha, the Ikshvākus of Andhrāpatha and probably also the Lichchhavis of Vaiśāli.

3. *Successors of Rudradāman*

Dāmaysada (*Dāmaghsada* according to some writers) or Dāmajadaśrī I, son of Rudradāman I, issued coins as Kshatrapa during his father's lifetime. This sort of joint administration by the king as Mahākshatrapa, with his son or brother in the junior capacity of Kshatrapa, seems to have been a fairly regular practice in the family. Some time after A.D. 150-51 he succeeded his father as Mahākshatrapa. The latter part of his name represents the Persian word *Zāda*.

The name of Dāmaysada does not occur in the official genealogy of the time of his brother and nephew. Although there is nothing unnatural in the omission of a collateral branch in epigraphs which often record only the direct descent from father to son, Rapson suggests that this omission is the result of a struggle for the throne, after the death of Dāmaysada, between his brother Rudrasiṁha I and son Jīvadāman.

No coin of Jīvadāman as Kshatrapa is known and it is therefore probable that he did not exercise any administrative function during his father's reign. Jīvadāman succeeded his father as Mahākshatrapa, but was soon ousted by his uncle Rudrasiṁha I. From the time of Jīvadāman and Rudrasiṁha I onwards the Kārdamaka coins, especially their silver issues, have the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. Jīvadāman seems to have issued coins as Mahākshatrapa in 100 (A.D. 178-79).

Rudrasiṁha I issued coins as Kshatrapa in the Śaka year 102 (A.D. 180-81) and, according to the Gunda inscription, he was still a Kshatrapa at the beginning of the next year, evidently under his nephew Jīvadāman. During the latter part of the year 103 (A.D. 181-82), however, Rudrasiṁha I assumed the title of Mahākshatrapa and issued coins in that capacity in the periods 103-10 (A.D. 181-89) and 113-18 (A.D. 191-97). It is strange that in the intervening years 110-112 (A.D. 188-91) between the two periods of his rule as Mahākshatrapa, Rudrasiṁha I issued coins as Kshatrapa.

Rapson is inclined to ascribe his temporary degradation to the success of Jīvadāman, who is supposed to have again attained to the status of Mahākshatrapa during the period in question. Altekar rightly points out that the king's bust on the coin dated the year 100 represents a youthful figure, while the other issues of Jīvadāman dated 119 and 120 portray him as an old man. Jīvadāman should therefore be regarded as having ruled as Mahākshatrapa for the first time in his youth, and for a second time in his old age. But we have no coins of Jīvadāman in the period A.D. 188-91. Bhandarkar may therefore be right in associating Rudrasiṁha's degradation in A.D. 188-91 with the rise of Isvaradatta, whose coins issued as Mahākshatrapa during the regnal years 1 and 2 are said to have been discovered in Saurāshṭra. Nothing definite is known about Īśvaradatta whom some writers call an Ābhīra.

About the end of the second century A.D. the Sātavāhana king Yajña Sātakarṇi is known to have deprived the Kārdamakas of some of the southern provinces of their dominions. It is probable that the success of Iśvaradatta was mainly due to the help he received from the Sātavāhana ruler. But both of them appear to have exploited the situation resulting from the struggle between Jīvadāman and Rudrasiṁha I.

Epigraphic and numismatic records of the time of Rudrasiṁha I have been discovered in Saurāshṭra, Mālwā and Rājasthān. The inscription from Gunda (north Saurāshṭra) records the pious work of the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti, son of the general Bāpaka.

Rudrasiṁha I was succeeded by Jīvadāman, who again ruled as Mahākshatrapa in the period A.D. 197-99. His brother Satyadāman (another son of Dāmajadaśrī I) issued coins as Kshatrapa. But the dates of these issues are uncertain, and we do not know whether this Kshatrapa ruled under his uncle Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I or brother Jīvadāman who ascended the throne in his youth, but lost it and again became Mahākshatrapa in his old age.

The next ruler was Rudrasena I, son of Rudrasiṁha I. Rudrasena issued coins as Kshatrapa in the year 121 (A.D. 199-200), but according to the Mulwasar (near Dwārkā) inscription, dated in the month of Vaiśākha of the year 122 (A.D. 200-201), he had assumed the dignity of Mahākshatrapa by the beginning of this year. Clay seals belonging to *Mahādevī* Prabhudamā, described as a daughter of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I and a sister of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena I, have been discovered at Basārh (ancient Vaiśālī) in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihār. It is not improbable that she was married to a chief of the Lichchhavis who appear to have flourished in that region before the rise of the Guptas.

The Garha (near Jasdan, Saurāshṭra) inscription of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena I is probably dated in the year 127 (A.D. 205-206). He ended his rule in the year 144 (A.D. 222-223), when he was succeeded by his brother Saṅghadāman, another son of Rudrasiṁha I, as Mahākshatrapa. Coins of the Kshatrapas of this period are rare. In the year 144 (A.D. 222-23), however, Pṛithivīsena, son of Rudrasena I, is known to have been ruling as Kshatrapa, under his father or his uncle Saṅghadāman. Mahākshatrapa Saṅghadāman had a short rule of two years (Śaka 144-45) and was succeeded by his brother Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena, third son of Rudrasiṁha I.

Dāmasena's coins have dates ranging between the years 145 and 158 (A.D. 223-237); but it is probable that he died not long before the year 160 (A.D. 238-39),[1] the earliest known date of the coins of Yaśodaman issued as Mahākshatrapa. During the rule of Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena, his nephew, Dāmajadaśrī II, son of Rudrasena I, ruled as Kshatrapa and issued coins in the years 154 and 155 (A.D. 232-34). The successor of Dāmajadaśrī II in the office of Kshatrapa was Vīradāman (Śaka 156-60 or A.D. 234-39), son of Dāmasena. After the reign of Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena, the potin coinage of the Kārdamakas, which is usually attributed to Mālwā or some district of that country, seems to have discontinued. This currency is associated with the Mahākshatrapas; the Kshatrapas, who probably held sway in Saurāshtra and Gujarāt, and not in any part of Mālwā, did not issue coins in potin. The discontinuance of this coinage is suggested to have denoted that about this time a part of Mālwā was lost to the Kārdamaka Mahākshatrapas, or that the potin currency previously circulating in that district was superseded by the more widely used silver coinage.

Rapson is inclined to favour the latter suggestion, as the establishment in Mālwā of the silver coinage of the Kārdamakas is probably presupposed by similar coinages subsequently introduced in this region by the Guptas and the Hūṇas. It may, however, be pointed out in this connection that about the middle of the third century there were not only internal dissensions amongst the Śakas of Western India, but they were also threatened by the Mālavas from the north and the Ābhīṛas from the south. According to the Nandsa (old Udaipur State) inscriptions dated in A.D. 226, freedom and prosperity had returned by that date to the country of the Mālavas as a result of the brilliant achievements of a Mālava chief. This probably indicates the loss of the northern part of the Kārdamaka dominions.

In the south, the Ābhīras appear to have established a powerful kingdom in northern Mahārāshṭra and the adjoining regions and started an era of their own in the year A.D. 248-49. Somewhat later we find a Śaka Mahādaṇḍanāyaka named Śrīdharavarman, originally a governor of the Kārdamakas in east Mālwā, practically ruling as an independent king. The Sānchī inscription of Śrīdharavarman, dated in his 13th regnal year, also contains a Śaka year, which is read by some as 201 corresponding to A.D. 279-80, and by others as 241 or A.D. 319-20. He called himself a *dharmavijayin* and a devotee of the god Mahāsena. The Nāgas of Vidiśā and Padmāvatī must also have become aggressive neighbours of the Śaka satraps in the second half of the third century A.D.

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[1] Rapson places Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta between the years 159 and 161, i.e. in A.D. 237-240.

Numismatic evidence refers to four sons of Dāmasena who ruled as Kshatrapa or Māhakshatrapa, or both as Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa. Kshatrapa Vīradāman seems to have died early in the Śaka year 160 (A.D. 238-39) and was succeeded as Kshatrapa by his brother Yaśodāman, another son of Dāmasena. Yaśodāman, however, assumed the position of Mahākshatrapa in the same year, leaving the Kshatrapa status for his brother Vijayasena. But Yaśodāman ruled as Mahākshatrapa only for about one year (Śaka 160-61=A.D. 238-39), since Vijayasena's coins issued as Mahākshatrapa are known to belong to the period Śaka 161-72 A.D. 239-51). Vijayasena's coins are found in large numbers in Gujarāt, Rājasthān and Saurāshṭra. The next Mahākshatrapa was Dāmajadaśrī III, a brother of Vijayasena and another son of Dāmasena. Whether Dāmajadaśrī ruled for some time as Kshatrapa is not known. The dates on his coins range between the years 173 and 177 (A.D. 251-56). We have no coins issued by a Kshatrapa in the period c. A.D. 240-75; but whether the office of Kshatrapa was in abeyance cannot be ascertained.

Dāmajadaśrī III was succeeded as Mahākshatrapa by his nephew Rudrasena II, son of Vīradāman. The coins of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena II, which are found in great abundance, bear dates ranging between the years 177 and 198 (A.D. 255-77). It is, however, not unlikely that he ended his rule a few years later than the date suggested by numismatic evidence. Rudrasena II seems to have been matrimonially allied with the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta of Andhrāpatha, who probably married Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā, described as a daughter of the *Mahārāja* of Ujjayinī. Rudrasena's son Viśvasiṁha issued coins as Kshatrapa in the year 197-200 (A.D. 275-79) and later assumed the title of Mahākshatrapa. Viśvasiṁha was succeeded as Kshatrapa in the year 200 (A.D. 278-79) by his brother Bhartṛidāman. The earliest definite date on Bhartṛidāman's coins issued as Mahākshatrapa is the year 204 (A.D. 282-83). He ruled as Mahākshatrapa at least up to 217 (A.D. 295-96). Bhartṛidāman was succeeded by his son Viśvasena whose date as Kshatrapa ranges from 215 to 226 (A.D. 293-305). He did not assume the title Mahākshatrapa, which office seems to have been in abeyance till 270 (A.D. 348-49). Viśvasena is the last Kshatrapa who is definitely known to have belonged to the family of Chashṭana, for in the year 226 (A.D. 304-05) we find as Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha II, son of Jīvadāman, who bears no royal title and whose relationship with his predecessors is not known. The history of this new line of the Kshatrapas will be related in the next volume. It is probable that Mahākshatrapa Bhartṛidāman and his son Kshatrapa Viśvasena were overthrown by the Sassanians whose political influence in Western India has been noted above.[1] It must be mentioned, however, that the theory of the Sassanian rule in India, explaining the vicissitudes in the political fortunes of the Kārdamakas or Western Satraps, thought not improbable, cannot be regarded as certain, for the interpretation of the Paikuli inscription, among others, on which the theory primarily rests, is very uncertain.

GENERAL REFERENCE

E. J. Rapson—*Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty.*

D. R. Bhandarkar—Sarvania hoard (*ASI.* 1913-14, pp. 227-45). His reading of the dates 149 and 206 respectively on the coins of Saṅghadāman (p. 187) and Viśvasena (p. 189) is, however, very doubtful, and has not been referred to in the text.

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[1] See p. 152.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE CHEDIS

The major part of Southern India, with the exception of a few minor states to the south of Mysore, formed part of the Maurya empire during the reign of Aśoka. The relations of Aśoka's successors with the subject peoples of the Deccan cannot be ascertained. There is some reason to believe that the outlying districts of the southern part of the empire soon assumed independence under local chiefs. Inscription, discovered at Bhaṭṭiprolu in the Kṛishṇā District and assignable to about 200 B.C., refer to a *Rājan* named Kuberaka[1] who appears to have ruled independently of the Mauryas. But the later Mauryas probably continued to exercise sway over certain districts of the Upper Deccan for, as noted above,[2] Vidarbha (*i.e.*, the Berār region) was not only governed by a viceroy of the last Maurya king Bṛihadratha but also acknowledge the sovereignty of the Suṅgas during the rule of Pushyamitra (*c.* 187-151 B.C.). In the first century B.C. two southern powers became predominant in trans-Vindhyan India. These were the Sātavāhanas of the Upper Deccan and the Chedis of Kaliṅga. The power of the Chedis was shortlived, but the Sātavāhana power endured for nearly three centuries.

I. THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

1. *Territories of the Early Sātavāhanas*

Kings of the Sātavāhana family were styled "lord of Dakshināpatha." The name Dakshiṇāpatha, however, was not always used in the same geographical sense. Sometimes it indicated the whole of trans-Vindhyan India, but often only the present Marāthā country with the adjoining eastern and western regions. Although a later Sātavāhana king is known to have claimed a sort of vague suzerainty over the whole of South India, the aforesaid title, at least in regard to the early Sātavāhanas, appears to point to their hold on parts of Dakshiṇāpatha in the narrow sense. According to Indian literary

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1. Lüders List No. 1338; *Sel. Ins.* I, pp. 215 ff.
2. See p. 96.

tradition, which is supported by the evidence of Ptolemy's *Geography*, the capital of the Sātavāhana kings was at the city of Pratisṭhāna, identified with modern Paithān on the Godāvarī in the Aurangābād District of Mahrashtra State. Records of the early members of the family have been discovered at Nāsik and Nānāghāt (a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnar in the Poona District, in northern Mahārāshṭra, one of the rulers being also known from an epigraph found in the vicinity of Vidiśā, the ancient capital of East Mālwā. It should be noted in this connection that the territories under the direct sway of even the powerful later Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (*c.* A.D. 106-30), who claimed suzerainty over trans-Vindhyan India, did not extend beyond the Krishṇā in the south and Mālwā and Saurāshṭra in the north.

Especially significant seems to be the fact that the districts, afterwards known as 'the Sātavāhanīya province' (the modern Bellary region) and Andhrāpatha (about the mouths of the Kṛishṇā), which have been taken by different scholars to have been the original home of the Sātavāhana family, did not form any part of Gautamīputra's empire. That these countries were not the heart of the dominions of the early Sātavāhanas is also suggested by the Hāthigumphā inscription, which places the kingdom of the Sātavāhana contemporary of Khāravela (second half of the first century B.C.), to the west and not to the south, of Kaliṅga (the coast country comprising the Puri and Ganjām Districts and the adjoining area). There is reason to believe that the southern districts were annexed to the Sātavāhana empire about the middle of the second century A.D. The theory that Vidarbha (Berār) was the original home of the Sātavāhanas is highly improbable as there is not the slightest evidence to connect the founder of the family and his immediate successors with that country. Equally untenable is the suggestion associating the Sātavāhanas with the Satiya (probably, Satya) country mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

2. *The Name of the Family*

The kings, represented in epigraphic records as belonging to the Sātavāhana-kula (Sātavāhana family), are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Andhra or Andhra-bhritya. The expression *andhra-bhṛitya* is sometimes interpreted as "the Andhras who were originally servants of some other power such as the Maurya or the Śuṅga." Some writers, on the other hand, take the expression to indicate 'the servants of the Andhras', and suggest that the Sātavāhanas were of

Kannaḍa origin and that they at first owed allegiance to some Andhra rulers. Neither of the interpretations appears to be satisfactory, although it is probable that the predecessors of the Sātavāhana emperors were feudatories of the Kāṇvas. By the expression *andhra-bhṛitya,* the Purāṇas appear to have actually indicated not the Sātavāhanas who, according to most of them, were Andhras, but the dynasties (*e.g.*, the Ābhīras) that were subservient to the Sātavāhanas but assumed independence after the latter's downfall. Some scholars believe that the Sātavāhanas are wrongly called Andhras in the Purāṇas and that "the name Andhra probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became a purely Andhra power governing the territory at the mouth of the river Kṛishṇā." It may, however, be pointed out that Sātavāhana was the name of a *kula* or family, apparently so called after a prince of that name,[1] while Andhra was the name of a *jāti* or tribe. The first king of the Sātavāhana family is actually described in most of the Purāṇas as *andhra-jātīya,* 'belonging to the Andhra race.' The Puranic testimony may be reconciled with epigraphic evidence, if it is believed that the members of the Sātavāhana family *i.e.*, the descendants of a prince named Sātavāhana, were Andhras by nationality. It is interesting in this connection to note that the author of the *Suttanipāta* commentary (fifth century A.D.) refers to a tradition mentioning the Aśmaka and Mūlaka countries (which lay in the heart of the Sātavāhana kingdom) as *Andhaka* (from Sanskrit *Andhraka, i.e., Andhra*) *rājyas.*[2]

3. *The Andhras before the Rise of the Sātavāhanas*

The Telugu-speaking inhabitants of the northern part of the Madras State and the adjoining area now call themselves Andhras or Āndhras. The heart of this country round the mouths of the river Kṛishṇa is called Andhrāpatha in an inscription of about the end of the third century A.D. There is, however, reason to believe that the Andhra tribe, which had great numerical strength, originally lived in the Vindhyan region and in the northern part of the Deccan, but that it pushed gradually to the south in later times. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 92, 18) which is usually assigned to a date not later than 500 B.C., the Andhras are mentioned together with the Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas as Dasyu or non-Aryan tribes living on the borders of the land occupied by the Aryans in India. As the later authorities are unanimous in locating the Andhra people in South India, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* apparently points to their home about the southern fringe of Āryavarta, the land of the Aryans, the southern boundary of which was the Pāriyātra (the western Vindhyas and the Arāvalli range), according to the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra,* the Vindhya according to the *Manu-saṁhitā,* and the Narmadā according to later authorities. The suggestion that the Andhras originally inhabited the Vindhyan region and the adjoining part of the Deccan is probably supported by their association with the Pulindas who were another Vindhyan tribe living, as late as the sixth century A.D., in a territory to the south-east of Daśārṇa (East Mālwā) and in the south of the kingdom of Ḍabhālā (Jubbulpore region).[1]

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[1] Both the personal names *Sātavāhana* and *Sātakarṇi* may be of Dravidian origin. But their meaning is not known. Przyluski connects them with some Austric words signifying 'son of horse.' But the interpretations of the words, so far offered, are all unsatisfactory. For Sātavāhana as a personal name, cf. *Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 185. Sātavāhana-kula was also the name of the Lohara dynasty of Kāshmir, cf. *Rāj.* VI. 367, VII. 1283, 1732. The Loharas were either descendants of a prince named Sātavāhana or claimed connection with the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan. *Ibid,* Tr. by Stein, II. pp. 79, 258n. It seems that the Sātavāhana family of the Deccan was named after Simuka-Sātavāhana or one of his ancestors. The second alternative is supported by the fact that Kṛishṇa, brother of Simuka-Sātavāhana, claims to have belonged to Sātavāhana's *kula.*

[2] Cf. *Paramatthajotikā,* II, p. 581.

The thirteenth rock-edict of Aśoka seems to place the land of the Andhras[2] not very far from the country of the Bhojas who inhabited some districts of the northern Deccan including Vidarbha or Berār. Pliny (first century A.D.), who is usually supposed to have utilised the information supplied by Megasthenes (c. 300 B.C.), speaks of a powerful king of the Andhra country possessing 30 fortified towns as well as an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.

This no doubt points to the large extent of the land occupied by the Andhra people, and it is not improbable that Pliny actually received the information from a later source referring to the Sātavāhana kingdom. The Vinaya Texts locate a city called Setakannika, often believed to be associated with an early Sātavāhana king named Sātakarṇi, on the southern frontier of the Majjhima-desa (Madhya-deśa), *i.e.,* in the Vindhya region or the Upper Deccan.

The *Serivānija Jātaka* places a city called Andhapura (Andhra-pura), which may have been the capital of an Andhra principality, on the river Televāha, identified with the modern Tel (a tributary of the Mahānadī) in the eastern Deccan. The valley of the Tel as well as the Telugu-speaking Vizagapatam area does not appear to have ever come under the rule of the Sātavāhanas of Pratishṭhāna. We know little about the settlement of the Andhras in the southernmost districts of the present Telugu-speaking area; but the Sātavāhana power probably extended over the territory round the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and also over the Bellary District during the reign of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi (c. A.D. 130-59), when the newly conquered provinces appear to have come to be known respectively as Andhrāpatha and 'the Sātavāhanīya district'.

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[1] *PHAI,* pp. 79, 258n.

[2] The land of the Andhras and of the other peoples mentioned in the record formed parts of the *rāja-vishaya,* i.e., dominions, of the Maurya emperor, although the peoples may have enjoyed some sort of autonomy (above, pp. 78-9).

4. *Chronology of the Sātavāhanas*

There is difference of opinion amongst scholars as regards the problem of Sātavāhana chronology, although the Purānas appear to supply us a definite clue. According to the Puranic lists of the 'future' kings, the ten rulers of the Śuṅga dynasty, that came to power 137 years after Chandragupta Maurya's accession about 324 B.C., reigned for a period of 112 years, and the last Śuṅga king Devabhūti was overthrown by his *amātya,* Vasudeva, the founder of the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana dynasty; the four Kāṇva kings in all ruled for 45 years and the last of them, Suśarman, was ousted by the founder of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty whose name is given as Simuka in inscriptions, but variously as Śiśuka, Śipraka, Sindhuka, etc. in the Puranic texts. If these traditions are to be accepted, the overthrow of the Kāṇva king Suśarman by the Andhra (Sātavāhana) Simuka may be assigned to a date 137 + 112 + 45 = 294 years after c. 324 B.C., *i.e.*, about 30 B.C. Simuka, who reigned for twenty-three years according to the Purāṇas, may be supposed to have ruled about the third quarter of the first century B.C. and to have extirpated the Kāṇvas about the close of his career. This date is supported by the palaeography of the Nānāghāt, Nāsik, Sānchī and Hāthigumphā inscriptions referring to Simuka and his immediate successors Kṛishṇa and Sātakarṇi. The characters of all these records are more developed and therefore later than those of the Besnagar epigraph of Heliodorus which cannot be much earlier than the end of the second century B.C.[1] As regards the chronology of the later

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[1] It should, however, be remembered that earlier epigraphists had no knowledge of the Besnagar inscription. They usually compared the script of records like the Nānāghāt and Hāthigumphā inscriptions with that of the Aśokan epigraphs and assigned them to the beginning of the second century B.C. They also relied on the Puranic statement giving about four centuries and a half as the dura-

Sātavāhanas, it has been fairly satisfactorily established on the basis of their relations with the early Śaka satraps of Western India.

5. *Rise of the Sātavāhanas under Simuka*

According to the Puranic passage referred to above, Simuka "of the Andhra race will obtain this earth after having violently extirpated the Kāṇvāyana Suśarman and having also destroyed the remnants of the power of the Śuṅgas."[1] The region which Simuka conquered from the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas may have included the district round Vidiśā, which was probably the capital of the later Śuṅgas. There is no reason to connect the Sātavāhanas, whose dominions lay principally in Dakshiṇāpatha, with Magadha or any other part of Northern India excepting probably parts of Central and Western India. If any district of Western India really belonged to Simuka's empire, it may have been conquered either from the Indo-Greeks or from the Śuṅgas or Kāṇvas.

In some Puranic passages Simuka seems to be called the *Bhṛitya* or servant of the Kāṇvas, and it is not improbable that he himself, in the earlier part of his life, as well as his immediate ancestors were feudatories of the Kāṇva kings. Of the ancestry of Simuka nothing definite is known. He is called *Rājā* Simuka-Sātavāhana in a Nānāghāt inscription. This suggests that Sātavāhana was his second name, although the expression may perhaps also mean 'Simuka the descendant (son or grandson?) of Sātavāhana.' Like Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, the first king of the Sātavāhana family is represented in Indian tradition as a *Vṛishala,* which is

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tion of the reign of the Andhra kings and, as the Sātavāhanas are known to have ended their rule in Andhrāpatha about A.D. 225, placed Simuka's accession 450 years before that date, *i.e.*, about 225 B.C. These scholars therefore ignored the unanimous Puranic tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Simuka with the latest ruler of the Kāṇvāyana family, who flourished about two centuries after 225 B.C., when the immediate successors of Aśoka Maurya were ruling. It may also be pointed out that the Puranic statements regarding the duration of Andhra rule and the number of the Andhra kings are not unanimous. The number of kings is given in some versions as 19 and in others as 30, while the duration of rule is variously given as 300, 411, 412, 456 and 460 years. It is interesting to note that in some cases, *e.g.* in most MSS of the *Vāyu Purāṇa,* the duration of Andhra rule is given both as 411 and 300 years. Some writers therefore suggest that about nineteen kings belonging to the main branch of the Andhra or Sātavāhana family ruled for about three centuries (*c.* 75 B.C.—A.D. 225), but about thirty rulers of several collateral lines of the dynasty reigned collectively for more than four centuries.—R. G. Bhandarkar, *EHD*, Section VI; D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1918, pp. 69 ff.

[1] See p. 99 above. As noted there, there is nothing to support the view of those who favour an early date for Simuka, that the 45 years of Kāṇva rule should be included in the period of 112 years allotted to the ten Śuṅgas.

unfortunately an ambiguous term. It is not only used in the sense of a Śūdra, but also of a Hinduised or Aryanised foreigner or non-Aryan, characterised as a member of the higher order degraded to a lower social rank owing to the non-observance of specified duties and to want of regard for the priestly class. The epithets *eka-bamhana, i.e., eka-brāhmana* (the unique Brāhmana) and *Kshatriya-darpa-māna-mardana* (distroyer of the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas) applied to the later Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in a Nāsik inscription, probably suggest that the Sātavāhanas claimed the social status of the Brāhmaṇas.[1] But as stated above, the Andhras are called Dasyus in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.* A tradition recorded in the *Dvātriṁśat-puttalikā* represents Sālivāhana (< Sālavāhana < Sātavāhana) as of mixed Brāhmana and Nāga origin. The association of the Śātavāhana kings with the Nāgas and also with foreigners like the Śakas is proved by epigraphic evidence. It seems, therefore, that the Sātavāhanas, who were non-Aryans, claimed Brāhmaṇahood as a result of an admixture of Brāhmaṇa blood in the family, but that they were regarded by the orthodox Brāhmaṇas, owing partly to their non-Brahmanical ways and associations, as *Vṛishalas, i e.*, degraded Brāhmaṇas or outcastes.[2]

6. *Kṛishṇa and Sātakarṇi I*

According to the Purāṇas, Simuka was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa who ruled for eighteen years. The next king of the Puranic lists is Krishna's son Sātakarni, who also appears to be given a reign-period of eighteen years. Both these rulers are known from inscriptions. An epigraph in a cave in the Nāsik hills says that it was excavated during the sovereignty of king Kṛishṇa of the Śātavāhana-kula, 'the family of Sātavāhana'. In the Nānāghāt pass there were some relievo figures, now destroyed, with label inscriptions above their heads. The second of the eight labels gives the names of queen Nāyanikā (Nāg-annikā)[3] and king Sātakarṇi in the genitive case-ending, while the other labels contain the names of persons, related to the royal pair, in the nominative. The label above the head of the first figure shows that it represented the illustrious king Simuka-Sātavāhana. The absence of any representation of king Krishna between the figures of Simuka and Sātakarṇi has led some scholars to suggest that the latter was probably a son of Simuka, and not of Kṛishṇa, as indicated in the Purāṇas. It may, however, be pointed out that two out of the eight label inscriptions are totally lost and that Kṛishṇa might have been actually mentioned in one of them.[1]

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[1] According to some scholars, however, Prakrit *eka-bramhana* stands for Sanskrit *eka-brahmaṇya* which, like the well-known expression *parama-brahmaṇya* merely shows that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi claimed to be a Brahmanical Hindu.

[2] It is interesting to note in this connection that, in the arbitrary scheme of the Indian society found in the *Manu-smṛiti* and other works on law, the Andhras are assigned to an exceptionally low rank, while their neighbours the Draviḍas (Tamil people) are regarded as degraded Kshatriyas. This may have been due to the fact that the heart of the Andhra country was an important centre of Buddhism during the early centuries of the Christian era. Cf. *IHQ*, XVI, 560-66.

[3] The actual name seems to have been Nāgā. For the Dravidian name-suffix *aṇṇaka* and its faminine form *annikā,* see *Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 185n. The queen was evidently born in a Nāga family.

A votive inscription found on the southern gateway of the Great *Stūpa* at Sānchī in the Bhopāl State, Central India, records a gift of Vāsishṭhīputra Ānanda, the foreman of the artisans of king Sātakarṇi. This king, whose name points to his descent from the Sātavāhana lineage, is usually identified with the Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāt inscriptions, but may actually be the second king of that name.[2] The Sānchī record can hardly be regarded as proof of the Sātavāhana occupation of Mālwā, as the chief artisan of Sātakarṇi may have visited the monastery on pilgrimage.[3]

But the Puranic account of Simuka's success against the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, probably in Central India, as well as the discovery of certain coins of the so-called 'Mālwā fabric' with the legend indicating "of the illustrious king Sāta",[4] may suggest that the Mālwā region was within the sphere of early Sātavāhana influence. The Hāthigumphā inscription shows that the eastern boundaries of the dominions of Sātakarṇi I abutted on the western frontier of the kingdom of Kaliṅga under Khāravela. The epigraphic passage in question may be differently interpreted, and may suggest either that the relations between the two kings were friendly or that Khāravela's army attacked a city on the Kṛishṇā in the southern part of Sātakarṇi's kingdom. Sātakarṇi I thus seems to have exercised sway over wide regions of the Upper Deccan including probably a portion of Central and Western India. The northern Konkan and also Saurashtra may have been within the sphere of Sātavāhana influence during the rule of Sātakarṇi I and probably also his immediate predecessors.

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[1] The lost figure at the side of that of Mahāraṭhi Traṇakayira, supposed to be the father of the queen, may have represented Kṛishṇa, the father of the king.

[2] In the Puranic lists Sātakarṇi II is sometimes placed immediately after Sātakarṇi I, but sometimes one or two kings are represented as having intervened between the two.

[3] Cf. *Thomas Commn.* Vol., pp. 291 ff.

[4] The form *Sāta* is known to have been a contraction of both the names Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi. The coins of Sāta are usually attributed to Sātakarṇi I, although Sāta's identification with Simuka-Sātavāhana, cannot be regarded as impossible. Certain coins of the 'West India fabric' bear the legend indicating 'of king Sātakarṇi'. This king may be identified with Sātakarṇi I or any of his successors bearing the same name. The name Sātavāhana has been recently read on certain coins which were probably issued by Simuka Sātavāhana.

A long Nānāghāt inscription, much of which is damaged, speaks of the *Kumāras* Vediśrī and Śaktiśrī and of their mother who claims to have celebrated numerous Vedic sacrifices apparently as the *saha-dharmiṇī* (lawful partner in religious performances) of her royal husband. *Kumāra* Śaktiśrī has been identified with the prince Śakti-Kumāra, son of king Sālivāhana of Pratishṭhāna, mentioned in literature. He is also believed to be the same as *Kumāra* Hakusiri (probably a Dravidian corruption of Sanskrit Śaktiśrī) of the Nānāghāt label inscription, who is supposed to have been a son of Sātakarṇi I and Nāyanikā. The actual performer of the sacrifices, which included one Rājasūya and two Aśvamedhas, thus appears to have been the powerful monarch Sātakarṇi I, husband of Nāyanikā. One of the horse-sacrifices may have been performed about the beginning of Sātakarṇi's reign to commemorate the recently acquired sovereignty of the Sātavāhana family and the other to celebrate his own exploits about the end of his career.

7. *Temporary Eclipse of Sātavāhana Power*

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, which was written between A.D. 70 and 80,[1] while referring to the different market-towns of the country called Dachinavades (Dakshiṇāpatha), mentions Suppara (modern Sopārā in the Thānā District, the same as ancient Śūrpāraka, capital of the Aparānta country) and Calliena (Kalyāṇa near Thānā) "which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market-town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza (modern Broach near the mouth of the Narmadā) under guard". *Saraganus* may be regarded as a Greek corruption of *Sātakarni*, and the elder Saraganus of the *Periplus*, who appears to be the earlier of the two rulers of that name, may be no other than Sātakarṇi I of the Sātavāhana dynasty; but the language of the passage seems to suggest that the northern Konkan passed from the elder Saraganus (or his successor, a younger Saraganus) to Sandares shortly before the time of the author, *i.e.* some time about the middle of the first century A.D. This Sātakarṇi, therefore, may have been a descendant of Śātakarṇi I who ruled about the end of the first century B.C. The troubled condition referred to in the *Periplus* may have been caused by the conquest of Aparānta by the Śakas.[1]

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[1] Cf. *EHI*, 1924, p. 245n.

In the lists of Andhra kings found in the Purāṇas, many rulers are placed between Sātakarṇi I and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the number of them being variously given in the different lists as 10, 12, 13, 14 and 19. It has been suggested that some of these kings may have belonged to collateral lines and ruled at the same time in different parts of the Deccan. Only a few of these rulers, such as Āpūlaka, Kuntala-Sātakarṇi and Hāla, are known from other sources; but they do not appear to have belonged to the main line of the Sātavāhana family. Āpīlaka seems to have belonged to a branch of the family holding sway in Madhya Pradesh, while Kuntala-Sātakarṇi and Hāla probably belonged to another branch ruling in the Kuntala country comprising the North Kanara District of the Bombay State and parts of Mysore, Belgaum and Dhārwār. The period of about a century that seems to have intervened between the reign of Sātakarni I (end of the first century B.C.) and that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (beginning of the second century A.D.) witnessed the temporary eclipse of the Sātavāhana power, owing to the encroachment of the Śakas who came from east Irān and settled in the lower Sindhu valley before the end of the first century B.C.[2] The Scythian ruler Nahapāna, whose ascertained dates range between A.D. 119 and 125,[3] is actually known to have been in possession of the northern parts of Mahārāshṭra and the Konkan as well as of Mālwā, Saurashtra and southern Rājputāna. It seems quite probable that the immediate predecessors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who re-established the fallen fortunes of the family, continued their precarious existence merely as subordinate allies of the foreigners.

8. *Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi*

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is said to have been the destroyer of the Scythians, Indo-Greeks and Parthians (*śaka-yavana-pahlava-nisūdana*) and the establisher of the fame of the family of Sātavāhana (*sātavāhana-kula-yaśaḥ-pratishṭhāpana-kara*). His outstanding achievement, as noted above,[1] was the 'extirpation of the Kshaharāta dynasty' to which the Śaka chief Nahapāna belonged. Nahapāna's overthrow must have taken place in or shortly after the eighteenth regnal year of the Sātavāhana king and in or soon after A.D. 124-125 which is the last known date of Nahapāna. A Nāsik inscription of the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra's reign records the grant of some land that is stated to have been in possession of Ṛishabhadatta, who is undoubtedly the Śaka chief of that name who was Nahapāna's son-in-law and governor of the southern provinces including the Nāsik and Poona Districts. It is interesting that the order regarding the grant was issued from a "victorious camp of the army that was gaining success",[2] and that the Sātavāhana king is represented as stationed at the time at a place called Benākataka (probably situated on a river called Benā) in the Govardhana (Nāsik) district. Apparently Gautamīputra's presence in that region at the head of an army was connected with his campaign against the Kshaharātas, which led to the liberation not only of the Upper Deccan but also of considerable parts of Western and Central India. The grant of a village called Karajika in the Māmāḷa *Āhāra* (modern Poona District), originally made by Ṛishabhadatta and afterwards by Gautamīputra, further points to the transference of authority in northern Mahārāshṭra. Of the territories which were under Gautamīputra's rule according to the Nāsik *praśasti,* Aparānta, Anūpa, Surāshṭra, Kukura, Ākara and Avanti must have been conquered from Nahapāna.[3]

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[1] See above, p. 179, where it has been suggested that Sandares was a Śaka Viceroy. Some scholars, however, prefer the identification of Sandares with the Andhra king Sundara Sātakarṇi, who is placed in the Puranic lists a few generations earlier than Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (c. A.D. 106-30).

[2] See above, pp. 178-9.

[3] See above, pp. 180 ff.

In the list of countries over which Gautamīputra held sway mention is made not only of the above countries but also of Ṛishika (district round Ṛishika-nagara on the Kṛishṇā), Aśmaka (territory about Bodhan, ancient Paudanya, in the Hyderābād State), Mūlaka (with Pratishṭhāna, modern Paithān on the Godāvarī, as its capital) and Vidarbha (Berār). The direct rule of this king therefore seems to have extended over the whole land from the Krishnā in the south to Mālwā and Saurashtra in the north and from Berar in the east to the Konkan in the west. But Gautamīputra apparently claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of trans-Vindhyan India, as he is described as the lord of the Vindhya (the central and eastern Vindhyas as well as the Sātpurā), Ṛikshavat (portion of the Vindhyan range to the south of Mālwā), Pāriyātra (western Vindhyas and the Arāvalli), Sahya (Western Ghāts to the north of the Nilgiri hills), Malaya (Travancore hills), Mahendra (eastern Ghāts) and other mountain ranges encircling the peninsula of South India. The idea may have originated from a conventional claim of *dig-vijaya* indicated by Gautamīputra's epithet *tri-samudra-toya-pīta-vāhana*, *i.e.*, one whose charges drank the waters of the three seas in the east, west and south, *viz.* the Bay of Bengal, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.[1]

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[1] See p. 182.

[2] For the interpretation of the relevant passage see *Sel. Ins.* I, p. 191n; *JNSI.* III, pp. 79-81. There is here no reference to the city of Vaijayantī as Senart suggests (*EI,* VIII, 72).

[3] See above, p. 182.

We have seen that the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's reign roughly coincided with A.D. 124-25. The latest epigraphic record of Gautamīputra, which is dated in his twenty-fourth regnal year, was issued jointly by the king with his mother Gautamī Balaśrī, who is significantly styled "one whose son is living." It is probable that the charter was issued when the king was an invalid. He seems to have died soon after and was succeeded by his son Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi.[2] His reign, therefore, may be assigned roughly to the period c. A.D. 106-30.

Before his death Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi appears to have lost most of the districts he had conquered from the Kshaharātas to another dynasty of Scythian rulers known as the Kārdamakas.[3] The *Geography* of Ptolemy speaks of Baithána (Pratishṭhāna) as the capital of Siriptolemaios (śrī-Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi) and Ozéné (Ujjayinī in West Mālwā) as that of Tiastenes (Chashṭana). This no doubt points to the Kārdamaka occupation of Mālwā during Chashṭana's rule and proves that Pulumāvi was not in possession of the northern provinces of his father's empire. That Gautamīputra himself lost parts of his dominions to the Kārdamakas is suggested by the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman dated A.D. 150.[4] This record shows that the whole of the land conquered from Nahapāna, with the exception of the Govardhana and Māmāḷa *āhāras*, probably forming parts of Mūlaka, was conquered by Rudradāman, apparently as a colleague of his aged grandfather, from Sātakarṇi who is no other than Gautamīputra. The closeness of relation that is said to have existed between Sātakarṇi and Rudradāman is indicated by a Kānheri inscription representing a certain Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, very probably a co-uterine brother of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi and a son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, as the husband of a daughter of a Mahākshatrapa whose name appears to have been Rudradāman.[1] Thus Gautamīputra seems to have made an attempt to save a few of the conquered territories by contracting a matrimonial alliance with the Kārdamaka Śakas.

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[1] We know that the spheres of influence of a *Chakravartin* both of the *digvijayin* and *diśāmpati* types was supposed to comprise the whole of India according to one view, but only Āryāvarta for the North Indian monarchs and the Deccan for South Indian kings according to other conceptions. Southern powers like the Chalukyas of Bādāmi claimed to be lords of the whole land bounded by the three seas. For the conception of the *Chakravarti-kshetra*, see *JRASBL*, V, 1939, pp. 407-15.

[2] The name is also written as Puḷumāyi.

[3] See above, p. 183.

[4] See above, p. 184.

We have already discussed the achievements of Gautamīputra as a conqueror. He is described as a handsome person with a charming and radiant face, with beautiful gait and with muscular and long arms. As regards his temperament, Gautamīputra is credited with readiness to impart fearlessness to all, obedience towards his mother and reluctance to hurt even an offending enemy. He was the refuge of the virtuous, the asylum of fortune and the fountain of good manners. As a king he was not only a unique controller obeyed by the circle of all kings, but he evinced interest in the weal of his subjects and sympathised with their woes, always levied taxes in conformity with justice, helped the higher as well as the lower castes and stopped the social evil called *varṇa-saṁkara* (intermingling of the four social orders).

It is sometimes suggested that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is identical with the celebrated Vikramāditya of Indian tradition and folklore. The theory is untenable in view of the facts that Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī and Sālivāhana of Pratishthāna are always distinguished in the legends and that Gautamīputra, whose successors are known to have used not any era but their own regnal reckoning, cannot be regarded as the founder of the Vikrama-Saṁvat or any other era. Gautamīputra is never known to have assumed the title Vikramāditya.[2] The suggestion that he was the Sātavāhana contemporary of Nāgārjuna seems also to be improbable. According to the tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang, this king held sway over South Kosala which is, however, conspicuous by its absence in the list of countries forming parts of Gautamīputra's empire. Equally unwarranted is the suggestion that Gautamīputra Sātakarni ruled conjointly with his son Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi. The absence of any charter and coin issued conjointly by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Pulumāvi as well as the mention of Pratishṭhāna as the capital only of Pulumāvi in Ptolemy's *Geography* renders the theory of conjoint rule highly improbable.[1]

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[1] See above, p. 183. Some writers are inclined to identify the Sātavāhana contemporary of Rudradāman with Pulumāvi, while others prefer his identification with the Śaka king's son-in-law Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kānheri inscription, who is supposed to have succeeded his elder brother Pulumāvi. The first suggestion is untenable as the two names, Sātakarni and Pulumāvi, are never known to have been borne by a single individual. The second identification is also improbable as Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarni, if he ruled at all as a lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, appears to have reigned after Pulumāvi (c. A.D. 130-59) and therefore after the date of the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150-51).

[2] Gautamīputra's epithet *vara-vāraṇa-vikrama-chāru-vikrama*, 'one whose gait is as beautiful as that of the choice elephant,' has nothing to do with the title Vikramāditya, 'equal to the sun in valour.' The title was assumed by Samudra-gupta about the middle of the fourth century. Titles ending with the word *āditya* as in Vikramāditya seem to have become popular only after that date.

9. *Successors of Gautamīputra*

According to the Purāṇas, Pulomā, *i.e.* Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, ruled for twenty-eight or twenty-nine years. His reign may therefore be tentatively assigned to c. A.D. 130-59. Pulumāvi's inscriptions have been discovered at Nāsik (years 2, 6, 19 and 22), Kārle in the Poona District (years 7 and 24) and Amarāvatī in the Krishṇā District. Although Pulumāvi was not in possession of the northern provinces of his father's empire, he was probably responsible for the extension of Sātavāhana power in the land about the mouths of the Krishṇā. This is suggested by the discovery not only of his inscription at Amarāvatī but also of a large number of his coins in the

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1. Sir R. G. and D. R. Bhandarkar (*op. cit.*), who are the principal advocates of this theory, believe that the inscription of Gautamīputra's twenty-fourth regnal year, which is engraved on the east wall of the verandah of the Nāsik Cave No. 3 and which records a grant made by the king and his mother in favour of certain monks dwelling in the cave that was a pious gift of theirs, presupposes the gift of cave No. 3 made by Gautamīputra's mother and recorded in the inscription of Pulumāvi's nineteenth regnal year, incised on the back wall of the verandah above the entrance. It is suggested therefore that the twenty-fourth year of Gautamīputra's reign was later than the nineteenth regnal year of his son. It is further pointed out that in the Nāsik inscription of Pulumāvi (year 19), Gautamī Balaśrī is described as the mother of a *Mahārāja* and the grandmother of a *Mahārāja*, both of which she probably was at the same time, and also that the above record, which deals chiefly with the exploits of Gautamīputra and speaks of none of his son's renders it inexplicable why a king dead for nineteen years is extolled and the reigning monarch passed over in silence. None of the arguments, however, appears to be quite convincing. The inscription of Gautamīputra's twenty-fourth year apparently refers to the grant of the verandah only, while the record of the nineteenth year of Pulumāvi speaks of the gift of the cave with or without the verandah. As regards Balaśrī's representation as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king, it is to be noted that in the same context she is also called a *Mahādevī*, 'wife of a king'. This shows that the lady claims to be one of the few that see not only their husband and son but also their grandchild on the throne. As to the *praśasti* of Gautamīputra in an inscription of his son recording a gift of his mother, it is not unnatural for a mother in her old age to recount the glories of her dead son who was associated with her in a previous gift, not unconnected with the new gift, especially at a time when most of that son's conquests were lost again to the foreigners.

same area as well as in the adjoining regions. The Bellary District seems also to have been annexed to the Sātavāhana empire during Pulumavi's reign. As has already been suggested, probably the two newly annexed provinces came to be styled Andhrāpatha and 'Sātavāhanīya district' from this time after the tribal and dynastic designations of the conqueror.

According to the Puranic lists, Pulumāvi's immediate successor was Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi (c. A.D. 159--66), who is no doubt the same as Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarni of coins discovered in the Kṛishnā and Godāvarī Districts. The king is usually identified with Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, son-in-law of Rudradāman, who is known from the Kānheri inscription. According to the Junāgarh record, however, Aparānta, in which Kānheri is situated, formed a part of the dominions of Rudradāman and not of his Sātavāhana contemporaries. It is therefore not improbable that Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi was his father-in-law's viceroy in Aparānta or conquered that region from the Scythians after Rudradāman's death. His identification with Śivaśrī, however, cannot be regarded as certain.[1]

The next rulers according to the Purāṇas were Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi (c. A.D. 167-74) and Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi (c. A.D. 174-203). Śivaskanda is unknown from any other sources, although his name reminds one of Sivamaka Sāta (Sātakarṇi) of an Amarāvatī inscription and Skanda Sātakarṇi of the Tarhala coins. It may be suggested that *Śivaskanda* is the Sanskritized form of *Sivamaka.*[2] The real name of the Puranic Yajnaśrī was Yajña -Sātakarṇi who is known from inscriptions at Nāsik (year 7), Kānheri (year 16), and Chinna-Ganjam in the Kṛishṇā District (year 27), and from coins from the Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī Districts of the Madras State, the Chānda District of Madhya Pradesh, Berār, Northern Konkan, Barodā and Saurashtra. Silver coins of Yajña found at Sopārā (ancient Śūrpāraka, capital of Aparānta) are closely imitated as regards types, size, and weight from the ordinary silver coinage of Rudradāman. Of all Sātavāhana coins, only this series has the head of the king on the obverse, while the reverse type is a combination of the Ujjain and hill symbols with the rayed sun. It is well known that the king's head and the rayed sun associated with a hill are constant features of the coins of the Śakas of Western India. Yajña was therefore a great king who ousted Scythian rule not only from Aparānta, but probably also from parts of Western India and the Narmadā valley. His success against the Śakas may have been partially due to the struggle between Jīvadāman and Rudrasiṁha I and the rise of Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta.[1] If Yajña may be identified with the Sātavāhana contemporary of Nāgārjuna, he probably further extended his power in the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh. But Yajña was the last great king of the family, and soon after his death the empire seems to have been split up into a number of separate principalities under different princes of the royal blood.

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[1] It may be suggested that Śivaśrī was the coronation name of Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi. Gopalachari speaks of a silver coin, modelled on the Kshatrapa coinage, on the obverse of which he finds the word *vāsiṭhīputasa* and the king's head and the word *hātakaṇisa* probably on the reverse. The coin has been ascribed to Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kānheri inscription (*EHAC*, p. 67); but the case is doubtful.

[2] *Sivamaka* may be a variation of *Simuka.*

10. *Decline of the Sātavāhanas*

The successors of Yajña Sātakarṇi, according to some of the Purāṇas, were Vijaya (*c.* A.D. 203-09), Chandraśrī or Chandaśrī (*c.* A.D. 209-19) and Pulomā (*c.* A.D. 219-27). Vijaya is probably the king whose name is doubtfully read on a few coins of the Tarhala (Berār) hoard as Vijaya Sātakarṇi, but whether he ruled over the whole empire is unknown. Chandraśrī or Chaṇḍaśrī has been identified with king Chaḍa Sāta (*i.e.*, Chandra or Chaṇḍa Sātakarṇi) of an inscription discovered at Kodavali in the Godāvarī District. Some of the coins discovered in the same region were issued by king Vāsishṭhīputra Chada Sāti (Chandra Sātakarṇi), while others give the name of the king as Chaḍa Sāti (Chandra or Chaṇda Sātakarṇi).

Chada and *Chaḍa* are usually believed to be different forms of the name of Chandra Sātakarṇi, who is identified with the king known from the Kodavali inscription. But the coins may have been actually issued by two different kings named Chandra and Chaṇḍa. According to some writers, the second year of Chaḍa Sāta, when the Kodavali inscription was incised, corresponds to A.D. 210. The Puranic Pulomā seems to be no other than king Pulumāvi who is known from an inscription of his eighth regnal year found at Myakadoni in the Bellary District. We do not know if these kings held sway over territories outside the southern provinces of Yajña's empire. Another Sātavāhana king known from coins, found in the heart of the Andhra country, was Rudra Sātakarṇi who is not mentioned in the Puranic lists. Andhrāpatha passed to the Ikshvākus before the middle of the third century and the Pallavas of Kāñchī conquered both Andhrāpatha and the Sātavāhanīya district before the end of that century.

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[1] See above, p. 187.

A king named Māṭharīputra Śakasena is known from an inscription of his eighth regnal year found at Kānheri in the Aparānta country. He is sometimes identified with the issuer of certain coins discovered in the Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī Districts, whose name has been doubtfully read as Śakasena or Śāta. The coins, however, may actually belong to king Śaka Sātakarṇi known from some specimens of the Tarhala (Berār) hoard. If Śakasena may be identified with Śaka Sātakarṇi, this king must have ruled over wide dominions. What relation Śakasena of the Kānheri inscription might have had with Vāsishṭhīputra Chatarapana Sātakarṇi of a Nānāghāt record of the thirteenth year of his reign cannot be determined. The names of these rulers, who are not mentioned in the Purāṇas, have traces of their Scythian affinity.[1]

11. *Branches of the Sātavāhana Dynasty and the Viceregal Families*

Indian literary traditions speak of a branch of the Sātavāhana family ruling in Kuntala, comprising the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaum and Dhārwār. Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* refers to a king of Kuntala named Sātavāhana. The Purāṇas as well as Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* mention a king named Kuntala-Sātakarṇi. The Puranic lists make him a predecessor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, and a commentator of the *Kāmasūtra* explains the name as being due to the king's birth in the Kuntala country. Another king called Hāla (Sāta), whose name is known to be a contraction of *Sātavāhana* > *Sālāhana*, is called 'Kuntala' or 'lord of Kuntala' in traditions. His name is associated with the celebrated Prakrit anthology called *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Hāla may have been identical with Kuntala-Sātakarṇi, although they are separately mentioned in the Purāṇas.

When precisely Kuntala came under Sātavāhana influence cannot be ascertained; but probably it was in the wake of the southern expeditions of Pulumāvi that his lieutenants established themselves in the Kannaḍa country. Inscriptions testify to the existence of kings belonging to the Chuṭu-kula who were in possession of the south-western Deccan before the rise of the Kadambas. The Chuṭus were intimately related to the Mahāraṭhis (Mahārāshṭrins, probably the Rāshtrikas of the earlier period) and Mahābhojas (probably the Bhojakas of the earlier epoch) who were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas. They may have claimed Sātavāhana blood.

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[1] As Gopalachari suggests, *Chatarapana* may have been the Dravidian corruption of a name like Kshatrapaṇṇaka.

Coins of a king named Muḍānanda and of another named Chutukadānanda have been discovered at Kārwār and are connected by type with those of Sadakana (Sātakarni) Kaḷalāya Mahārathi, the semi-independent governor of the Sātavāhanas in the Mysore region. Chuṭukaḍānanda, whose name possibly refers to a place called Chuṭukaṭa (cf. Bhojakaṭa), seems to have been associated with the Chuṭukulānandas of inscriptions. It is not improbable that the semi-independent Sātavāhana governors of Kuntala were ousted by Mudānanda when the Sātavāhana power declined after Yajña Sātakarṇi and that Muḍānanda's family was overthrown by Chutukadānanda. The Banavāsi inscription of Hāritīputra Vishnukada Chutukulānanda Sātakarṇi has been assigned, on palaeographic grounds, to the age of Yajña, *i.e.* to the end of the second century A.D., but may actually be a little later.[1] The record refers to a lady styled Mahābhojī (wife of a Mahābhoja), who was a daughter of the *Mahārāja i.e.*, the king, and to her son named Śivaskandanāgaśrī. Rapson is inclined to identify Śivaskandanāgaśri and his mother of this epigraph with Skandanāga Sātaka (Sātakarṇi) and his mother Nāgamūlanikā (Nāgamūlannikā) of a Kānheri record in which the lady is described as the wife of a Mahārathi and as a daughter of a Mahābhojī and the *Mahārāja*.

It is further conjectured that the name of king Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi must have occupied the damaged initial part of the Kānheri record just as in the Banavāsi epigraph, and that he was the father of the lady mentioned in the above records. But the identification of Śivaskandanāgaśrī and Skandanāga Sātaka is extremely doubtful. Even if it be suggested that they were two sons of the daughter of Vishnukada Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi, the Chuṭu occupation of Aparānta cannot be regarded as an established fact in the present state of our knowledge. The identification of any of the two princes with the king Śivaskandavarman of Vaijayantī (modern Banavāsi), capital of Kuntala, as suggested by Rapson, is also improbable. Śivaskandavarman and his predecessor (probably father) Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi of the Malavalli inscription flourished shortly before Kadamba Mayūraśarman's occupation of the Kuntala capital about the middle of the fourth century A.D.

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[1] A comparison of the letters of the Banavāsi record with those of the Ikshvāku inscriptions would suggest the first half of the third century A.D. to be the date of the former. Vishnukaḍa or -kaṭa may have been a place like Chutukaṭa and Bhojakaṭa. The Malavalli inscription reads -kaḍḍa which probably stands for *-koṭṭa*.

The Chuṭu king who issued the Malavalli charter in his first regnal year seems to have ruled at least about half a century after his namesake of the Banavāsi inscription. It is probable that Vishṇukada Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi II was a feudatory of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman and named his son after his overlord. The suggestion is supported not only by the Pallava occupation of Andhrāpatha and the Sātavāhanīya district about the end of the third century, but also by the fact that the founder of the Kadamba dynasty of Kuntala is said to have received the feudatory state bounded by the Arabian Sea and the Preharā or Praharā (either the Malapraharā, *i.e.*, Malaprabhā, or the Ghaṭapraharā, *i.e.*, Ghaṭaprabhā) from the Pallava king of Kāñchī.

Coins issued by the kings Sātakarṇi, Pulumāvi, Yajña Sātakarṇi and Kṛishṇa Sātakarṇi, have been discovered in the Chānda District, Madhya Pradesh. In the absence of metronymics, it is with some diffidence that we propose to identify Sātakarṇi and Pulumāvi of these coins with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi.[1] The palaeography of the Chānda coins of Pulumāvi seems to be earlier than that of the ordinary issues of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi; but, as Rapson has rightly noticed, the palaeographical test is not quite reliable in these cases. Kṛishṇa Sātakarṇi was probably a successor of Yajña Sātakarṇi in the eastern part of the empire.

In the year 1939 a hoard of 1,525 coins of some of the later members of the Sātavāhana family was discovered at Tarhala[2] near Mangrul in the Akola District of Berār. They bear the names of Sātakarṇi, Pulumāvi, Śivaśrī Pulumāvi, Skanda Sātakarṇi, Yajña Sātakarṇi, Vijaya (?) Sātakarṇi, Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Kṛishṇa[3] Sātakarṇi, Śaka Sātakarṇi and Pulahāmavi. Apparently the kings Sātakarni, Pulumāvi, Yajña Sātakarṇi and Kṛishṇa Sātakarṇi of the Chānda coins are identical with their namesakes of the Tarhala hoard. Some of the other rulers known from this hoard have already been referred to above. Śivaśrī Pulumāvi and Pulahāmavi (a variant form of the name *Pulumāvi*) appear to be two different rulers, none of them probably identical with Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi and his namesake of the Myakadoni inscription. Kumbha is unknown from any other sources. It seems that some of the successors of Yajña Sātakarṇi, who may have extended Sātavāhana power in eastern Madhya Pradesh, ruled primarily in Berār and Madhya Pradesh. This branch of the Sātavāhana family appears to have continued to rule up to the second half of the third century A.D. when its authority was supplanted by the Vākāṭakas.

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[1] Rapson is inclined to identify Sātakarṇi of the Chānda coins with Yajña Sātakarṇi.

[2] *IHQ*, XVI. 503; *JNSI*, II. 83; *PIHC*, VII. 104.

[3] Mirashi suggests *Karṇa* instead of *Kṛishṇa*.

The existence of a line of Sātavāhana kings holding sway over South Kosala (modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining region) is suggested by a tradition recorded, among others, by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. According to this tradition, when Nāgārjuna (c. second century A.D.) lived in a monastery built by Aśoka to the south of the capital city of Dakshiṇa. Kosala, the king of the land was So-to p'o-ho, *i.e.* Sātavāhana.[1] It seems that Madhya Pradesh was conquered by the Sātavāhanas during the rule of one of the immediate successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, probably Yajña Sātakarṇi himself. That Dakshiṇa Kosala in eastern Madhya Pradesh was once under the Sātavāhana kings is possibly supported by the discovery of a copper coin of king Śivaśrī Āpīlaka in Chhattisgarh. Although the Purāṇas place king Āpīlaka long before Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, he may have actually been a successor of Yajña Sātakarṇi, in the eastern part of the empire. On numismatic grounds some writers ascribe Āpīlaka's coin to a date earlier than Gautamīputra, while others prefer to connect it with the later Sātavāhanas.

An interesting group of kings holding sway over the Kolhapur region of the South Marāṭhā country is known from coins. The group is represented by three rulers, viz. Vāsishṭhīputra Vilivāyakura, Māṭharīputra Sivalakura who restruck the coins of the previous king, and Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura who restruck the coins of both the other rulers. Rapson is inclined to take *kura* as a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *kula;* but in it we have probably a dynastic name. If this suggestion be accepted we may speak of these rulers as be longing to the Kura (or Aṅkura) dynasty of Kolhāpur. Some scholars believe that the kings of the Kolhāpur coins represented a branch of the Sātavāhana family, while others attempt to identify them with some of the known members of that family. The identification of Māṭharīputra Sivalakura with Māṭharīputra Śakasena and of Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is, however, entirely conjectural. There is no evidence to connect these kings, who appear to have been local rulers of the Kolhāpur region, with the Sātavāhanas.

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[1] According to I-tsing, the personal name of the king was Shi-yen-tê-ka (*Shan-t'ê-ka* of a previous translator) and his style was *Sha-to-p'o-han-na* (Sātavāhana). *Shi-yen-tê-ka* and *Shan-t'ê-ka* appear to suggest an original like *Śāntikarna* or *Śāntakarna*, the Puranic corruptions of the name *Sātakarṇi*. Some traditions speak of Vidarbha instead of South Kosala in connection with Nāgārjuna. But the tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang, who visited the monastery in question, appears to be more reliable.

II. THE CHEDI (MAHĀ-MEGHAVĀHANA) DYNASTY OF KALIṄGA

1. *Kaliṅga and the Chedis*

The ancient Kaliṅga country roughly comprised the present Puri and Ganjām Districts and parts of the Cuttack District of Orissa with the adjoining region in the north and the north-west; but sometimes it also included certain portions of the present-day Telugu-speaking area of the south. Reference has been made above to the conquest of this country by the Nandas and the Maurya emperor Aśoka. The Mauryas probably divided the country into two halves, both for political and administrative purposes, one with its headquarters at Tosalī (modern Dhauli near Bhuvaneswar) and the other with Samāpā (near modern Jaugaḍa) as its chief city. Pliny (first century A.D.) says: "The tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea; the royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis (probably a corruption of the name Tosalī). Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen and 700 elephants keep watch and ward in precinct of war."[1]

Whether Pliny derived his information from the accounts of Megasthenes (end of the fourth century B.C.), as is usually supposed, or from a later source referring to the time of the Chedi kings, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But we know that, in the first century B.C., Kaliṅga became one of the strongest powers in India under the vigorous rule of kings belonging to the Mahā-Meghavāhana family of the Chedi clan. The early history of the Chedis has been discussed above,[1] and it is not improbable that some Chedi princes migrated from Madhyadeśa or Magadha to Kaliṅga where they carved out a principality, which ultimately became a mighty empire.[2]

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[1] Pliny probably refers to the Kaliṅga people as a widely diffused race, for he speaks of the Macco-Calingae (a branch of the Brachmanae), Calingae (supposed to include the Gangaridae in one passage) and Modogalingae.

The history of Kaliṅga after the Maurya conquest is obscure in the extreme. We do not know when it threw off the yoke of Magadha or came into the power of the Chedis. But, from a damaged inscription on the overhanging brow of the Hāthigumphā cave in the Udayagiri hill near Bhuvaneswar (Orissa), we know some details of the achievements of a mighty Chedi ruler named Khāravela[3] who represented the third generation of the *rāja-vaṁśa* of Kaliṅga. The king is not only described as an offshoot of the Chedi-*rāja-vaṁśa*, but is actually said to have been a descendant of the ancient Chedi monarch Vasu (*i.e.*, Vasu-Uparichara).[4] Members of this family, called both Kaliṅga-rājavaṁśa and Chedi-rājavaṁśa, styled themselves *Ārya* and also *Māhā-Meghavāhana,* which apparently indicates 'descendant of Mahā-Meghavāhana.'[5] Mahā-Meghavāhana, therefore, seems to have been the founder of the Chedi royal house of Kaliṅga. Whether he represented the first of the three generations of Kaliṅga kings referred to in the Hāthigumphā inscription, and was therefore the grandfather of Khāravela, cannot be determined. The epithet *ārya* possibly points to the Aryan origin of the family established in the land of the non-Aryans.

The lower story of the Manchapuri cave in the Udayagiri hill was excavated by a *Mahārāja,* probably named Vakradeva, who was a lord of Kaliṅga and belonged to the Ārya Mahā-Meghavāhana lineage.[6] The upper story of the cave was excavated by the chief queen of Khāravela who seems to have been the third king of the family. If the excavation of the upper story of the cave may be attributed to the reign of Khāravela and to a date later than that of the construction of the lower story, it is not improbably that Vakradeva

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1. See p. 9.
2. *PHAI.* pp. 75, 96-97, 250-51.
3. The name is sometimes believed to represent Sanskrit *Kāla-vela.* For the Hāthigumphā Inscription, cf. *JBORS,* III, IV, XIII, XIV, *EI,* XX; 72 ff.; *Sel. Ins.,* p. 206.
4. See Vol. I, p. 296.
5. Cf. the personal and dynastic name Sātavāhana. Meghavāhana as a personal name occurs in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.*
6. The name of the king has been doubtfully read as Vakadepa, Kūdepa or Kadampa in his Prakrit inscription. For the inscriptions cf. *IHQ.* XIV, 159 ff.

represented the second generation of the royal family and was the father of Khāravela.

2. *Khāravela*

Mahārāja Khāravela is one of the most remarkable figures of ancient Indian history. The events of his life are recorded in considerable detail in the Hāthigumphā *praśasti*. The first fifteen years of Khāravela's life were spent in games befitting a young prince, and in the study of matters relating to writing, coinage, accounting, administration and legal procedure. In his sixteenth year, the prince was installed as *Yuvarāja*. When he completed his twenty-fourth year, he was anointed *Mahārāja* of Kaliṅga. Khāravela assumed the title of *Kaliṅgādhipathi* or *Kaliṅga-chakravartin* and no doubt claimed the status of a *chakravartin* or universal ruler. He was possibly also styled *Mahāvijaya*. He married a daughter of the great-grandson of king Hastisiṁha, probably of the Lalāka lineage. Khāravela was a devout Jain and was even called *Bhikshu-rāja, i.e.* the monk-king. But he was not a bigot, as he said to have honoured, like Maurya Aśoka, all religious sects (*pāsaṃḍa* from Sanskrit *pārshada*) dwelling in his realm.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, Khāravela launched on a career of a *dig-vijayin* (conqueror). In the second year of his reign, he is said to have sent a large army to the western countries without even thinking of Sātakarṇi, who apparently ruled the country to the west of Kaliṅga. In the course of this expedition, the Kaliṅga army is further said to have reached the banks of the Kṛishṇabenā (*i.e.* Kṛishṇā) where the city called Ṛishika-nagara[1] was threatened. As there is no indication that Khāravela's army came into conflict with Sātakarṇi or that Ṛishika-nagara formed a part of the latter's dominions, the Kaliṅga king's claim seems to suggest that friendly relations existed between the two kings and that the Kaliṅga army passed to the Ṛishika country on the Kṛishṇā through Sātakarṇi's territories without difficulty. But a suggestion that Khāravela's army attacked a city on the Kṛishṇā in the southern part of Sātakarṇi's kingdom cannot also be regarded as altogether impossible. King Sātakarṇi seems to be no other than an early Sātavāhana ruler of that name, very probably Sātakarṇi I. In the fourth year of his reign, Khāravela seems to have occupied the capital of a prince named Vidyādhara; in the same year he also subdued the Rāshṭrikas and Bhojakas, probably of the Berār region. In the eighth year Khāravela destroyed Gorathagiri, a hill fortress in the Barābar hills, and attacked the city of Rājagṛiha (modern Rājgir in the Gayā District, Bihār)[1]. The news of these exploits of Khāravela caused so much terror in the heart of a Yavana king that he fled away to Mathurā. The Yavana ruler, whose name is sometimes doubtfully read as Dimita or Dimata (?Demetrius), was probably a later Indo-Greek ruler of the eastern Punjāb.

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[1] The Prakrit original has *Asika-nagara* which has sometimes been read as *Musika-nagara*.

In his eleventh year Khāravela destroyed the city of Pithuḍa (probably from Sanskrit Pṛithūda; cf. Ptolemy's Pitundra, metropolis in the land of the Maisoli), the capital of a king of the Masulipatam region in the Madras State. He threatened the rulers of Uttarāpatha (probably north-western India) in the next year, and also defeated the king of the Magadha people, probably on the banks of the Gaṅgā. The name of the Magadha king is given in Prakrit as *Bahasatimita* which seems to stand for Sanskrit *Bṛihatsvātimitra* rather than for *Bṛihaspatimitra* as is usually supposed. Bṛihatsvātimitra, a contemporary of Khāravela, seems to be the king of that name mentioned as the sister's son of Āshāḍhasena of the Pabhosā inscriptions[2] and as the father of the queen of a Mathurā king referred to in the Mora inscription. He seems to have been related to the Mitra kings of Magadha whose records and coins have been found in the Gayā District. To avenge the humiliation of Kaliṅga during the time of the Nandas and the Mauryas, Khāravela carried away much booty from Aṅga and Magadha together with certain Jain images originally taken away by a Nanda king from Kaliṅga. In the same year Khāravela also defeated the Pāṇḍya king of the Far South.

As a ruler, Khāravela always thought of the welfare of his subjects and spent large sums of money on their account. Himself a great master of music, the king often entertained the people by arranging dancing and musical performances as well as festivities and merry gatherings. He enlarged an irrigation canal originally excavated by a Nanda king three centuries ago. Khāravela was also a great builder. On one occasion the capital city of Kaliṅga[3] was devastated by a terrible cyclone, and the king had to rebuild numerous gates, walls and houses that had been damaged, and to restore all the gardens. He built a magnificent palace called the Mahāvijaya-prāsāda. As a devout Jain, he excavated a number of caves in the Kumārī-parvata (Khaṇḍagiri hill). Khāravela probably also built a monastery at a place called Pābhāra not far from these caves.

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[1] The passage of the Hāthigumphā inscription may also suggest that Khāravela killed a king named Gorathagiri and plundered his capital Rājagṛiha.

[2] See above, p. 98.

[3] It is called Kaliṅga-nagarī. According to some epigraphists the actual name of the city was Khibira; but this is uncertain.

There is a controversy as regards the date of Khāravela. Some scholars are inclined to assign him to the first half of the second century B.C.;[1] but there is no reason to believe that he flourished at a later date. His title *Mahārāja*, which like *Mahārājādhirāja* seems to have been inspired and popularised by the foreign rulers of India and was first used by the Indo-Greeks in the first half of the second century B.C., suggests a later date. A king of Kaliṅga, far away from the sphere of influence of the foreign rulers, could have assumed it only at a later period. Khāravela's Magadhan contemporary Bṛihatsvātimitra, who cannot be identified with any of the Śuṅga and Kāṇva kings mentioned in the Purāṇas, must have flourished long after Pushyamitra Śuṅga (c. 187-151 B.C.). The script of the Hāthigumphā inscription is later than that of the Besnagar inscription (end of the second century B.C.) and points to a date in the first century B.C. This late date is probably supported by the developed Kāvya style exhibited by the *praśasti*. It should also be noted that, according to students of Indian art, the sculptures of the Manchapuri cave excavated during the Mahā-Meghavāhana rule "are considerably posterior to the sculptures at Bhārhut (belonging to the Śuṅga age)."[1] The most important evidence as to Khāravela's date is supplied by the passage referring to the enlargement of a canal, that was excavated by a Nanda king three centuries earlier (*nandarāja-tri-varsha-śat-odghāṭita*), in the fifth regnal year of the Kaliṅga king.

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[1] The theory is based partly on Khāravela's contemporaneity with the early Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi I, who is sometimes given an early date (cf. *above*, p. 195, f.n. 1). The advocates of this theory are inclined to identify Khāravela's Magadhan contemporary, whose name is taken to be Bṛihaspatimitra, with Pushyamitra Śuṅga (c. 187-151 B.C.) on the ground that Bṛihaspati or Jupiter is regarded as the guardian of the Pushya or Tishya constellation of stars. But the identification, to say the least of it, is hopelessly unconvincing. These scholars also identify the Yavana-rāja, who was another contemporary of Khāravela, with the Indo-Greek king Demetrius (c. 190-165 B.C.), son of Euthydemus. But the reading of the Yavana king's name as Dimita or Dimata is extremely doubtful. The interpretation of the expression *tri-varsha-śata* in the passage *nanda-rāja-tri-varsha-śatodghāṭita* as "one hundred and three years" goes not only against the traditional Indian way of reckoning by hundreds, but also against known facts of history. Even if the aqueduct in question had been excavated about 324 B.C. when the Nandas were overthrown by the Mauryas, the year 103 after the excavation, corresponding to the year 5 of Khāravela's reign, would fall in c. 221 B.C. Khāravela's installation as *Yuvarāja* would then fall in c. 234 B.C. and the dynasty would appear to have been founded by Khāravela's predecessor's predecessor about the middle of the third century B.C. But we know that Kaliṅga was an integral part of the Magadhan empire in the days of Aśoka. It is sometimes believed that the Hāthigumphā *praśasti* refers to "year 165 of the Maurya era (supposed to be counted from Chandragupta's accession about 324 B.C.)" and points to a date about the middle of the second century B.C. But what is, in this case, read as *muriya-kāla* (*maurya-kāla*, 'Maurya era') is really *mukhiya-kalā* (*mukhya-kalā*, 'the principal art'). For the different views see references under f.n. 3 on p. 212, and *PHAI*, 310 ff).

There is no doubt that the same Nanda king is also mentioned as an earlier ruler in connection with the Magadhan campaign of Khāravela. He has therefore to be identified with a ruler of the Nanda dynasty of Pāṭaliputra. There is, again, no doubt that "three hundred years" has been used in the well-known Indian way of reckoning by hundreds, illustrated so often in early Buddhist literature, to signify "the fourth century". As the Nandas held sway over the Magadhan empire in the fourth century B.C., Khāravela, who flourished more than three hundred years after a Nandarāja, should be assigned to the first century B.C., most probably to its latter half. It may be pointed out that we have placed the early Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi I, who seems to have been a contemporary of Khāravela, at about the end of the first century B.C. That was apparently also the epoch of Khāravela.

The end of the Mahā-Meghavāhanas of Kaliṅga is obscure. A prince called Vaḍukha is known to have excavated one or two caves in the Udayagiri hill. But we do not know if he was the son and successor of Khāravela. Not long after, the country seems to have been split up into a number of smaller principalities. But whatever be the political condition of Kaliṅga after the passing away of Khāravela, the people of this country are known to have played a brilliant role in the diffusion of Indian culture in the lands beyond the sea. It is interesting to note that the Kaliṅga kingdom is not mentioned in the *Periplus* (c. A.D. 70-80) or Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. A.D. 140), although the latter authority refers to the *apheterion* near a city in Kaliṅga where vessels bound for the Golden Land ceased to follow the littoral and sailed for the open sea.[2]

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1. *CHI*, I, pp. 639 ff.
2. The city is called Paloura (near modern Chicacole), which is often identified with Dantapura (*JA*, 1925, pp. 46-57); but the identification is doubtful. The Golden Land is the Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa of the Indian Literature and signified the lands to the east of the Bay of Bengal. Cf. Ch. XXV.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DECCAN AFTER THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

1. THE EARLY VĀKĀṬAKAS

The death of Yajña Sātakarṇi about the beginning of the third century A.D. led to the decline and dismemberment of the Sātavāhana empire. Several branches of the imperial family appear to have been ruling in different parts of the Deccan in the early part of that century;[1] but they were gradually ousted by powers many of which had originally been subordinate to the Sātavāhana emperors. Large parts of Madhya Pradesh and Berār, which appear to have been under a branch of the Sātavāhana family in the first half of the third century, are later found to be in the occupation of kings belonging to the Vākāṭaka dynasty. The Vākāṭakas were the most important power that held sway over parts of the Deccan (sometimes with portions of Central India) after the fall of the Sātavāhanas and before the rise of the Chālukyas about the middle of the sixth century.

Nothing definite is known about the ancestry and original home of Vindhyaśakti, founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. His name no doubt associates him with a territory about the Vindhyan region, and the name of the family may possibly be derived from that of a person or, more probably, a locality called Vakāṭa.[2] The *Vāyu Purāṇa* refers to Vindhyaśakti with a reign of 96 (*sic.*) years, his son Pravīra (doubtless Pravarasena I of inscriptions) with a reign of 60 years, and the latter's four sons who are said to have become kings. Vindhyaśakti is mentioned in association with a people called the Kilakilas, who are styled *Yavanas* or *Vṛishas* in the Purāṇas and may have been foreigners related to the Śakas of Western India, and also with the Nāga kings of Vidiśā in East Mālwā. Pravīra is said to have ruled at a city called Kāñchankā (or at Purikā and Chanakā) and performed a number of Vājimedha or Vājapeya sacrifices. Curiously, however, while Vindhyaśakti is mentioned after the

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[1] See above, p. 206.

[2] There is as yet no definite evidence to support the suggestion that the Vākātakas hailed from the village of Bijnaur-Bagat in Bundelkhand, and that the Puranic Kilakilas had something to do with the modern Kilakila river in the Pannā State.

Kilakilas, the Nāgas of Vidiśā and other rulers are mentioned between Vindhyaśakti and his son, and the relation between Pravīra and the king of Purikā called Śiśuka, mentioned immediately before him, is not specified. Reference is further made to the end of the Vindhyaka family, possibly indicating the dynasty represented by Vindhyaśakti and his descendants.

It is difficult to determine the precise meaning or authenticity of most of these Puranic details about the Vākāṭakas. But the description seems to indicate that Vindhyaśakti flourished near about East Mālwā when, in the third century, the authority of the Śaka Mahākshatrapas was being gradually weakened in that region by the rise of semi-independent Śaka chiefs like Śrīdharavarman and by indigenous princes such as the Nāgas of Vidiśā. It may be suggested that Vindhyaśakti strengthened his position and extended his power across the Vindhyas at the expense of the later Sātavāhanas. But most of the records of Vindhyaśakti's descendants have been found in Madhya Pradesh and Berār and the adjoining regions of the Deccan, and only a few epigraphs of one of their feudatories have been discovered in Bundelkhand in Central India.

It should also be remembered that, so far as epigraphic evidence goes, the Vākāṭaka kings had their headquarters in the Nāgpur District of Madhya Pradesh and the Akola District of Berār, and Bundelkhand was ruled through a viceroy or a feudatory. Inscriptions thus appear to indicate that the founder of the Vākāṭka dynasty was a feudatory of the later Sātavāhanas of Vidarbha and he became powerful with the decline of his masters. One may suggest, if such was the case, that Vindhyaśakti and his son extended Vākāṭaka power over parts of Central India. It is, however, difficult to be definite on this point, as the possibility of the transference of the Vākāṭaka headquarters to the Deccan, when the Guptas advanced in Central India in the fourth century, is not entirely precluded. Some scholars believe that the origin of the Vākāṭakas should be traced to the Deccan, because the word *Vākāṭaka* occurs in an early inscription at Amarāvatī. But *Vākāṭaka* is in this case the name of a person who visited the Buddhist establishment at Amarāvatī on pilgrimage. There is no evidence to show that the personal name of the pilgrim had anything to do with the dynastic appellation of the Vākāṭakas or that the home of the pilgrim was in the Deccan.

The records of the Vākāṭaka kings are dated in their regnal year and not in any era.[1] There are, however, several clues to determine the age of the rulers of this dynasty. The compilation of the historical sections of the Purāṇas, which do not mention any Gupta king by name but speak of the Gupta kingdom comprising only the Prayāga-on-Gaṅgā, Sāketa and Magadha areas, is usually assigned to the second quarter of the fourth century before the subjugation of wide regions of Northern India by Samudra-gupta about the next quarter of the century. It is interesting to note that the same Puranic account not only refers to Vindhyaśakti, his son and grandsons, but probably also to the end of Vākāṭaka domination over parts of Central India. This suggests that at least Vindhyaśakti and his son ended their rule before the second quarter of the fourth century, and that the former probably flourished in the second half of the third century. Again we know that Vindhyaśakti's great-great-grandson Pṛithivīsheṇa I was more or less contemporary of Samudra-gupta, for his son married a daughter of Chandra-gupta II (A.D. 376-414), son of Samudra-gupta. Pṛithvīsheṇa's rule may therefore be assigned roughly to the third quarter of the fourth century, and if we count, as is usual, 25 years to a generation, Vindhyaśakti, the great-great-grandfather of this king, may be placed in the corresponding quarter of the previous century. The latest reference to the Vākāṭakas is traced in the records of the Vishṇukuṇḍins according to which Mādhavavarman I (c. A.D. 535-85) of the Andhra country married a princess of the Vākāṭaka family. The Vākāṭaka kings therefore, ruled from about the middle of the third to about the middle of the sixth century.

Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty was a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gotra*. The Puranic statement that he ruled for 96 years seems to be a mistake, or probably refers not to his reign-period but to the period covered by his long life. No inscription of his reign has been so far discovered; but he is mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription of the time of Harisheṇa. Vindhyaśakti is described as a *dvija* (Brāhmaṇa) and a banner of the Vākāṭaka family and is credited with the conquest of countries, with victory in many battles, and with great liberality. He is given no royal epithet in the Ajaṇṭā inscription; but the record being fragmentary and in verse, it is uncertain whether the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty ruled without royal titles like Senāpati Pushya-

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1. The theory that the Vākāṭakas founded the era of A.D. 248-49 is not supported by any evidence. No coins can be attributed to the Vākāṭaka kings.

mitra Vindhyaśakti appears to have been a powerful ruler who extended his sway at the expense of his neighbours. Little, however, is known about the actual extent of his dominions.

Vindhyaśakti was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Hāritīputra Pravarasena I, called Pravīra in the Puranic account. Although no inscription of his reign has as yet been discovered, his achievements find a place in most of the records of his family. He is the only Vākāṭaka ruler who has been described as a *samrāṭ* (a universal monarch) in some records. In many epigraphs, the Vākāṭakas are styled *samrāḍ-Vākāṭaka* (no doubt pointing to the imperial position of the family), with special reference to the age of Pravarasena I. The Puranic account assigns him a reign of 60 years and credits him with the performance of a number of Vājapeya (or Aśvamedha) sacrifices. That he was a great champion of the Brahmanical religion is also evidenced by the inscriptions of his family. He is said to have celebrated, besides the Vājapeya, not only such Vedic sacrifices as Agnishṭoma, Āptoryāma, Jyotishṭoma, Bṛihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Ukthya, Shoḍaśin and Atirātra, but also no less than four Aśvamedhas. The horse-sacrifices were performed probably to commemorate the recent foundation of the Vākāṭaka empire on the ruins of the earlier empire of the Sātavāhanas. The Brāhmaṇa king Pravarasena I secured his position in the north by giving his son Gautamīputra[1] in marriage to a daughter of the powerful Nāga king Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva family that held sway over considerable parts of Central India. It is not improbable that Pravarasena received great help from his Bhāraśiva relatives in extending his dominions in Central India as well as in the Deccan, and that he performed the Aśvamedhas in imitation of the ten horse-sacrifices celebrated by the Bhāraśivas. It was he who seems to have been the real founder of the Vākāṭaka empire extending from Bundelkhand in the north to the Hyderābād State in the south. It should, however, be pointed out that there is absolutely nothing to justify the theory of Jayaswal and his followers attributing to the early Vākāṭakas a pan-Indian empire and representing them as the successors of the Kushāṇas. Most of Jayaswal's suggestions about

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[1] As the epigraphic passage *pravarasenasya sūnoḥ sūnoḥ* .... *bhavanāga-dauhitrasya gautamīputrasya putrasya* .... *rudrasenasya* may be differently interpreted, it is sometimes suggested that Gautamīputra was the son's son of Pravarasena and daughter's son of Bhavanāga. This interpretation is untenable in view of the facts that it leaves unexplained the non-mention of the name of Gautamīputra's father, and that in the Pattan grant (*EI.* XXIII, p. 85) we have *gautamīputra-putrasya* (instead of *gautamīputrasya putrasya*), which cannot be doubly interpreted.

Vākāṭaka history do not deserve serious consideration. Pravarasena I probably died about the end of the first quarter of the fourth century. The history of his successors will be dealt with in the next volume.

2. THE ĀBHĪRAS

The Ābhīras appear to have been a foreign people who entered India shortly before or along with the Śakas from some part of eastern Irān. It is tempting to connect their name with the locality called Abiravan between Herāt and Kandahār. The Purāṇas speak of the Ābhīras amongst the successors of the Sātavāhanas. Although we have an Ābhīra settlement as far east as Ahirwar between Bhilsa and Jhānsi in central India, the Ābhīra people is usually associated with Aparānta, which indicated in a wider sense the western division of India and in a narrow sense only the northern part of the Konkan. In one context the *Mahābhārata* places the Ābhīras in Aparānta; but in another it associates the people with the Śūdras, and assigns both the tribes to the land near Vinaśana where the Sarasvatī lost itself in the sands of the Rājputāna desert.[1] The Ābhīras are also found in association with the Śūdras in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the Geography of Ptolemy locate Aberia of Abiria, i.e., the Ābhīra country, between the lower Sindhu valley and Saurashtra, apparently in south-western Rājputāna and the adjoining regions. The dominions of the Ābhīra kings referred to in the Purāṇas, however, lay in the north-west region of the Deccan and may have sometimes included the northern Konkan as far as the Broach area in the north.

In early epigraphic records the Ābhīras figure as generals of the Śaka Mahākshatrapas of Western India. The Gunda (North Saurashtra) inscription of A.D. 181 belonging to the time of Rudrasiṁha I records the digging of a tank by the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti, son of the general Bāpaka. An adventurer named Īśvaradatta issued silver coins of the satrapal style actually with the title *Mahākshatrapa*, and must have been in possession of the major part of the Śaka territories for about two years. The coins of this ruler, dated in the first and second years of his reign, have been assigned by Rapson to A.D. 237-40, but by Bhandarkar to A.D. 188-90. The latter view seems more reasonable. That *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta was not a Śaka is evident from his name, which does not resemble that of any of the satrapal rulers, as well as from the independent way of the dating of his coins. He is usually regarded as an Ābhīra; but this conjecture is not supported by any positive evidence.[1]

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[1] In the second half of the fourth century B.C. when Alexander invaded north-western India, the Śūdras, called Sodroi by the Greeks, lived in northern Sind to the south of the Punjāb rivers. The mediaeval lexicographer Purushottama identifies Vinaśana with Kurukshetra in his *Trikāṇḍaśesha*.

We know only of one Ābhīra king who may be regarded as a successor of the Sātavāhanas and the Śakas in the north-western Deccan. He is Rājā Māṭharīputra Īśvarasena, son of Ābhīra Śivadatta, mentioned in the Nāsik inscription of his ninth regnal year. The inscription records two investments, one of 1,000 *Kārshāpaṇas*, and another of 500 *Kārshāpaṇas*, in trade-guilds at Govardhana (old Nāsik) for the purpose of providing medicines for the sick among the monks dwelling in the monastery on the Nāsik hills. The benefactress was the lay devotee Vishṇudattā, who was a Śakānī, mother of Gaṇapaka Viśvavarman and daughter of Śaka Agnivarman. As the king's father Śivadatta is credited with no royal title in the inscriptions, king Īśvarasena may be regarded as the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty of kings. There is no doubt that this king flourished some time after the death of Yajña Sātakarṇi, which took place about the beginning of the third century. It is therefore not improbable that the so-called Kalachuri or Chedi era starting from A.D. 248-49 was counted from the accession of Īśvarasena[2]. Although the Purāṇas refer to ten Ābhīra kings ruling for 67 years, nothing is known about Īśvarasena's successors.

The inscription of Īśvarasena proves that his dominions comprised the Nāsik region in northern Mahārāshṭra; but the actual extent of his kingdom is uncertain. If he was really the founder of the era of A.D. 248, it may be suggested that the Ābhīras extended their political influence over Aparānta and Lāṭa where the era is found to be in use in later days. The Kalachuris, originally of the Anūpa region on the Narmadā, probably used the era after their conquest of territories belonging formerly to the kingdom of the Ābhīras.[3]

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[1] There is no reason to believe that Īśvaradatta and the Ābhīra king Māṭharīputra Īśvarasena ruled over the same territories. The absence of the tribal name and of any patronymic and metronymic in Īśvaradatta's coin-legend appears to be significant. The identification of the two rulers is improbable in view of the difference in their names.

[2] Cf. *ABORI*, XXVII, 1 ff.

[3] Prof. Mirashi has recently suggested that Khāndesh was ruled by the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa, Bhuluṇḍa, and Rudradāsa respectively in the years 67, 107 and 117 of the era of A.D. 248-49 as feudatories of the Ābhīras (*ABORI*, XXVI, 159,

The Ābhīras continued to rule as late as the middle of the fourth century when, according to the Chandravalli inscription,[1] they came into conflict with the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman. Although the Traikūṭakas, who flourished in the northern Konkan in the fifth century, may have been a branch of the Ābhīra tribe, Mayūraśarman's inscription points to the separate existence of the Ābhīra and Traikūṭaka kingdoms in the fourth century. The Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta mentions the Ābhīras in the list of tribes subdued by the Gupta emperor; but it is uncertain whether the reference here is to the Ābhīra kingdom in the north-western Deccan.[2] The Ābhīra territories in this region appear to have later passed to the Traikūṭakas.

3. THE BODHIS

The Bodhi dynasty seems to have held sway over some parts of north-western Deccan probably in the third century. As the lead coins of the Bodhis bear the hill symbol on the reverse in common with the issues of the Western Satraps, it seems that they flourished in a territory that was once within the sphere of Śaka influence.

There are some coins which belong to Bodhi or Śrībodhi who may have been the founder of the family. It is not improbable that the word indicates the Bodhi tree and that the Bodhis were Buddhists in faith. This is probably suggested by the tree within railing found

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IHQ, XXI, 79). It should, however, be pointed out that these kings, whose territories have not yet been satisfactorily located, are styled *Mahārāja* and are described as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. As the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* overlords of feudatory *Mahārājas* are unknown before the age of the imperial Guptas, the three *Mahārājas* in question appear to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Gupta emperors Chandra-gupta II and Kumāragupta I, rather than of the unknown successors of an Ābhīra *Rājā* named Īśvarasena.

The dates of their charters should better be referred to the Gupta era and not to the era of A.D. 248-49. The use of the Gupta era pointing to the expansion of Gupta power to the south of the Vindhyas (*cf.* reference to the Narmadā as the southern boundary of a province of Budha-gupta's empire, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 327) is probably also indicated by the Barwani grant of *Mahārāja* Subandhu issued from Māhishmatī-nagara (modern Māndhātā or Maheswar) in the year 167 (A.D. 486).

The fact that no *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* is referred to in this record indicates the decline of Gupta power in this region about the end of the fifth century. It is not improbable that the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa (A.D. 386), Bhuluṇḍa (A.D. 426), Rudradāsa (A.D. 436) and Subandhu (A.D. 486) belonged to the same royal family flourishing in the Anūpa region under the nominal supremacy of the Gupta emperors. Some scholars believe that the so-called Kalachuri or Chedi era was in use in different parts of India even in the early period. There is, however, no evidence to show that the era was used in early times anywhere outside the territories originally under Ābhīras and Traikūṭakas.

[1] Some scholars regard this inscription as a modern fake (*NHIP*. VI. 238), but it is difficult to accept this view.

[2] See above, p. 160.

on some of these coins. Other coins, possibly of a slightly later date, disclose the names of three kings of this family, *viz.*, Śivabodhi, Chandrabhodhi or Śrīchandrabodhi, and Vīrabodhi or Vīrabodhidatta. Nothing, however, is known of the relations that any one of these rulers might have borne to the others. The end of the dynasty is also wrapped in obscurity.

4. THE IKSHVĀKUS

The heart of the Andhra country in the districts about the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī was in the possession of the main branch of the Sātavāhana family, which seems to have been overthrown by the Ikshvākus about the end of the first quarter of the third century. It is uncertain whether these Ikshvākus of the Andhra country represented a branch of the ancient Ikshvāku family of Ayodhyā that might have migrated to the Deccan and settled on the lower Kṛishṇā.

The founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty of the Andhra country seems to have been Śāntamūla (Chāṁtamūla) I, who may be assigned to the second quarter of the third century. He is known to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice, probably to celebrate the overthrow of the Sātavāhanas whose suzerainty the Ikshvākus and other ruling families of the Andhra country must have acknowledged in the earlier epoch.

The Ikshvākus, who are probably referred to in the Purāṇas as the Śrīparvatīya Andhras, appear to have ruled from the city of Vijayapurī situated in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley in the Nallamalur range, the ancient name of which was Śrīparvata. As no records of the time of Śāntamūla I have so far been discovered, little is known about the events of his reign and the extent of his dominions. He was a staunch follower of the Brahmanical faith and is described as "favoured by Mahāsena (*i.e.*, the god Skanda-Kārttikeya)." Śāntamūla I is known to have celebrated not only the Aśvamedha, but also the Vājapeya and some other Vedic sacrifices. This revival of Brahmanism after the fall of the later Sātavāhanas, who probably had Buddhistic leanings, was, however, short-lived, as Śāntamūla's immediate successors leaned again towards Buddhism.

Two of Śāntamūla's sisters are referred to in inscriptions, the first of them being married to a Mahāsenāpati-Mahātalavara of the Pukīya family. The Pukīyas have been located by some writers in the Pungi District comprising parts of Nellore and the adjacent area. The king's daughter Aṭavi-Śāntiśrī was married to a Mahāsenāpati-Mahādaṇḍanāyaka belonging to the Dhanaka family. Another family related to the Ikshvāku kings was that of the Hiraṇyakas, who probably dwelt in the Hiraṇyarāshṭra covering parts of Nellore and Cuddapah and the adjoining regions.

King Śāntamūla I was succeeded by his son Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta, whose rule of about twenty years may be roughly assigned to the third quarter of the third century. Cross-cousin marriage, which is prevalent in South India even today and which is sanctioned for the southerners by such an early work on law as the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (c. fifth century B.C.), was favoured by the Ikshvākus. Three of Vīrapurushadatta's queens are known to have been the daughters of his father's sisters. Mahādevī Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā, very probably a queen of the same king, is described as a daughter of the *Mahārāja* of Ujjayinī. This queen seems to have been related to Rudrasena II (c. A.D. 255-77), the contemporary Śaka Mahākshatrapa of Western India. Vīrapurushadatta gave his daughter in marriage to a *Mahārāja* of Vanavāsa, who was probably no other than one of the Chuṭu-Sātakarṇi rulers of Kuntala. The position of the Ikshvākus must have been strengthened by these matrimonial alliances with the powerful rulers of Ujjain and Banavāsi; but whether both of them were contracted during the reign of Vīrapurushadatta is uncertain.

Records of Vīrapurushadatta's reign have been found at the Buddhist sites of Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, the latest recorded date being the king's twentieth regnal year. The inscriptions record private donations to some Buddhist establishments and are not official documents of the Ikshvāku king. The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions are mostly records of the benefactions of some female members of Vīrapurushadatta's family in favour of the *Mahāchaitya* or Great Monastery lying in the vicinity of Vijayapurī which, as already suggested, was probably the Ikshvāku capital. These ladies, whose anxiety to attain to the bliss of Nirvāṇa is exhibited by the epigraphs, were no doubt Buddhists by faith; but whether Vīrapurushadatta himself and his son were Buddhists is not quite certain. It, however, seems to be significant that unlike Śāntamūla I, these kings are described neither as performers of Brahmanical sacrifices nor as favoured by the god Mahāsena.

The son of Vīrapurushadatta was Ehuvula Śāntamūla II, who succeeded his father and ruled at least for about eleven years. An inscription at Gurzala in the Guntur District reveals the name of *Mahārāja* Ruḷupurushadatta. The name of this king embodying the expression *purushadatta*, as well as the palaeography of his record, seems to connect him with the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta. It is not improbable that Ruḷupurushadatta was the successor of Śāntamūla II. The independent rule of the Ikshvākus in the lower valley of the Kṛishṇā, however, seems to have terminated by the end of the third century. This is evident from the Mayidāvolu copper-plate inscription which records an order of the Pallava crown-prince Śivaskandavarman, stationed at Kāñchī, to the *vyāpṛita* or provincial governor of Andhrāpatha residing at Dhānyakaṭaka in the present Amarāvatī-Dharanikota area of the Kṛishnā District. There is difference of opinion as to the date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman and his father, whose name is unknown but in whose tenth year of reign the Mayidāvolu grant must have been issued. There are, however, reasons to believe that Śivaskandavarman flourished about the first quarter of the fourth century and that the Pallava occupation of the heart of the Andhra country was not much later than the end of the third century.

The Ikshvākus of the Andhra country lingered as a local power for many years after the Pallava conquest of Andhrāpatha. The Anaji inscription of about the fifth century A.D. speaks of a matrimonial alliance between the Kekaya kings of Mysore and the saintly rulers of the Ikshvāku family. There is little doubt that the reference is to the dynasty of the Ikshvākus of the lower Kṛishṇā valley. Vague references to these Ikshvākus have been traced in the *Dharmāmṛita*, a late Kannaḍa poem by Nayasena.

5. THE BṚIHATPHALĀYANAS

According to the *Geography* of Ptolemy (*c*. A.D. 140), the country of the people called Maisoloi had its metropolis at the city of Pitundra (probably from Sanskrit *Pṛithūda*), which seems to be the same as Pithuda of Hāthigumphā inscription,[1] and Pithunda of the *Uttarādhyayana*. The Maisoloi lived about the present Masulipatam or Bandar *tāluk* of the Kṛishṇā District, and their chief city may not have been situated very far from Masulipatam. In the second half of the first century B.C., Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, claims to have devastated this royal city. About the end of the third century A.D., the Masulipatam area was in the possession of kings of the Bṛihatphalāyana dynasty who very probably had their headquarters at the same place.

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[1] See above, p. 214.

Only one king of the Bṛihatphalāyana dynasty is known to us, viz. Jayavarman, who is called a *Rājan* in his Kondamudi grant but a *Mahārāja* on the seal attached to the charter. The charter was issued in the tenth regnal year of Jayavarman, who is described as a devout worshipper of Maheśvara and as belonging to the Bṛihatphalāyana *gotra*. It records an order of the king from his camp of victory at Kudūra to the governor of the Kudūr-*āhāra* in regard to a grant of land in favour of some Brāhmaṇas. Kudūra, headquarters of the *āhāra* or district of that name, is often identified with modern Guduru near Masulipatam, but sometimes also with Koduru near Gantasala, the same as ancient Kaṇṭakaśaila or Kaṇṭkaśaula and Greek Kantakassulos. Some scholars believe that Kudūra was the capital of Jayavarman.

Nothing is known about the predecessors and successors of the Bṛihatphalāyana king Jayavarman and about his relations with the Sātavāhanas, Ikshvākus and the Pallavas. It is probable that the earlier kings of the Bṛihatphalāyana dynasty acknowledged the supremacy of the later Sātavāhanas and of their successors, the Ikshvākus. Towards the close of the third century, Jayavarman seems to have thrown off the yoke of the Ikshvākus and ruled for some time as an independent ruler. Very soon, however, both the Ikshvākus and the Bṛihatphalāyanas appear to have been subdued by the Pallavas of Kāñchī whose empire, about that time, is known to have extended over Andhrāpatha, the 'Sāṯavāhanīya province' (Bellary District) and Kuntala in the north and the north-west.

CHAPTER XV

SOUTHERN INDIA AND CEYLON

1. SOUTHERN INDIA

1. *The Tamil Land*

Southern India, i.e., India south of the Kṛishṇā, was known from the earliest times to have been divided into three major kingdoms and a number of smaller states subordinate to them. These three important kingdoms were: Chola, occupying the Kāverī delta and the adjoining region; the Pāṇḍya to the south of it, extending from coast to coast, the northern boundary being marked by what was the old Pudukkottai State, or rather the river Vallaru which runs across the middle of the State; and the Chera, extending along the west coast right up to the Konkan in the north. The region above the Ghāts and in the plateau, constituting the present State of Mysore, together with some of the adjoining districts, contained many subordinate states, whose number varied at different periods from seven to fourteen and which often attempted to throw off the yoke of the three kingdoms. The boundry line on the north was definitely fixed at Veṇgaḍam, the hill of Tirupati. Crossing the Tirupati boundry, according to the Tamils, was symbolical of leaving the Tamil land for regions where the spoken language changed.

In historical times, however, we are able to distinguish a central core where pure Tamil was spoken, and a number of outlying districts in which mixed dialects were employed. The whole of the northern borderland of this region was occupied by a tribe of people whom the southern Tamils called Vaḍavar or Vaḍukar, speaking a dialect differing from Tamil. At a somewhat later period, Tamil literature locates the Telugu and Kannaḍa-speaking peoples further to the north of the Vaḍavar or the Vaḍukar, occupying a block of territory on the northern border of the peninsula.

2. *Contact with the Outside World*

The division indicated above became a normal feature during historical times. Contact between the north and south seems to have been fairly frequent. Not only do we hear of people migrating from one portion to the other; but we have also evidence that there was regular communication between the Deccan and Southern India as well as between these two and Northern India. The earliest instance of contact between the northern Aryans and the southern Tamils goes back to the tradition of the mission of the Ṛishi Agastya. He is stated to have made his headquarters on a hillock in the Western Ghāts known as the Podiyil Hill on the Madura-Tinnevelly border. He brought his wife and disciples and a band of peasants to form the nucleus of an Aryan colony.

Whatever value there may be in this tradition, the earliest achievements of Dravidian culture are credited to Agastya. There is also a persistent legend, which still continues to hold the field, that during the great war of the *Mahābhārata*, the armies on both sides were fed, maintained and conditioned by the Pāṇḍyan king. There are, again, stories of settlements of Dravidian tribes coming from the north-west, chiefly Gujarāt and Saurashtra. There is even today a living tradition that at one time our people did actually come from these regions with the permission of no less a person than Kṛishṇa. In fact Agastya is said to have brought his agricultural population from the homeland of Kṛishṇa. Not only that, but we hear of commercial intercourse between southern and northern India, and we can trace references in the *Arthaśāstra* and kindred works to the exchange of commodities such as cotton fabrics between Kaliṅga and the Pāṇḍya country.

Similarly we find reference to the pearls obtained from the southern corner of the Pāṇḍya country. We also find allusions to pilgrimages from the Deccan to the sacred bathing place at Cape Comorin. Apart from these general references, we have an explicit statement by Magasthenes that the country in the extreme south was ruled by a Pāṇḍya queen who maintained an orderly government and an organised administration. He further remarks that the queen's territory consisted of 365 villages, each one of which brought its revenue to the State Treasury on an appointed day. Whatever truth there may be in this, there is no doubt that Megasthenes had heard of the Pāṇḍya country. The three kingdoms of the South were certainly known to Aśoka as mentioned above.[1] Aśoka does not claim authority over them but regards them as neighbouring kingdoms. He had to maintain the same relationship with them as with distant western allies like the Greeks.

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[1] See p. 78.

During the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, the commercial activity of South India was very great, with a creditable volume of foreign trade. A lively commerce in agricultural and industrial commodities, including spices, was carried on with the Roman Empire, and there was a correspondingly brisk trade with the East, going as far as Kattigara (or Canton), the most important port of South China. The voyages were long and even dangerous. Regular and brisk communications with these foreign lands as well as the different parts of India seem to have been generally maintained. We can gather continuous evidence of this both from Tamil literature and from the writings of foreign travellers.

3. *The Three Kingdoms*

Generally speaking, the history of South India consists of the ascendancy of one or other of the three powers of the South, *viz*. Chola, Pāṇḍya or Chera. The chronology is very uncertain, but it would appear from the literary evidence that the Chola ascendancy began in the first century B.C. and continued to the end of the first century A.D., perhaps a little later. Then it passed to the Pāṇḍya and Chera dynasties.

It is impossible, at the present state of our knowledge, to deal with the history of any of these states in the form of a connected narrative. We can only glean a few facts concerning some great rulers of each of them, mostly from Tamil poems of a later date.

The most distinguished of the early rulers of South India was the Chola king Karikāla, round whom has gathered a host of romantic legends. Having been put into prison by his enemies, he not only managed to escape but made himself ruler and defeated the joint forces of the Pāṇḍya and Chera kings, with the help of eleven minor chieftains, in the famous battle of Veṇṇi, 15 miles to the east of Tanjore. This great victory gave him undisputed supremacy over the Tamil states. He also fought with many predatory tribes and forced them into submission.

An important incident in the career of Karikāla, which deserves to be treated in some detail, is the invasion of Ceylon. Although not mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, later chronicles of Ceylon refer to it. The great Chola Karikāla who exerted himself to establish the dominance of the Chola kingdom in Tamil India, had apparently good reasons to carry on war against Ceylon. On one of these occasions, he seems to have defeated the Ceylonese so thoroughly as to have carried away 12,000 of the Ceylonese inhabitants and put them to work in his fortification of the sea-port town of the Chola country, Puhār, at the mouth of the Kāverī, set over against the island of Laṅkā (Ceylon).

One great achievement of Karikāla must be noted here. It is a work of beneficent enterprise which resulted in immense permanent benefit to the inhabitants of the land. He conceived the idea of controlling the waters of the Kāverī at the head of the delta and redistributing them so as to fertilise regions not reached by the natural flow of the channels. The great Chola Karikāla is universally regarded as the author of the Grand Anicut Srirangam and drawing the waters off through a new channel, now called Veṇṇār, into the arid regions of South Tanjore. The idea seems to have caught on after the great success he achieved. A study of the irrigation canals of the Tanjore District shows that most, if not all, of these were the work of the Chola period, and carried the overflow to irrigate other parts of the district, and then out into the sea.

The Tamil poems naturally magnify the achievements of Karikāla and credit him with the conquest of the whole of India. He is said to have promoted art, industry and trade and is praised for his impartiality as a judge and for his patronage of the Brahmanical religion and Tamil literature. At the same time, we get a vivid picture of the king as enjoying the joys of life to the full. On the whole, Karikāla stands out among the early Tamil rulers as a striking personality, great alike in the pursuits of war and peace.

Reference may here be made to Toṇḍaiman Iḷandiraiyan who ruled at Kāñchī and was a younger contemporary of Karikāla. According to some scholars, he was a grandson of Karikāla or a viceroy appointed by the latter to rule over Kāñchī. Others, however, regard him as an independent ruler of Toṇḍai which, like Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya, designated both the country (round Kāñchi) and its ruling dynasty. It has been suggested that Toṇḍai was "the name of a creeper, and to this fact must be traced the name Pallava (sprout) of the rulers of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in later times."[1]

But the relation between the Toṇḍaiyar kings and the later Pallavas is uncertain. Of the ruler Iḷandiraiyan we know nothing except vague references to his righteous conduct and poetic abilities. About his power and status we get contradictory views. He is said to "have commanded the respect of the three crowned kings of the Tamil land;" but some writer 'counts him as a princeling not of full regal rank.'[1] Nothing is known about his predecessors or successors.

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[1] *NHIP*, VI. 222.

Among the Pāṇḍya rulers, Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi is referred to in a later inscription of the eighth century A.D., as renewing his original grant of a village. He is called Parameśvara and is said to have fought many battles and performed a number of sacrifices. More distinguished, however, was a later king of his line Neḍuñjeliyan. Having ascended the throne at an early age, he had to face the invasion of a powerful hostile confederacy consisting of the Chola and Chera rulers and five minor chieftains.

The enemy advanced almost up to the gates of Madura. But Neḍuñjeḷyan rose equal to the occasion, and not only drove them out of his kingdom but even pursued them beyond its frontier. The decisive encounter took place at Talaiyālaṅgānam (about 8 miles to the north-west of Tiruvālūr) and the Pāṇḍya king obtained a complete victory. This victory marked a turning point in the career of Neḍuñjeḷyan who was henceforth distinguished by the proud epithet "victorious in the battle of Talaiyālaṅgānam." Its memory was long cherished and even a Pāṇḍyan charter of the tenth century A.D. alludes to it. Neḍuñjeḷiyan also defeated the chieftains of Kongu and Niḍūr and annexed some territories of the latter. Himself a poet, he was a patron of a large number of poets who have immortalised him in their songs. He was a follower of the Brahmanical religion and performed many Vedic sacrifices.

None of the Chera kings achieved the celebrity either of Karikāla or of Neḍuñjeḷiyan. The Chera ruler joined Pāṇḍya against the Chola and the Chola against the Pāṇḍya ruler as suited him, but he often fared worst. The Chera king Perum Śeral Ādan, who joined the Pāṇḍya ruler against Karikāla, was wounded, and starved himself to death in the battlefield by way of expiation. Neḍuñjeḷiyan captured the Chera king Chey, who invaded his dominions along with the Chola ruler. A later Chera ruler Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai was defeated by the Chola king Seṅgaṇān and taken prisoner. Against these successive humiliations the victories of the Chera ruler Imaiyavaramban Neduñjeral Ādan stand out in high relief. He defeated the Yavanas and brought them home as captives, "their hands tied behind and oil poured on their heads." These were probably Greek or Arab merchants, as we are told that the king obtained from them a large quantity of diamonds and many costly vessels. The king also conquered Kadambu near the sea, perhaps the region near Vanavāsi which later formed the Kadamba kingdom.

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[1] *NHIP*, VI. 222.

The location of the Chera capital Vanji has been a subject of keen controversy among scholars. Some place it at Karūr near Trichinopoly, while others identify it with Tiruvanjikulam on the west coast of Cochin. The latter view seems more probable.

The Pāṇḍyas and two or three successive Chera rulers are said to have led expeditions to the north as far as the Himālayas. They even claim to have planted emblems on the Himālayas. Whatever we may think of these claims, we have at any rate definite evidence of inter-communication between some of the northern countries and the South in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era.

4. *Pallava Ascendancy*

During this period the cultural contact between the North and the South had been frequent, and for some time even continuous, so that northern Aryan culture penetrated fully into South and influenced the local Dravidian culture and languages. As a result of this contact we also find the establishment of the dynasty of the Pallavas, which transformed their capital Kāñchī into a centre of Sanskrit culture as well as the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain religions. This seems also to be the age of active contact with the outside world through commerce with the countries of the West, and by means of establishment of colonies throughout the East.

In the general movement from the north to the south, a people called Kaḷvar or Kaḷavar by the Tamils seems to have played a prominent part. They seem to have been the people occupying all the country along the northern border of the Tamil land, from Veṅgaḍam in the east to the north-west frontier of the Mysore State in the west, making its frontier outposts against the north. The southward advance of the Andhras brought about the movement among these people in the south. The movement of this people subverted the dynasties ruling the country round Kāñchī called Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. While we are not in full possession of details, it is clear that it was these Kalvars again that upset the political order even further south. They established themselves in the Chola kingdom, and perhaps in the Pāndya as well, and brought about a complete change in the ancient political conditions of the south at the commencement of the fourth century A.D., which we can trace from the Śangam literature of the Tamils. The Tamils took time to recover from this movement and we find the whole of the territory round Kāñchī, Tondaimandalam, occupied by the Pallavas. The southern outposts of Chola and Pāṇḍya were also overrun, but they regained their freedom after a generation of struggle. The Pallavas ruled in Kāñchī for several centuries more and stood as a bulwark against further invasion from the north. Their origin and history will be dealt with in the next volume.

II. CEYLON

1. *Colonisation by the Aryans*

The island of Ceylon is traditionally identified with the island of Laṅkā, the kingdom of the Rākshasas according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other accounts. But according to the detailed statements in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the island, which contained the capital of Rāvaṇa, has to be located far away from Ceylon, and on the basis of astronomical statements it ought to be situated on the equator immediately to the south of Cape Comorin. It has sometimes been asserted that Laṅkā was a large island, a considerable part of which has now sunk under the sea, leaving only the remnant which constitutes modern Ceylon.

Unlike India, Ceylon possesses chronicles which narrate its history from the earliest times. Events from the death of the Buddha were recorded by the Buddhist Church after its introduction in 246 B.C., and later incorporated into the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*, composed respectively in the fourth and sixth century A.D. Both these works are written in Pāli and based on a common source now lost, viz. the *Aṭṭhākathā-Mahāvaṁsa* of the Mahāvihāra monastery, composed in old Sinhalese prose mingled with verse in the Pāli language. "Of this work the *Dīpavaṁsa* presents the first clumsy redaction in Pāli verses. The *Mahāvaṁsa* is then a new treatment of the same thing distinguished from the *Dīpavaṁsa*. . . by more artistic composition and by a more liberal use of the material contained in the original work."[1] The *Mahāvaṁsa* was composed by Mahānāma, but the author of the *Dīpavaṁsa* is not known.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon, described in the Chronicles as Nāgas and Yakshas, were probably the ancestors of the modern Veddahs, a primitive people of pre-Dravidian origin still found in the Eastern Province.

The earliest historical tradition that we have is of the colonisation of Ceylon by people from Bengal under the lead of Vijaya, as narrated in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. This colony is said to have started from the well-known port of Tāmralipti, the Tamluk of modern times. The occasion for this emigration from Bengal was the banishment of prince Vijaya, for his evil conduct, by his father. Vijaya sailed with seven hundred companions and, after a long voyage, landed in the north coast of the island. They settled there, founding numerous towns such as Tambapaṇṇi, Anurādhagāma, Ujjenī, Uruvelā, etc.

Since these adventurers were all of the male sex, they felt the need for women folk. As the story goes, they applied to the nearest kingdom across the sea, and had 1,000 families along with a number of maidens sent across. They entered into marital relations with them, and thus both north and south Indian elements constitute, according to tradition, the more civilized elements in the population of Ceylon. From Siṁhavāhu or Siṁhala, the father of Vijaya, the island received the name Siṁhala-dvīpa, the Arabic Serendib, the Portuguese Ceilão, and the modern Ceylon.

Apart from the story of Vijaya in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, there are indications in Indian literature of a close relation between India and Ceylon. Indian literature gives the name Nāgadvīpa—the island of the Nāgas—to Ceylon, and relates incidents in which the Nāgas played a part. There is the story of a jewel throne, for which an uncle and a nephew fought, and, at the end of it, made a present of it to the Buddha. That throne remained in the island with miraculous power and people went to it on pilgrimage. Another connection with South India, which is often referred to, is the presence of the footprints of the Buddha on the hill Samantakūṭam.

The story runs that, having accepted the invitation of Mani Yakshaka, the ruler of Kalyāṇī, Chelani in South Ceylon, the Buddha left his footprints on the top of the hill. That had remained ever since a place of pilgrimage to which Indians often went. One thousand families of the 18 guilds from the Pāṇḍya country are said to have arrived at a place called Mhatitta (Mahātīrtha), now Māntoṭṭa, opposite the Isle of Mannar. Public squares in Ceylon bear the name Nāga-Chatukkam, which seems really to be on the analogy of the Indian nomenclature for public squares, such as the well-known Bhuta-Chatukkan in Puhār.

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[1] Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa* (Eng. Tr.) pp. x-xi. cf. G. C. Mendis—The Pali Chronicles of Ceylon (*University of Ceylon Review*, October, 1946, pp. 1 ff).

By way of connection between India and Ceylon, we might mention the alms-bowls of miraculous power, one of which is connected directly with the name of the Buddha, and another is referred to in the *Maṇimekhalai* as having come from the Pāṇḍya country. Apart from these legends and traditions, the migration of the Aryans from India into the island of Ceylon as well as their settlement there is proved by inscriptions in the Aryan dialect (Elu or Helu) from which modern Sinhalese developed. As the scripts of these inscriptions resemble those used in India in the second or third century before Christ. the Aryan settlements must have commenced at a much earlier period. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, prince Vijaya landed in Ceylon on the very day that the Buddha died. Whatever we may think of this, there is no inherent improbability in the assumption that the Aryan settlements date back to the fourth or even fifth century B.C. It would appear from the find-spots of the inscriptions that the Aryans had settled in the northern, south-eastern and the eastern parts of the island before the beginning of the Christian era.

2. *History*

The *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Dīpavaṁsa* give a connected historical account of Ceylon from the time that "the ministers in full assembly consecrated Vijaya king of the island." As Vijaya had no son, he wrote to his brother in Bengal to come to Ceylon. The latter's son Paṇḍu-Vāsudeva came to Ceylon about a year after the death of Vijaya and succeeded him. After three more kings had ruled, there came to the throne of Ceylon the famous king Devānampiyatissa. He was a contemporary of Aśoka and sent an embassy with rich presents to the Mauryan emperor. Aśoka welcomed the envoys and sent the various essentials for the formal consecration of the king of Ceylon, which was celebrated amid scenes of great splendour.[1]

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[1] It looks as if the Ceylonese king sought for investiture at the hands of Aśoka, though the reason is not apparent (cf. Codrington, 12).

Shortly after, Aśoka's son (or brother) Mahendra, who had become a monk, was sent to Ceylon as a Buddhist missionary. The king and the people accepted the new religion and the *Mahāvaṁsa* gives a list of the sanctuaries built by him, including the famous Mahāvihāra. A branch of the original Bodhi Tree was brought from Bodh Gayā and planted at the capital, Anurādhapura, in the eighteenth year of Aśoka's reign.

The contemporaneity of Devānaṁpiyatissa and Aśoka gives us a fixed point in Ceylonese chronology. The *Mahāvaṁsa* places Vijaya's accession in year 1 of Buddha's Nirvāṇa and gives the length of each succeeding reign. There is no doubt that at a later time Buddha's Nirvāṇa was regarded in Ceylon as having taken place in 544-43 B.C., but with this starting point the reign of Devānaṁpiyatissa falls during the period 308-7 B.C. to 268-7 B.C. and the accession of Aśoka (according to *Mahāvaṁsa* which places it in 218 A.B.) in 326-5 B.C.

As this is not generally accepted, the date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa has been computed from 483 B.C.[1] According to Geiger, this date for the Nirvāṇa era was current in Ceylon up to the close of the fourth century A.D., after which the new reckoning with 544-43 B.C. as the epoch of A.B. was adopted. According to this view, which has been adopted here, Devānaṁpiyatissa ruled from 247 to 207 B.C.

He was succeeded by his three brothers, the last of whom (Sūratissa) ruled from 187 to 177 B.C. In the course of the reign of this prince, two Tamil usurpers, sons of a horse dealer, conquered the land and ruled in succession. Some time after the restoration of the old ruling dynasty, there entered an enterprising person from the Tamil land by name Eḷāra, of noble descent, who overcame the ruler Asela and reigned over the island for 44 years (145-101 B.C.) "with even justice to friend and foe." Indian tradition has reference to a person somewhat similar, by the popular name Elela Singan. This ruler is said to have carried out the execution of his son for having killed a calf by accidentally running over it. This incident is alluded to in the *Śilappadikāram* and other pieces of Tamil literature. Another story relating to him is somewhat similar to the Jātaka story of Śibi, who gave his own flesh to save the life of a dove. There are other similar legends. In response to the complaint of an old woman about the unseasonable rain damaging her paddy, he is said to have brought Indra himself to a sense of his duty to his people. This ruler is said to have introduced the bell of justice, a familiar story in the Chola country as well as the Pāṇḍya. The fact, however, in respect of Eḷāra to be noted was that he was a Tamil of noble descent from the Chola country. Whether he was an ancestor of the great Chola Karikāla is not known for certain.

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[1] For further discussion cf. pp. 36-7 above, where 486 B.C. has been regarded as the probable date of the Nirvāna. On account of this difference in views about the date of the Nirvāna, the dates of the Ceylonese kings are differently given by modern scholars (cf. e.g. *NHIP*. VI. Ch. XIII, Sp. Appendix on p. 262).

This Tamil usurper was, however, defeated and killed by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (101-77 B.C.) who once more established a free and united kingdom in Ceylon. He constructed the Great *Stūpa* and there was a large assembly of priests for its consecration. The *Mahāvaṁsa* gives a long list of the countries in India from which monks came to attend this ceremony. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was succeeded by his brother Saddhātissa (77-59 B.C.). On his death, his younger son Thūlathana was selected king by the counsellors and Buddhist monks. But Lañjatissa, the elder son, defeated his younger brother and ascended the throne. He was succeeded by his younger brother, who was killed by the commander of troops after a rule of six years. The rebel was killed in 43 B.C. by the king's younger brother named Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, who married the widowed queen and adopted her young son.

Soon after his accession to the throne, this ruler had to face simultaneously a Tamil invasion and a rebellion by one of his governors in Ceylon. He put down the rebellion by setting the invaders against the rebel, but then found the former too strong for him, and had to flee the country, leaving them in possession of the kingdom. He had to abandon his second queen Somadevī, as well as the royal crown and the alms-bowl of the Buddha, which was maintained as a royal treasure. The queen and the alms-bowl were carried away by two of the seven invaders, who returned to India, and the remaining five ruled in the country (43-29 B.C.). The first of them is given the name Pulahatta (Bṛihasta). It is doubtful if he is the person addressed by Kapilar in the Tamil poem *Kuruñjipāṭṭu*. Then followed in quick succession four kings each of whom forcibly occupied the throne after overthrowing his predecessor. The last of them was killed by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. Some of these names sound like those of well-known Tamil chieftains, but no definite identification is possible.

When Vaṭṭagāmaṇī recovered his kingdom, he destroyed the Jain and built a Buddhist *vihāra* in the name of the queen Somadevī. The one remarkable feature of his reign (29-17 B.C.) was the writing down of the Tripiṭakas of the Buddhists and the Aṭṭhakathā. Two of the sons of this Vaṭṭagāmaṇī succeeded one after the other. Mahāchūli Tissa, the eldest, reigned for 14 years (17-3 B.C.). The second, named Choranāga (3 B.C.-A.D. 9), was one of the few kings of Ceylon who were hostile to Buddhism and destroyed Buddhist sanctuaries. He was poisoned by his wife Anulā, who also killed by the same means the next king Tissa, son of Mahāchūli. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* this wicked queen next raised four of her favourites to the throne, in quick succession, removing each by poison to make room for the next. She then ascended the throne herself but was slain by Kuṭkaṇṇatissa (A.D. 16-38), the second son of Mahāchūli.

After five kings had ruled in succession the throne was occupied by Sivalī, the sister of the last king (A.D. 93). Sivalī was, however, dethroned by her cousin Iḷanāga. Lambakaṇṇa clan rebelled early in his reign and he had to be an exile in India for three years. He returned at the head of an army from India, regained his throne, and ruled for six years (A.D. 96-102). Iḷanāga was succeeded by his son Chandamukha Siva (A.D. 103-112), who was killed by his younger brother Yasalālakatissa. He ruled for about eight years (A.D. 112-120) and with him ended the royal dynasty founded by Vijaya.

Subha, the gatekeeper of king Yasalālakatissa, slew his master and ascended the throne in A.D. 120. But he was overthrown after six years by Vasabha of the Lambakaṇṇa sect, who founded in A.D. 127 a new dynasty which ruled for more than three hundred years.

The Lambakaṇṇas, who had already made a bid for the throne during the reign of Iḷanāga, were an ancient and powerful clan. Later writers assert that they descended from the Mauryans who accompanied the Bodhi Tree to Ceylon, but no such statement occurs in the early works including the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Vasabha, who established the supremacy of the clan, has left numerous inscriptions all over the island. He ruled prosperously for 44 years (A.D. 127-171) and was succeeded by his son Vaṅkanāsikatissa. While this king was ruling at Anurādhapura, the capital city of the north, his two brothers set up independent kingdoms in the rest of the island.

It was probably during this period of divided rule that the Chola king Karikāla invaded the island, as mentioned above. Vaṅkanāsikatissa's son Gajabāhu or Gajabāhukagāmaṇī (A.D. 174-196), however, not only united the whole country under his rule, but even invaded the Chola country. This fact is not mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* or other early sources, but is found embellished with marvellous legends in later literature. As the story has it, an old woman was so distressed by the abduction of her son that she bewailed the calamity every night. The sovereign took notice of it and found on enquiry that Ceylon had suffered great ravages during the Chola invasion. He in turn undertook a counter-invasion in great force, and is said to have so far succeeded that he was in occupation of the Chola capital of Uraiyur near Trichinopoly for a time. The story is embellished by details of his having taken with him a giant attendant who caused great havoc among the Chola warriors, and did great damage to their reputation. The two parties seem at last to have come to an understanding. A treaty was concluded, which made arrangements for the restoration of the Ceylonese prisoners of war to their native land.

In connection with this story it is also stated that friendly relations were established between the two countries which led to the building of Hindu temples in Ceylon including those for Pattinidevī, the virgin martyr of the *Śilappadikāram*. This in a way confirms the statement made in the *Śilappadikāram* that among the foreign princes who attended the consecration ceremony on the completion of the temple of Pattinidevī in the Chera capital, a number obtained permission to install the image of the "chaste lady" in shrines built in their own capitals and constructed temples to her. Many Indian rulers are mentioned in this connection and, along with them, Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon. This visit of Gajabāhu constitutes a specific datum, which establishes the chronology of Tamil literature. In fact, a temple of Pattinidevī still exists in Ceylon, and it would be carrying scepticism too far to deny that it had been brought into existence as detailed above.

For seventy-two years after the death of Gajabāhu, Ceylon had on the whole a peaceful and prosperous time under six rulers. King Tissa, who reigned from A.D. 269 to 291, was an enlightened ruler who abolished mutilation as a penalty and consequently received the name Vohārikatissa. His reign witnessed a great religious schism in Ceylon. The Mahāyāna doctrine, called Vetulya in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and Vitaṇḍa-vāda in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, found favour with the Abhayagiri-vihāra but was opposed by the Mahāvihāra. The king, persuaded by the latter to hold an inquisition, suppressed the new doctrine and banished its followers. But this merely sowed the seeds of future dissension.

Vohārikatissa had a tragic end. His brother Abhayanāga carried on an intrigue with the queen and, being discovered in his guilt, fled to South India. The assistance of the Tamils and the treachery of an uncle enabled him to invade Ceylon and defeat and kill his brother. He married the widowed queen, ascended the throne (A.D. 291) and ruled for eight years. He was, however, succeeded by Sirināga II and Vijaya, the son and grandson respectively of Vohārikatissa, who ruled for a total period of three years. The death of Vijaya was followed by a troublesome period in course of which the kingdom was seized by two rebels. Though they belonged to the Lambakaṇṇa sect, their relationship, if any, with the preceding kings is not known. Then the throne was occupied by Goṭhābhaya (A.D. 309-322). He is also represented as a rebel and adventurer in the *Mahāvaṁsa,* but it appears from more reliable epigraphic records that he was a son of Sirināga II.

The heterodox Vetulya doctrine again came into prominence during this reign, and was supported by the monks of Abhayagiri-vihāra. Goṭhābhaya not only proscribed the sect, but branded sixty of its leading followers and banished them. They fled to South India and the story of the barbarous cruelty inflicted on them moved Saṅghamitta, a pupil of one of these, to take vengeance. He came to Ceylon, won royal favour, and was appointed tutor to the two princes. Jeṭṭhatissa I, the elder of the two, ruled for ten years (A.D. 323-33) after his father's death, and was succeeded by his younger brother Mahāsena. He was greatly attached to Saṅghamitta and, on his advice, persecuted the monks of Mahāvihāra for refusing to accept the Vetulya doctrine. He confiscated the property of the Mahāvihāra and destroyed many of its establishments, and the plundered wealth was bestowed on Abhyagiri-vihāra. The king also set up the Jetavana-vihāra and built a magnificent *stūpa* in it, which was the largest in Ceylon.

The reign of Mahāsena falls within the period A.D. 334 to 362 according to the system of chronology followed above, and A.D. 277-304 according to the other.[1] The *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Dīpavaṁsa,* the two great Chronicles of Ceylon which are the principal sources of the early history of the island, end with his reign, though a supplement was added to *Mahāvaṁsa* at a later period. These chronicles refer in great detail to the building of various Buddhist sanctuaries by the kings mentioned above as well as their works of public utility such as roads, tanks and irrigation canals. It is not possible to refer to them in detail, but enough has been said above to indicate the great and far-reaching influence of Buddhism in Ceylon and the high state of culture and civilization in the island mainly brought about by its close and intimate association with India.

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[1] Cf. the preceding footnote. The chronology of the Ceylonese kings given above is based on the revised chronology of Geiger (*Chūlavaṁsa*, Eng. Transl. Part II, p. IX).

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Original Sources

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2. *Dipavaṁsa*—Edited and translated by Oldenberg.

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1. *A New History of the Indian People,* Vol. VI (Edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar), Ch. XIII.
2. H. W. Codrington—*A Short History of Ceylon.*
3. *Camb. Hist. India,* Vol. I, Chap. XXV.

For chronological discussion cf. Geiger's Introduction to *Chūlavaṁsa,* Vol. II, Wijesinha's Tr. of *Mahāvaṁsa,* and Wickremasinghe's article in *Epigraphia Zeylanica,* III, 1-47.

CHAPTER XVI

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The period succeeding that of the Upanishads and Sūtras was characterised by a many-sided outburst of literary activity in both northern and southern India. In the first place it saw the rise of Dravidian literature in the south. Secondly, the process of evolution in the Sanskrit language gave rise to various forms of Prakrit which had a distinctive literature of its own. Apart from this classification according to language, the literature of the period may be broadly divided into three classes—religious, philosophical and secular. The rise of different religious sects, each with a rich literature, was a characteristic feature of the time. Two of these, the Buddhist and Jain, will be dealt with in Chapter XIX. As regards the Brahmanical religion, the most important literary works were the two great epics and the Dharma-śāstras or Smṛitis. Both of these, however, may be said to be on the borderline between religious and secular literature. Then there were the Purāṇas and the Tantras. Although the beginnings of these two types of composition may be traced to an early age, the extant texts, as we have them now, do not belong to this period and will be dealt with in the succeeding volume. The rich philosophical literature will be dealt with along with religion in Chapter XIX. As regards secular literature, the most important are the dramas and poems. Next in importance are works on Grammar, Law, Polity, Medicine and sundry other subjects. We shall first deal with Sanskrit literature under the different classes enumerated above and then briefly review the development of the language culminating in the evolution of the various forms of Prakrit. Finally we shall deal with the Dravidian language and literature.*

A. SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

PART I. LITERATURE

I. THE EPICS

1. *Origin*

It has been customary with scholars to trace the origin of all forms of Indian literature to the Vedas. The epic has been no exception, and many scholars have tried to show that the germs of the epic can be found in the *Saṁvāda* hymns, such as the one containing the dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśī.[1] Others, again, have discovered the germs of dramatic literature in the same hymns. Whatever may be the truth in these theories, the fact remains that the Vedic poets, while writing hymns in praise of deities of nature, also took delight in the versification of old popular legends. Though the *Saṁvāda* hymns and the epics can be brought into connection, for both of them have a narrative to tell, they have essential differences from the point of view of their form and purpose.

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* See Preface.

To the *Brāhmaṇas,* however, we may fruitfully turn to find some form of literature which offers a parallel to epic poetry. We have particularly in view the legends of Śunaḥśepa in which "the *gāthās* or verses scattered among the prose approach the epic in language as well as in metre."[2] We may also turn our attention to the *gāthā-nārāśaṁsīs,*[3] glorifying in flowery language the deeds of warriors and princes, which may have added not an insignificant quota to the development of epic literature. We have, moreover, evidence in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Gṛihya-sūtras* that the recitation of such laudatory verses formed part of certain ceremonies. These *gāthā-nārāśaṁsīs,* perhaps small in extent and simple in subject-matter, must have soon developed into lengthy ballads and even song cycles involving more or less intricate plots. As has been the case with the other forms of literature, so even here, we have, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* only the finished products of an activity which had a long previous history. Some other epics, like that of Nala, originally independent works, are incorporated in the *Mahābhārata.*

The essential difference of the epic from the earlier literature lies in its origin. It arose not among the priestly classes but among traditional bards called Sūtas. These Sūtas also served as charioteers who witnessed the actual battle-scenes and described them at first-hand in their ballads. In character again, as has been already noted, it is martial poetry, concerned not with the praise of deities but of kings and nobles, not connected with the details of sacrifices, but with events like wars, and imbued not with higher philosophical motives, but with the practical purpose of gaining some reward from the audiences before whom they were recited. In this latter

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1. *Ṛigveda,* X. 95.
2. Winternitz, *HIL,* I, p. 211.
3. Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* XI. 5, 6, 8. These gāthās are connected with the Dānastutis of the *Ṛigveda* and the Kuntāpa hymns of the *Atharvaveda.*

process of carrying the epics from the courts to the people, and thus popularising them, the Sūtas must have been helped by the Kuśīlavas, the travelling singers. From these two points of view it is worth while to remember that it is Sañjaya, the Sūta, who describes the battle-scenes to Dhṛitarāshṭra in the *Mahābhārata*, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kuśa and Lava, the two sons of Rāma, are said in a later interpolation, to have wandered from place to place singing in assemblies the Rāma-song which they had learned from Vālmīki.

But these two great epics have unfortunately not come down to us in their original form. They are not even compilations of original songs such as we have in the *Saṁhitās* of Veda, untampered with by the hands of later redactors. They have now become, and especially so the *Mahābhārata*, great repositories of knowledge containing diverse matters such as religion, philosophy and morals, added to by different hands at different periods, so that in certain places the thread of the original nucleus seems to be altogether lost.

2. *The Mahābhārata*

The word Bhārata signifies "battle of the Bharatas"[1] and thus the word Mahābhārata means "the great narrative of the battle of the Bharatas". We hear of the tribe of the Bharatas already in the *Ṛigveda*, and its home was between the Upper Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The Kauravas, so called after king Kuru, a descendant of the Bharatas, ruled over the territory for a long time, and made the land of their habitation famous under the title Kurukshetra. The germs of the *Mahābhārata* lie in the family-feud which resulted in the overthrow of the Kauravas at the hands of the Pāṇḍavas, who are represented in the epic as their cousins.[2] Such a great event must have given rise to many detached heroic lays which were later on strung together by some unknown poet.

To this nucleus were added, at a still later period, many pieces of the ancient bardic poetry containing legends connected or unconnected with the life of the epic heroes, of sacred poetry dealing with numerous myths and legends of Brahmanical origin, and large sections devoted to philosophy and ethics, cosmologies and genealogies in the fashion of the Purāṇas, legends of the Śiva and Vishṇu cult, and also fables and parables. These additions indicate on the one hand the great popularity which this epic has enjoyed at all times and, on the other, the zealous spirit of the compilers to bring together all that could be collected in an encyclopaedic form, and declare "*yad ihāsti tad anyatra yan nehāsti na tat kvachit*" [whatever is (included) here may be found elsewhere; (but) what is not to be found here cannot be got anywhere else]. But though the great epic is a compilation extending over centuries, it is ascribed to the venerable sage Vyāsa, who is also credited with the authorship of the Purāṇas and the compilation of the Vedas.

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[1] Pāṇini, IV. 2, 56.
[2] Cf. Vol. I, p. 296.

The introduction of the great epic informs us that Vyāsa imparted his poem first to his pupil Vaiśampāyana, who in his turn recited the whole of it at the time of the great snake-sacrifice of king Janamejaya. It was then heard by the Sūta Ugraśravas who, being entreated by the *Ṛishis* assembled at the sacrifice of Śaunaka in the Nimisha forest, narrated to them the whole poem as he learnt it on that occasion. Even according to this tradition, recorded in the epic itself, before it reached its present dimensions, it had passed through three recitations.

Thus the *Mahābhārata*, as we have it today, was never the work of any one author nor was it written down at one time. In point of form it is not a single book but a whole literature, and in point of time it stretches along a vast period. It is only in a very restricted sense that we may speak of the *Mahābhārata* as an "epic" or a "poem". Indeed, in a certain sense, the *Mahābhārata* is not one poetic production at all, but rather a whole literature.[1]

It is hardly necessary to recount here the main narrative which formed the kernel of the original epic, for it is well known and has been related above.[2] Among the additional matter may be mentioned first of all, heroic legends of ancient kings which had some distant connection with the subject-matter of the epic. As an example may be cited the story of Bharata in the unartistic and rather mutilated Śakuntalā episode.[3] What strikes the reader here is that Śakuntalā lays stress not so much on her own rejection as on that of her son. She tries to impress on the mind of the king the importance of a son and warns him to guard himself against the grave error of abandoning a male offspring. The legend of king Yayāti[4] in its present form appears more like a moral narrative than a heroic one.

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[1] Winternitz, *HIL*, I. p. 316.
[2] Vol. I, pp. 300 ff.
[3] *Mbh*, I. 62-69.
[4] *Mbh*, I. 70-88.

The famous episode of Nala and Damayantī contained in the Nalopākhyāna[1] may rightly be styled as an independent poem. Its inclusion in the epic is due to the love of ancient story-tellers of embedding one narrative within the framework of another. The reason given in the epic itself is the similarity in the fate of Yudhishthira and Nala, who had both lost all their possessions by gambling. The hero of the poem is known to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as Naḍa Naishadha, and hence the story glorifying his deeds must have been very old. The Rāma episode[2] is an unartistic abridged version of the ancient Rāma epic. Its inclusion has been occasioned by the similarity in fate of the two heroines, both of whom were abducted.

But, of them all, the story of Vidulā[3] is most truly reminiscent of the warrior-spirit which must have animated the heroic poetry. The hero-mother Vidulā chastises her cowardly son Sañjaya and exhorts him in forceful language to take up arms and fulfil his duties as a warrior.

Of the Brahmanical myths and legends, which betray the hand of the priests rather than of the bards, in the *Mahābhhrata,* mention may be made of legends connected with the great snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya. Interesting is the story of the sage Chyavana whom Aśvins restored to youth. The same story is told in detail in the *Śatapatha* and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.* The *Mahābhārata* version is told with such deviations from the earlier versions as are calculated to show the ascendancy of the Brāhmaṇas. This characteristic of the Brahmanical poems is apparent in many other legends where, for instance, it is pointed out that even Indra is afraid of losing his throne, owing to the austerities of the Brāhmaṇas. Very old also are the narratives of Manu, the Flood, and the Goddess of Death. The last propounds that originally human beings were immortal, but later on became subject to death, due to disease and sins such as greed, anger, jealousy, hatred and infatuation.

The beautiful story of the devoted wife Sāvitrī told in the *Sāvitryupākhyāna*[4] is of a very high order. On account of the boldness and independence which Sāvitrī shows in her actions, Dr. Winternitz suspects that this poem may have formed part of the ancient bardic poetry. As regards the high merits of the poet, he remarks: "Only a true poet could have described in such a touching and elevating manner the victory of love and constancy, of virtue and wisdom, over destiny and death, without even for an instant falling into the tone of the dry preacher of mortality."[1] The extent of the deep impression this legend has made on Hindu life can be seen from the fact that even to the present day devout Hindu women celebrate annually a festival in honour of Sāvitrī in order to secure a long and happy married life.

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[1] *Mbh,* III, 50-78.
[2] *Mbh,* III, 257-276.
[3] *Mbh,* V, 131-136.
[4] *Mbh,* III, 277-283.

The Tīrthayātrā section[2] contains numerous Brahmanical myths which are put in the mouth of the Ṛishi Lomaśa. These include, among others, the legends of the sage Agastya who is said to have drunk up the ocean at the request of the gods, and of the sages Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra who, as the representatives of the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya order, reveal the struggle for supremacy that went on between them. Besides these, there are numerous stories in the *Mahābhārata* which are more or less invented by the Brāhmaṇas to further their own ends.

Many fables and parables have also found their way in this gigantic work as they illustrate the rules of worldly wisdom and morality. Thus a minister advises Dhṛitarāshṭra to follow the cunning of the jackal who, having secured the help of the other animals in seizing his prey, schemes to keep it for himself. On the other hand Vidura warns him not to follow the example of the king who, having killed the birds that brought him gold, lost both. It is Vidura again who narrates to Dhṛitarāshṭra the almost universally known parable of the "Man in the well". It is calculated to exaggerate the dangers with which human existence is beset in this world and thus promote the ascetic ideal. Ernst Kuhn has traced throughout world literature the "circulation of this truly non-sectarian parable which has served equally for the edification of Brāhmaṇas, Jainas, Buddhists, Muslims, Christians and Jews."[3]

The story of Mudgala[4] illustrates the doctrine of *karman*, and also the higher ideal of the ascetic, who not only renounces the pleasures of this world but also those of heaven, and has only the one ideal of attaining the highest and eternal bliss. This doctrine of *karman*, again, which traces a man's happy or woeful condition to

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1. Winternitz, *HIL*, I. p. 398.
2. *Mbh*, III. 80-153.
3. Quoted by Winternitz, *HIL*, I. p. 409.
4. *Mbh*, III. 246 ff.

his past actions is at the bottom of many narratives. In the story of the Brāhmaṇa woman Gautamī[1] the God of Death himself declares that everything good or bad happens through the agency of Fate (here identified with *Kāla* or 'time').

Most of these narratives, found in Books XII and XIII which have little connection with the main plot, are very important for the history of Indian asceticism, its ideal and ethics, and Brahmanical morality. They are even sometimes contrasted to show the superiority of the former over the latter.[2] Though in some respects the thoughts contained in these narratives bear resemblance to the Buddhist or Jain way of life, they need not necessarily be derived from them. These two Books (XII and XIII) are primarily intended to include the didactic teachings put in the mouth of Bhīshma, dealing with such subjects as the duties of a king, of the four castes and the four stages in life, politics, and the doctrine of liberation.

Of all the philosophical tracts in the *Mahābhārata* the *Bhagavadgītā* ('Song of the Lord') is indubitably of the highest merit. It has become during the past century and a half the subject of numerous editions, translations and discussions, not only in this country but outside it. It contains the earliest exposition of the philosophy of the Bhāgavata cult, which later developed into Vaishṇavism, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter XIX. There are differences of opinion about the *Gītā* being a genuine part of the original *Mahābhārata*. The adherents of the view that it is a later addition to the epic hold that the original *Gītā* must have been composed as early as the second century B.C. and assumed the form in which it appears in the *Mahābhārata* today, in the early centuries A.D.

The *Harivaṁśa,* which forms an appendix (*khila*) to the *Mahābhārata,* has more or less gone through the same vicissitudes as the great epic iself. It is by no means the work of a single poet, nor even of one compiler, the text being a mass of legends and myths collected together for the glorification of Vishṇu. The title of the work means 'the genealogy of Hari'. The first part is entitled Harivaṁśaparvan and begins in the *Purāṇa* style with an account of creation. Besides the genealogy of the Yādavas it also contains mythological narratives. The second section, styled Vishṇuparvan, deals with the feats and love-affairs of the cowherd god Kṛishṇa, the incarnation of Vishṇu. The third part is the Bhavishyaparvan containing, like the Purāṇas, certain prophecies regarding the Kali age and also much other matter which goes ill with the title.

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[1] *Mbh,* XIII. 1.

[2] Cf. *Mbh,* XII. 175.

The *Mahābhārata* that we have today has come down to us in two recensions, the Northern and Southern. These two recensions can again be further subdivided into versions according to the scripts in which the text is written. The Northern recension is thus made up of the Śaradā or Kāśmīrī, the Nepālī, the Maithilī, the Bengali and the Devanāgarī versions. The Southern recension comprises the Telugu, the Grantha and the Malayālam versions. There are many differences and discrepancies in these two recensions, and on the whole the Southern recension is longer than the Northern. This is not only due to the fact that there are numerous additions in that recension, but also because it contains numerous detailed episodes. "The Southern recension thus impresses us by its precision, schematization, and thoroughly practical outlook. Compared with it the Northern recension is distinctly vague, unsystematic, sometimes even inconsequent, more like a story rather naively narrated, as we find in actual experience."[1]

Among the complete printed editions of the *Mahābhārāta* three alone are important, *viz.* the Calcutta, the Bombay and the Kumbhakonam editions. But none of these can be taken to represent any of the two recensions referred to above. The difficult work of bringing out a critical edition of the *Mahābhāratā*, based on all the available manuscripts, is being most systematically done at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The ideal of this critical edition is given by the late General Editor, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, in the following words: "What the promoters of this scheme desire to produce and supply is briefly this: a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* in the preparation of which all important versions of the Great Epic shall have been taken into consideration, and all important manuscripts collated, estimated, and turned to account. Since all divergent readings of any importance will be given in the critical notes, printed at the foot of the page, this edition will, for the first time, render it possible for the reader to have before him the entire significant evidence for each individual passage.........Another feature of the new edition will be this. Since not even the seemingly most irrelevant line or stanza, actually found in a *Mahābhārata* manuscript collated for the edition, is on any account omitted, this

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1. V. S. Sukthankar, *Sukthankar Memorial Edition*, Vol. I, p. 48. The remark, though made with reference to the Ādiparvan, applies to the whole recension.

edition of the *Mahābhārata* will be, in a sense, more complete than any previous edition. It will be a veritable thesaurus of the *Mahābhārata* tradition".[1]

The conclusion drawn from the huge conglomeration of matter of the most diverse type, *viz.* that the text of the present epic has no unity of authorship or of time, is further strengthened by considerations of style, language and metre. All these show a curious mixture of earlier and later characteristics. It is therefore extremely difficult to speak of the age of the epic except in a general way. Scholars hold widely divergent views on the subject, but we may accept for all practical purposes the one expressed by Dr. Winternitz in the following words: "The *Mahābhārata* cannot have received its present form earlier than the 4th century B.C. and later than the 4th century A.D."[2]

This conclusion is based on the facts that on the one hand we have numerous references to Buddhism and to the Yavanas in the present form of the epic and, on the other, the works of such classical authors as Bāṇa and Kumārila and the epigraphic records of the fifth century A.D. onwards testify to the epic having at that time assumed a form of a Smṛiti, or religious text-book. These inscriptions further refer to it as containing one hundred thousand verses, with which the present text closely agrees.

It is now generally accepted that the great battle between the Kauravas and Pāṇdavas was a historical event which occurred some time between 1400 and 1000 B.C. It is equally true that the Sūta tradition and the narrative literature are of a very early date. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the great battle and at least some of the ballads of the kings who took part in the fight were nearly contemporary. It is, however, extremely difficult to fix the date when these floating ballads were first unified in an epic poem called the *Mahābhārata*. Among the Sūtra works, the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra* is the first to refer to the Kurukshetra battle, and the *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya-sūtra* knows both *Bhārata* and *Mahābhārata* as sacred books. Coming to the early grammatical works we find that Patañjali definitely knew a Pāṇḍu epic, and that Pāṇini explains the formation of the names of the epic personages and the word 'Mahābhārata'.[3] Moreover, the acquaintance, though partial of the *Mahābhārata*, betrayed by the Pāli canon, suggests that as early as the fourth century B.C. the knowledge of the epic which originated in the west had begun to spread to the east. All these facts seem to indicate that the original epic poem, around which grew the enormous mass contained in the present *Mahābhāratā*, probably goes back to the *Brāhmaṇa* period. At the same time it must be admitted that the silence of the Vedas about the *Mahābhārata* is incompatible with this view of its early date.

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[1] *Sukthankar Memorial Edition*, Vol. I, p. 13.

[2] Winternitz, *HIL*, I. p. 465. Cf. Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 77. For the trustworthiness of the Puranic account cf. *AIHT*. pp. 119 ff.

[3] For the dates of Pāṇini and Patañjali see section VI. 1 of this chapter.

3. *The Rāmāyaṇa*

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is the *ādikāvya* or 'the first ornate poem' according to indigenous estimation, is ascribed by tradition to Vālmīki, the *ādikavi* or 'the first author of ornate poetry'. That the *Rāmāyaṇa* deserves to be styled as the *ādikāvya* will hardly be questioned, for herein we do find the characteristics of the later Sanskrit ornate poetry such as the descriptions of nature and the presence of the figures of speech, both of word and sense. It differs, even in its present form, from the *Mahābhārata*, not only in its external appearance but even in spirit. Whereas the *Mahābhārata* has almost lost its epic form, the *Rāmāyaṇa* still retains its original character. Though the metres are almost alike, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* they appear more polished. In spirit, on the other hand, the *Mahābhārata* reflects the genuine feelings of its characters without any artistic embellishment, whereas in the *Rāmāyaṇa* they seem to bend under the pen of the poet and therefore appear less natural and more self-conscious. The sacred character of the *Mahābhārata* is not so much due to its heroes as to the didactic sections added to it at a later stage; but in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the sanctity attached to it is due to the inherent purity of its hero and heroine, who in their deified character have ever represented the ideals of Indian conjugal love and faithfulness. Both the epics have undoubtedly influenced the thoughts and actions of the Indian people for two thousand years or more. Their universal popularity is evinced by the fact that not only the dramatists of the classical period, but also writers in the medieval Indian languages right from the beginning to the present day, in all parts of the country, borrow their plots from them. Even the cinema borrows freely from this source, and various popular festivals celebrate the victories of Rāma over the demon Rāvaṇa, with the aid of his ally Hanūmān, the monkey-king.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, in its present form, is made up of seven books, and some 24,000 *ślokas*. The principal contents of this epic, too, are too well known to need any treatment here. Book I, the *Bāla kāṇḍa*, deals with the early history of Rāma, but it is complicated by the insertion of numerous Brahmanical legends and myths, some of which appear in the other epic also. Here, for instance, we come across the Ṛishyaśṛiṅga legend, the stories woven around the sages Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, and also the myth of the descent of the Gaṅgā from heaven. The real story of the Rāma epic begins with Book II and ends with Book VI. The one difference between the two epics that strikes the reader, as he follows the main narrative, is that in the *Mahābhārata*, as far as the nucleus is concerned, the characters are all human beings and we live in the world of reality, but in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, from the third book onwards we meet with demons and monkeys, and have to stretch our imagination to feel secure in the world of make-believes. Book VII again contains numerous myths and legends dealing with the origin of the Rākshasas and the fights of their leader Rāvaṇa with Indra, the early life of Hanūmān, the legends of Yayāti and Nahusha, and the Śūdra ascetic Śambūka. As regards the Rāma story, this book narrates that part which relates to Rāma deserting Sītā in the forest, her giving birth to the twins Kuśa and Lava, and their singing the Rāma epic in the court of Rāma.

As in the case of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has not come down to us in its original form. The whole of Book VII and most of Book I are undoubtedly later additions to the main Rāma epic, for these two books contain a number of topics which have no, or very slight, connection with the main story. It is, again, only here, with a few interpolated exceptions in Books II-VI, that Rāma appears as an incarnation of Vishṇu, whereas elsewhere he is only a mortal hero, and in the genuine sections the Vedic god Indra, and not Vishṇu, is given the highest place in mythology. The language and style of the two later books also betray the hand of a different author.

The text of this epic has come down to us in three different recensions, one current in northern and southern India, the other in eastern India, and the third in north-western India. These three recensions vary amongst themselves very widely and hence it is difficult to speak definitely of the original form of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Obviously these differences must have been mainly due to the oral transmission of the text for many centuries, during which the rhapsodists must have taken some liberty in adding or deleting certain passages to cater to the taste of their audiences. It was only when the epic was written down that it must have assumed a definite form to which there were no substantial additions or changes.

From the numerous references to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its author Vālmīki in the *Mahābhārata,* from the abridged version in the same epic of the Rāma story as we find it in the present *Rāmāyaṇa,*[1] and also from a mention in the *Harivaṁśa* of a dramatic representation of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* it may be concluded that the *Rāmāyaṇa* in its present form must have existed at least two hundred years before the fourth century A.D., the latest date by which the *Mahābhārata* must have attained its final form. But the nucleus of the *Mahābhārata* may have existed prior to the nucleus of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The celebrated grammarian Pāṇini makes allusions to Vāsudeva, Arjuna and Yudhishṭhira; but he is silent about Rāma, and so is his successor Patañjali, as well as the inscriptions prior to the beginning of the Christian era. Moreover, the *Mahābhārata* has preserved some archaic features in the prose formulae of the ancient ballad form, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows the characteristics of the later ornate poetry. The *Bṛihaddevatā* and *Ṛigvidhāna* (fourth century B.C.) show a form of metre similar to the one found in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Then again the custom of *sati,* which flourished in Magadha in the days of Megasthenes, is not referred to in the genuine part of the epic. As regards its relation to Buddhist literature, it may be observed from the references to Rāma story in the *Jātakas* and their silence about Rāvaṇa, that at a time when the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka* was being formulated there were in existence some ballads about Rāma but not the Rāma epic as such. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the original *Rāmāyaṇa,* in which Rāma was a human being, was composed by Vālmīki in the third or more probably in the fourth century B.C., and that, with the addition of Books I and VII and some passages in the other books, it assumed its present form at the end of the second century A.D. when Rāma was already deified as an incarnation of Vishṇu.[2]

II. THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS OR SMṚITIS

The Dharma-śāstras, also called Smṛitis, have played a very important part in Hindu life during the last two thousand years.

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[1] For Rāmopākhyāna as an epitome of *our* Rāmāyaṇa, see V. S. Sukthankar, "Epic Studies VIII," *Kane Comm.* Vol. pp. 472-87.

[2] For a detailed discussion see Winternitz, *HIL*, I, pp. 500-517.

Although the Vedas are regarded as the ultimate sources of *dharma,* in practice it is the Smṛiti works to which the Hindus all over India turn for the real exposition of religious duties and usages. They are also regarded as the only authentic sources of Hindu law and social customs.

In general the Smṛitis may be regarded as the expanded and metrical versions of the Dharma-sūtras, to which reference has been made above.[1] Some scholars believe that each Smṛiti was really based upon a Dharma-sūtra, though it may not be always possible to trace this original source.[2] The Smṛitis have, however, incorporated the contemporary local customs and usages of the *Śishṭas* (learned and cultured). In this way they have tried to keep abreast of changing times and reflect their spirit. The Smṛitis also owe much to the *Mahābhārata* which has particularly influenced the form of this literature, for, unlike the prose form of the Sūtras, it is written in poetry.

As noted above, the Dharma-sūtras cover the period from about the sixth to third century B.C. The Smṛiti works follow almost immediately afterwards, and extend over a period of eight hundred years or even more. As in the case of Dharma-sūtras, we have a large number of works of this class which are ascribed to old *ṛishis* but are of comparatively late origin.

The *Mānava Dharma-śāstra* or *Manu-smṛiti* is not only the oldest work of this class, but is also the most well-known, and held in the greatest respect even today all over India. Such wide popularity is, no doubt, due mainly to the comprehensive character of the work, and is also perhaps partly to be explained by the new theory of the origin of this class of work. The Dharma-sūtras were manuals written by the teachers of the Vedic schools for the guidance of their pupils. Their use was, therefore, at first restricted to these schools alone, and it was not till a later period that they were acknowledged as authority all over India. The Smṛitis, on the other hand, were declared to be of divine origin, and hence claimed from the very beginning to be authentic sources of law for all Aryans. This is best illustrated by the case of *Manu-smṛiti*. As already noted, this metrical Smṛiti was probably based upon a *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, which is now lost, but quotations from which have been traced in *Vasishṭha Dharma-sūtra*. The Smṛiti, however, contains a mythological legend to the effect that 'these Institutes of the Sacred Law' were originally composed by the Divine Creater who taught them to Bhṛigu and other sages. It is Bhṛigu (or his pupil, according to some versions) who ultimately expounds them. This theory of divine origin undoubtedly gave a sacrosanct character to *Manu-smṛiti* and at least partially explains (or is explained by?) its importance and popularity.

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[1] Vol. I, p. 475.

[2] Introduction to Bühler's English translation of *Manu-smṛiti* (*SBE*, XXV). Kane, however, holds a different view (*KHDS*, I. 79). The most elaborate account of the Dharma-śāstras or Smṛitis is given by Kane (*KHDS*, Vol. I), whose chronology of the texts is adopted in this chapter.

Though nothing definite can be said about its date, it is now generally agreed that the text was formulated some time between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200. It was possibly revised several times. As we have seen above, the Smṛiti itself admits more than one redaction of the text, and the *Nārada-smṛiti* says that the original text by Manu was successively condensed by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati. The Smṛiti deals with the duties of persons in the four stages of life, those of the king and his officials and husband and wife, civil and criminal law, the origin of the various castes, various forms of penances and some philosophical doctrines. The commentary of Medhātithi on the *Manu-smṛiti* belongs to the ninth century, of Govindarāja to the eleventh, and of Kullūka, probably to the thirteenth century.[1] There are many other Smṛiti works of a more or less similar nature of which those of Vishṇu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana are more important than others. They are all very important sources of law and social customs and will be more fully dealt with in Chs. XVIII and XXI.

The *Vaishṇava Dharma-śāstra* or *Vishṇu-smṛiti* is said to have been revealed by Vishṇu. It appears to be an old Dharma-sūtra of the Kāṭhaka school which was subsequently remodelled into a Smṛiti, written partly in prose and partly in verse, by a member of the Bhāgavata sect of the Vaishṇavas. The present text, however, probably originated not earlier than the third century A.D., though some would place it between A.D. 100 and 300.

There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding the date of the other Smṛiti works mentioned above. We place below, side by side, the views of Jolly,[2] who represents the older school of scholars, and Kane,[1] the latest writer on the subject.

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[1] According Bühler and others Kullūka flourished in the fifteenth century A.D.

[2] *Hindu Law and Custom* by J. Jolly. Tr. by Dr. B. K. Ghosh.

Name of the Smṛiti.	*Jolly's view.*	*Kane's view.*
Yājñavalkya	4th century A.D.	A.D. 100-300.
Nārada	A.D. 500.	A.D. 100-400.
Bṛihaspati	6th or 7th century A.D.	A.D. 300-500.
Kātyāyana	(Later than Bṛihaspati)	A.D. 400-600.

The dates given by Kane have been adopted in this work, and all the above Smṛitis, except that of Kātyāyana, have been treated as authorities for the period dealt with in this volume mainly in respect of law and social customs. In general the Dharma-sūtras and Dharma-śāstras have been regarded as sources of information about these topics, respectively in the two successive ages dealt with in Vol. I and II of this series, though probably most of the extant texts of the Dharma-sūtras were put in their present form in the earlier part of the period dealt with in this volume, and some of the Dharma-śāstras were not compiled until after that period. It is also important to note that though the term Dharma-śāstra generally designates the metrical Smṛiti work of the later period, it is also not unoften applied to the Dharma-sūtra work of the previous period. The Dharma-sūtra of Vasishṭha, for example, is actually named *Vasishṭha Dharma-śāstra.*

III. DRAMA

1. *Origin*

In spite of all efforts to discover the origin of the Sanskrit drama, no solution has yet been found which commands general acceptance. Different theories have been put forward by scholars like Hillebrandt, Konow, Oldenberg and A. B. Keith. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the earliest extant work on Sanskrit dramaturgy, ascribes the drama to divine origin, assigns to it a high place by recognising it as the fifth Veda, and at the same time throws it open to all, even the Śūdras. The earliest elements of the Sanskrit drama, however, may be discerned in the dialogue hymns of the *Ṛigveda*. Some of the Vedic rituals also, like the Mahāvrata ceremony which involved dancing and dialogue, may have directly contributed to the development of the drama.

Still the drama, in the full sense of the word, cannot be thought of till we come to the period when epic compositions were largely sung by rhapsodists in popular gatherings. Prof. Keith observes: "One very important point in this regard has certainly often been neglected. The Sanskrit drama does not consist......of song and prose as its vital elements; the vast majority of the stanzas which are one of its chief features, were recited, not sung, and it was doubtless from the epic that the practice of recitation was in the main derived."[1] Though it is difficult to assert that Pāṇini knew of the drama on the basis of his having used the word 'Naṭasūtra', Patañjali (c. second century B.C.) can certainly be credited with the knowledge of dramatic representations of past events. "The balance of probability, therefore, is that the Sanskrit drama came into being shortly after, if not before, the middle of the second century B.C., and that it was evoked by the combinations of epic recitations with the dramatic moment of the Kṛishṇa legend."[2]

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[1] Kane's views are summarised in *KHDS*, Vol. II, Part I, p. xi.

The treatises dealing with the theory of the Sanskrit drama unfortunately date from a late period. The most ancient and, at the same time, the most important of these is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata which will be discussed later in this Chapter. The next work of importance is the *Daśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya who flourished in the tenth century A.D. The other works are of a still much later date.

The Sanskrit dramas were certainly meant to be enacted on the stage, and not merely read privately. The occasion for the performance of the drama was usually some festival in honour of a deity or a royal marriage or victory celebrations. For purposes of the theatre, generally, the quadrangle of a temple, the hall or courtyard of a king's palace, or sometimes even a cave of the type found in the Rāmgarh hill[3] was used.

2. *Aśvaghosha*

Aśvaghosha, the famous Buddhist poet and a contemporary of Kanishka,[4] is credited with the authorship of the three Buddhist dramas discovered at Turfan in Central Asia.[5] Aśvaghosha's authorship of one of them, the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa*, a Prakaraṇa in nine acts, is proved beyond doubt by the mention of his name in the colophon of the last act. Apart from being the oldest extant

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[1] Keith, *SD*, p. 27.
[2] Keith, *SD*, p. 45; also cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, "Allusions to Krishna in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*," IA, III, pp. 14 ff.
[3] *ASI*, 1903-4, p. 130.
[4] See p. 147 above.
[5] See Ch. XXV.

Sanskrit drama, the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* has an importance of its own, since in its formal aspect Aśvaghosha mostly follows the rules laid down in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* for the composition of a Prakaraṇa. The benediction at the close of the drama, however, is uttered by Buddha himself, and it is not preceded by the usual phrase *'ataḥ paramapi priyam asti'* (Is there anything more pleasing than this?). The subject-matter of the drama refers to the conversion of Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra, the hero, by Buddha, which involves some philosophic discussion.

The ascription of the fragments of two other dramas to Aśvaghosha rests on the rather slender ground that all three of them are contained in the same manuscript and that in a general way they have the appearance of Aśvaghosha's works. One of them seems to be an allegory, for it introduces such figures as *Buddhi* (wisdom), *Kīrti* (fame), and *Dhṛiti* (firmness), all of them speaking in Sanskrit. The other drama is perhaps more interesting and humorous. The characters found in the fragments are a hero, *hetaera*, a Vidūshaka whose gluttonous nature is already in evidence, a rogue (*dushṭa*), a prince, Śāriputra, and Maudgalyāyana. The very scanty material offered by these two dramas does not permit any conclusions about them.

On the whole the Sanskrit of these fragments contains very few errors, some of which like *Somadattassa* can be easily attributed to the ignorance of the scribes. Among the genuine errors may be mentioned the use of *krimi, pratīgṛihīta* and *ārttha.* Among the Prakrits used in these fragments three different varieties can be traced. These Prakrits seem to have been the forerunners of the grammarians, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī and Śaurasenī.[1] The speech of Dushta has all the three salient features of later Māgadhī: it changes *r* to *l,* reduces all three sibilants to *ś*, and the nominative singular of masculine nouns in *-a* ends in *-e*. But so far as the other features of phonology are concerned, like the sonantisation of hard consonants, elision of intervocals, cerebralisation of *n,* it differs from Māgadhī. Even in the treatment of clusters like *rj* > *jj* and not *yy*, *ksh* > *kkh* and not *sk*, *shṭ* and *shṭh* > *ṭṭh* and not *sṭ*, it has nothing in common with the standard Māgadhī.

The Prakrit of one character, whose name is not clear beyond the letters *Gobaṁ*, shows the features of old Ardha-Māgadhī. It has *l* for *r* and *-e* for nominative singular quite regularly and reduces all sibilants to *s*. The Ardha-Māgadhī of the grammarians, however, has both *r* and *l* and *-e* and *-o*.

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[1] For details see Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin, 1911.

The third variety of the Prakrit is instanced in the language of the Vidūshaka and the *hetaera*. It preserves *r* and has the only dental sibilant *s*; the nominative singular ends in *-o*; *ksh* > *kkh*, and not *chchh*. Thus far the dialect admirably agrees with the later Śaurasenī, but its reluctance to soften or drop the intervocals and its preservation of *n* give it an appearance of old Śaurasenī. Among other deviations may be noted the change of the clusters *jñ* and *ny* to *ññ* and not *ṇṇ*, and of *dy* to *yy* and not *jj*.

3. *Bhāsa*

Until the year 1912 when the epoch-making discovery of the thirteen Trivandrum plays was announced, the dramatist Bhāsa was to Sanskrit scholars a mere name, celebrated by later writers like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Vākpati and Rājaśekhara. But since the publication of these plays by the late T. Ganapati Śāstrī, Bhāsa seems to have left the ranks of his former colleagues like Saumilla[1] and Kaviputras and joined those of the better known masters of Sanskrit *belles-lettres*. The text of these plays offers no direct evidence to settle the problem of their authorship. By ascribing them to Bhāsa the learned Śāstrī gave rise to an animated controversy which does not seem to have ended even now.[2]

The whole Bhāsa controversy really hinges upon two issues: (1) Are these dramas the works of one or more authors? and (2) Who is the author (or authors) of these plays? As regards the first of these two questions, scholars are now agreed that all the plays were written by one and the same author. The conclusion is based on strong internal evidence clearly pointing to the oneness of authorship: there are structural similarities, like beginning the play with the words *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati Sūtradhāraḥ*, or the use of the word *sthāpanā* for the more common *prastāvanā*, running through all the dramas or a large majority of them; several of these plays disregard the rules of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *e.g.* representing deaths, battles, sport, or sleep on the stage; there are similarities in single words and whole phrases as well as in ideas; even some of the stanzas are sometimes repeated in full; there are also similar grammatical irregularities and

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[1] To Rāmila and Saumilla, Rājaśekhara ascribes the *Śūdrakakathā*. Certain verses are ascribed to them and to Kaviputras in anthologies; cf. *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, 133, 40; *Subhāshitāvalī*, 1698 and 2227.

[2] For a recent and learned discussion see Pusalker, Bhāsa—*A Study*, Lahore, 1940

Prakrit archaisms. All these considerations point unmistakably to a single author, whoever he may have been.

If, therefore, we can ascribe any one of these dramas to Bhāsa, his claim for the authorship of the rest of them may reasonably be conceded. To achieve this end the references to the *Svapnavāsavadatta* by later writers offer great help. Thus those scholars who favour the ascription of the plays to Bhāsa argue somewhat as follows; the famous stanza

Bhāsanāṭakachakre'pi chhekaiḥ kshipte parīkshitum
Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako' bhūn na pāvakaḥ

clearly shows that Bhāsa wrote not only the *Svapnavāsavadatta* but a whole group of dramas; Bāṇa, in the introduction to his *Harshacharita*, mentions the following as the characteristics of the Bhāsa-plays: they are begun by the Sūtradhāra, they contain numerous characters and are marked by the *patākās*. Now the Trivandrum plays more than bear out all these features.[1] Then again the incidents in these dramas fully justify Vākpati's description of Bhāsa as *jālaṇamitta*, the friend of fire. Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra in their *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* ascribe the *Svapnavāsavadatta* to Bhāsa and quote a stanza from that drama. Though this stanza does not occur in the printed text of the said drama, the fourth act in it contains a situation which easily envisages the possibility of such a stanza being once present in the text.

The whole argument seems to be well constructed, and for all practical purposes Bhāsa may be taken to be the author of the Trivandrum plays. Again the question of the date of Bhāsa has also been a matter of prolonged controversy. Kālidāsa's reverential reference to him as a poet of established repute makes Bhāsa's date hinge upon that of Kālidāsa. Of the two theories referring Kālidāsa to the first century B.C. and the fourth century A.D., the latter seems to be more plausible, and in that case Bhāsa's date may be placed in the second or third century A.D.[2] This also agrees well with the fact that Bhāsa's Prakrit is later than that of Aśvaghosha who flourished in the first century A.D.

The plays ascribed to Bhāsa number thirteen[3] and, except *Chārudatta*, all of them are preserved intact. They can be conveniently

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1. In the *Avantisundarikathā* also appears a stanza giving a few of Bhāsa's characteristics which are borne out by the present plays.
2. For an attempt to place Bhāsa in the 5th or 4th century B.C. see Pusalker, *Bhāsa—A Study*. For making Bhāsa a predecessor of Kauṭilya on linguistic and historical grounds see V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Kane Comm. Vol.*, pp. 165-67.
3. *Dāmaka* and *Traivikrama* are two more dramas ascribed to Bhāsa.

divided according to their sources. The *Madhyama-vyāyoga, Dūtaghaṭotkacha, Karṇabhāra, Dūtavākya, Ūrubhaṅga* and *Pañcharātra* are all based on the *Mahābhārata,* and most of them are one-act plays. The *Bālacharita,* is based upon Kṛishṇa legend. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* are derived the plots of the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* and the *Abhishekanāṭaka.* Lastly the *Avimāraka, Chārudatta, Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* and *Svapnavāsavadatta* indicate the current story literature as their probable source.

The dramas based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* show little ingenuity on the part of the author. They vary from the original only in unimportant details and no effort at characterisation is in evidence. The *Pratimā-nāṭaka* derives its name from the statue (*pratimā*) of Daśaratha that was placed in the statue-hall after his death. It describes Rāma's exile and his return to Ayodhyā after Rāvaṇa's destruction. The incidents in the *Abhisheka-nāṭaka* begin with the death of Vālin and end in Rāma's coronation (*abhisheka*).

The *Mahābhārata* plays show the dramatist in better relief. The departures from the original show skill and intelligence and the characters are more lively and vivid. The *Madhyama-vyāyoga* deals with the trick played upon Bhīma by Hiḍimbā in order to compel the former to pay a visit to her. The self-sacrifice of the middle (*madhyama*) son is somewhat reminiscent of the Śunaḥśepa legend recorded in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.* In the *Dūtaghaṭotkacha,* Ghaṭotkacha is seen as a messenger (*dūta*) warning the Kauravas who are delighted at the death of Abhimanyu. In the *Karṇabhāra* the hero is deprived of his armour by Indra in the form of a Brāhmaṇa. The *Dūtavākya* is woven round the unsuccessful mission which Kṛishṇa, as an ambassador (*dūta*) of the Pāṇḍavas, undertook to avoid the great battle. In the *Ūrubhaṅga,* Duryodhana is depicted as a true hero, though in the end his thigh is broken by his adversary. The *Pañcharātra* relates the incidents that occurred when the Kauravas tried to steal the cows of Virāṭa. Its title is derived from the promise given by Duryodhana to Droṇa to hand over half the realm to the Pāṇḍavas if they were heard of within five days (or nights).

The *Bālacharita* depicts the exploits of the youthful Kṛishṇa. It shows many departures from the Kṛishṇa legend known from other sources, and has peculiarities of technique also. It commences with the birth of Krishṇa, narrates some of his exploits, and ends with the re-establishment of Ugrasena at Mathurā.

The *Avimāraka* derives its name from that of the hero, and depicts in a rather unpolished style the love story of the hero and the princess Kuraṅgī. The starting point of the romance is the daring rescue of the princess from the clutches of an elephant by the hero. The stumbling block in their marriage is the low social status of Avimāraka which is temporarily thrust upon him due to some curse. The drama ends in happiness when the true identity of Avimāraka is revealed by Nārada.

Of the *Chārudatta* we have only a fragment in four acts. It seems to have been based on the story which also forms the plot of the later *Mrichchhakaṭika*. It revolves round the love affair between the *hetaera* Vasantasenā and the impoverished merchant Chārudatta.

The *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and the *Svapnavāsavadatta* are based on the Udayana legend. These two dramas are complementary, the latter picking up the thread of the narrative where it was left in the former. King Udayana was taken captive to Ujjayinī by the clever use of a stratagem.[1] His minister Yaugandharāyaṇa then took a vow (*pratijñā*) to release his master and succeeded in doing so. He also took away from Ujjayinī princess Vāsavadattā who had fallen in love with Udayana during the period of his captivity. The *Svapnavāsavadatta*, which by the way is the best of the Bhāsa-plays, shows king Udayana deprived of his kingdom by a certain rebel Āruṇi. Vāsavadattā and the minister are then reported to have died in a forest fire. This paves the way for the marriage between Udayana and Padmāvatī, the princess of Magadha. With the help of his new relatives, Udayana wins back his lost kingdom and then meets his queen and the minister. The play derives its name from an incident in the fifth act where the king obtains a glimpse of the lost queen and thinks it to be a dream (*svapna*).

The credit for having written the largest number of extant Sanskrit dramas easily goes to Bhāsa. In technique he sometimes flagrantly violates the rules of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. His plot-construction is quite crude, and certain incidents are simply repeated. The magic and the divine, which give the plays an air of unreality, are introduced quite freely. Bhāsa's style, however, is simple and direct. It does not involve the use of long compounds and too frequent embellishments.

Bhāsa's Sanskrit usually agrees with the norm fixed by Pāṇini and his followers, yet it sometimes shows epic influence. Some of the irregularities, and especially those of *sandhi* and vowel-quantities, are due to metrical requirements. Confusion in the active and middle exists (*e g. garjase, ślishyate, āpṛichchhāmi, parishvaja*); absolutives of the type of *gṛihya* are found; the particle *mā* is used with gerundive (*mā . . . chintayitvā*); *vāchā*, a form sanctioned by Bhāguri in nom. sg., is used; the form *avachaya*, used by Kālidāsa also, appears for *avachāya*.

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[1] See pp. 9-10 above.

Bhāsa's Prakrits[1] are later than those of Aśvaghosha and earlier than those of Kālidāsa. The Prakrit normally used by Bhāsa is Śaurasenī. In it *-t-* > *-d-* and *-ṭ-* > *-ḍ*; intervocalic consonants are occasionally dropped; *n* > *ṇ* both initially and medially; aspirates like *kh*, *gh*, etc. often lose their occlusion; the cluster *jñ* shows either *ññ* or *ṇṇ* but *ny* and*ṇy* > *ṇṇ* in all cases; the nom. acc. pl. term. of neut. is sometimes used for acc. pl. of mas. nouns; the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and the *Chārudatta* on the one hand and the *Bālacharita* and the *Pañcharātra* on the other also show two varieties of Māgadhī, the *sh* and *-o* of the latter alternating for the *ś* and *-e* of the former.

4. *Śūdraka*

King Śūdraka, whom tradition credits with the authorship of the famous play, the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, has remained so far, like king Vikramāditya, a mere legendary figure. The drama itself speaks of him as a person versed in many sciences and as one who died by consigning himself to fire at the age of a hundred years and ten days. He was known to the authors of at least half a dozen Sanskrit works like the *Skanda Purāṇa, Kādambarī, Harshacharita, Daśakumāracharita, Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. But nothing definite can be said either about the author or the date of the play. It is even difficult to say whether the play was written before or after Kālidāsa; but the former view is more generally accepted.

The dramatist is indebted to the *Chārudatta* of Bhāsa for the plot of his play. But in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* the love story of Vasantasenā and Chārudatta is combined with a political event in which Āryaka, the friend of the hero, overthrows the ruling prince Pālaka. The play is full of incidents of varied interest, which show the nobility of Chārudatta's mind and the selfless love of Vasantasenā. The play derives its name from a scene in the sixth act where the young son of poor Chārudatta complains of having to play with a toy-cart (*śakaṭa*) made of clay (*mṛit*). All difficulties are overcome, and the drama ends in happiness, for Vasantasenā was freed from her low position and enabled to become the lawful wife of Chārudatta.

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[1] For details see W. Printz, *Bhāsa's Prakrit*, Frankfurt, 1921.

The drama is technically a Prakaraṇa in ten acts. It bears ample evidence to the author's capacity to invent incidents and depict varied characters. The Vidūshaka, for instance, takes keen interest in delicious food; but his steadfastness to his friend in times of adversity and the warmth of his heart distinguish him from his fellow-characters in the Sanskrit drama. The drama also offers a trustworthy picture of the everyday life of the people in those days. The author's style is simple and effective; he gives us many utterances full of wisdom.

The Prakrits of the play are more important than the Sanskrit, which in general agrees with the norm. These Prakrits evince a large number of variety not to be witnessed in any other extant drama, *viz.* Śaurasenī Avantikā, Prāchyā, Māgadhī, Śākārī, Chāṇḍālī, and Ḍhakkī or Takkī. This distinction in the use of the Prakrits mostly agrees with the rules laid down in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The dialectal differences among them are quite minor, so that they are mere variants of either Śaurasenī or Māgadhī. Only the Ṭakkī seems to have enjoyed some individual existence. It preserves the palatal and the dental sibilants and changes *sh* > *s* and in this respect it may be compared with the European and Syrian dialects of Romani.[1]

IV. SANSKRIT SECULAR POETRY

1. *Origin of the Sanskrit Kāvya*

Of Sanskrit secular poetry we have unfortunately no exact work dating back to the days preceding the Christian era,[2] a period marked by fervent activity in Prakrit literature. This once gave rise to a theory that the Sanskrit Kāvya originated in Prakrit—a view now definitely rejected on good grounds. That the seeds for the growth of Kāvya were already sown in the Ṛigvedic period becomes clear from the use of apt similes in the earliest hymns. The *dāna-stutis* composed in praise of patrons evince that exaggeration which contributes so much to the elaboration of later epics. Coming to the epic period we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* the earliest specimen of a court-epic. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* is also to be found some indulgence in the formal aspect of the poem to the detriment of the matter—a characteristic which became so salient after the period of Kālidāsa. A *Vārarucha kāvya* is mentioned by Patañjali who also offers unmistakable evidence for the cultivation of lyric and gnomic verses. Lastly, the early Sanskrit inscriptions show the transitional stage between the simple and flowing Kāvya on the one hand and the ornamental and slowly-moving Kāvya on the other. They testify also to a tendency towards using long compounds and efforts at achieving the sound effects.

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[1] For details see Mehendale, "Ṭakkī or Ḍhakkī," *BDCRI*, I. pp. 190 ff.

[2] To Pāṇini, however, tradition ascribes the *Jāmbavatīvijayam* or *Pātālavijayam*. There are also some verses ascribed to Pāṇini in the anthologies, but the identity of the poet and the grammarian Pāṇini is by no means proved. cf. Krishnamachariar. *HCSL*, pp. 84-85.

2. *Aśvaghosha*

Aśvaghosha, whose dramas have been discussed above, is the author of several political works. Of these the *Saundarananda* and the *Buddhacharita*, written in the later epic style, are easily the best. The former describes in eighteen cantos the conversion of Buddha's half-brother Nanda by Buddha himself. Nanda was too much attracted by the beauty of his wife and the pleasures of worldly life to become a convert. But he was persuaded to lay aside the thoughts of his wife by his attention being drawn to more beautiful heavenly nymphs, and he was further told not to value the heavenly life too high, for even that was transitory in character.

As regards the original length of the *Buddhacharita,* we are informed by I-tsing that it ran into twenty-eight cantos, and this is independently proved by its Chinese version prepared in the fifth century A.D. But the text that is available today shows only seventeen cantos of which, again, only the first thirteen are genuine, the rest being added in recent times by Amṛitānanda. The text narrates, in accordance with the traditional account, the life of Buddha. The poet's originality is, however, seen in his selection of incidents and depicting them in a touching manner. The influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on this work is unmistakable. Śuddhodana easily reminds us of Daśaratha, and Sundarī of Sītā. Even a few incidents like the lamentations of the people at the sight of the chariot without Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and without Siddhārtha in the *Buddhacharita* show a close resemblance that cannot be overlooked.

To the same poet and philosopher are ascribed the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda* which discusses the early Mahāyāna views, the *Vajrasūchī,* forming a vehement attack on the caste system, and the *Gaṇḍīstotragāthā* which bears ample witness to the author's skill in metre and his sense of sound values. Reference may be made in this connection to the *Sūtrālankāra* or *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* which was once ascribed to Aśvaghosha. The discovery of the fragments of this work in Central Asia is important on more than one account. In the first place, it clearly shows that the title *Sūtrālankāra* given to this work by a Chinese version was a misnomer; and, secondly, it lays at rest the problem of the authorship of the work by ascribing it to Kumāralāta (and not to Aśvaghosha) who may have flourished a little later Aśvaghosha. The fragments bring to light some eighty narratives and ten parables. The form of the work is prose mixed with verses, a style which was given a sort of fixity by Ārya Śūra in his *Jātakamālā*.

Aśvaghosha's style belongs to that variety which later on came to be styled as Vaidarbhī. It is simple in diction and clear in meaning, in spite of the author using certain words which later became obsolete in their peculiar nuances. The language of Aśvaghosha fairly agrees with standard Sanskrit though a few irregularities like the epic gerund *gṛihya* are found.

3. *Ārya Śūra and other Minor Poets*

We owe to Ārya Śūra the Sanskrit version of the Jātaka tales in the form of the *Jātakamālā*, written in prose intermingled with verses. Most of the stories in this work are those included in the Pāli Jātaka book or in the *Chariyāpiṭaka*. They narrate the life of Buddha in his former births and also illustrate the *pāramitās*, the various perfections, ascribed to the Buddha to be. The style of Ārya Śūra, like that of his predecessors, is simple and clear. His language in general is free from blemishes. The *Jātakamālā* was translated into Chinese in A.D. 434, and Ārya Śūra therefore probably lived in the third or fourth century A.D.[1]

To the philosopher Nāgārjuna (c. second century A.D.) we owe two philosophical works, the *Madhyamakakārikā* and the *Suhṛillekha*, the latter summarising the Buddhist doctrine in the form of a letter. The *Chatuḥśatikā* of Ārya Deva, perhaps of the third century A.D., criticizes the Brahmanical practices. The *Mahāyānasūtrālankāra* of Asanga, showing the mastery of Buddhist writers over Sanskrit, perhaps belongs to the fourth century A.D.

V. THE AVADĀNA LITERATURE

The nature of the Avadāna (Pāli Apadāna) literature will be discussed later in connection with the Pāli canon.[2] Of the Sanskrit

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[1] Winternitz, *HIL*, II, p. 276.

[2] See Ch. XIX. B. VI.

Avadanas, the *Avadānaśataka* seems to be the oldest. It may be placed in the second century A.D. as it is reported to have been translated into Chinese in the third century A.D. There is nothing artistic in the arrangement of the tales, their principal purpose being edification and not mere amusement. The *Divyāvadāna*, too, may have belonged to the same period as that of the *Avadānaśataka*. The origin of the work seems to be complex as its style also suggests: simple prose with equally simple *gāthās* is found alongside prose with long compounds and verses in elaborate metre. In certain sections Prakritisms like the loss of the final consonants are to be met with; there are also to be found a few rare words and words with rare meanings.

VI. SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

1. *Grammar*

Though the beginnings of grammatical studies in India can be traced back to the period of the Brāhmaṇas, the first important treatise on the subject is Yāska's *Nirukta*. The work deals with etymology, a subject included in the six Vedāṅgas, taking into account only the Vedic words. The earliest work, therefore, dealing with the grammar of the contemporary spoken language is Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*. The author refers to his predecessors like Śākaṭāyana and Śaunaka, which indicates the existence of a long tradition of grammatical studies before the days of Pāṇini. The great grammarian was the native of a village called Śalātura in the N.-W.F. Province. His work, the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, consists of some 4,000 Sūtras divided, as the title suggests, into eight chapters. The principal aim of the work is to describe the *bhāshā*, or the current medium of expression. The Vedic usages are marked out by such terms as *chhandasi*, *nigame* or *mantre*. The date of Pāṇini is not definitely known and has been variously estimated between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C. On the one hand he was later than Yāska, and on the other earlier than Patañjali and Kātyāyana. The language, of which he taught the grammar, was more akin to the prose of the Brāhmaṇas than to the Classical Sanskrit literature, and this explains the absence in later literature of many forms and expressions explained by the great grammarian. Moreover, Pāṇini does not indicate any knowledge of Southern India which the Aryans certainly knew from the days of Aśoka. And if the city of Saṅkala mentioned by Pāṇini[1] can be identified with Saṅgala, a city said to have been destroyed by Alexander, Pāṇini must have certainly lived before this event. On the whole, we may place the great grammarian about the fifth century B.C.[1]

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[1] IV. 2. 75.

The next important figure to follow Pāṇini was Kātyāyana, who flourished about the third century B.C. During the period that elapsed between these two grammarians some forms recorded by Pāṇini had become obsolete and some other new forms had come into vague. Kātyāyana notes all these changes in the spoken language in the forms of his Vārttikas. The object of his work was to explain and support the Sūṭras of Pāṇini and also to amend and supplement them wherever necessary.

Kātyāyana was followed by Patañjali in the second century B.C. His *Mahābhāshya* is a more extensive work explaining, and sometimes correcting, Pāṇini's Sūtras. Sometimes he agrees with Pāṇini where Kātyāyana finds fault with him; and on other occasions he upholds the view of Kātyāyana as against Pāṇini. In accordance with the changes introduced in the language by the lapse of time, Patañjali also gives certain supplementary rules (*ishṭis*). The *Mahābhāshya* is perhaps the earliest specimen of a commentary, a mode of writing which came to be extensively employed in later days. The presence of proverbial expressions and references to everyday life make the work interesting reading. Kaiyaṭa's commentary on the *Mahābhāshya* belongs to the twelfth century A.D.

2. *Dramaturgy*

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascribed to Bharata is not only the earliest extant work on dramaturgy but, incidentally, it is also the earliest work dealing with the topics of poetics. The work, though mostly composed in Ślokas, partakes of some of the features of the sūtra style. It has come down to us in a rather badly preserved form of which two main recensions may be noticed. The Northern or the later recension consists of 37 chapters, while the Southern or the earlier recension, 36 chapters. Nothing definite can be said about the date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It has been assigned by different scholars to various dates between the second century B.C. and third century A.D. Mātṛigupta, whom tradition makes contemporary or identical with Kālidāsa (fourth century A.D.), seems to have written a commentary on it. The Prakrits recognised by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are later than those of Aśvaghosha. It recognises the use of the Ardha-Māgadhī which is not found in the dramas other than those of Aśvaghosha and Bhāsa. On the other hand, it ignores the Māhārāshṭrī which is freely used in the later classical dramas. The fact that Bhāsa violates some of the rules of Bharata suggests that in his days the *Nāṭyaśāstra* had not obtained sufficient sanctity. All this evidence goes to suggest the third century A.D. as a probable date of this work.[1]

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[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, 16, p. 340; Keith, *HSL*, p. 425. For still earlier date (700-600 B.C.) ascribed to Pāṇini cf. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 15.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is the most important and authoritative treatise on Sanskrit dramaturgy. Not very long after its composition it seems to have been held in high veneration so that later writers have merely followed this old work. Speaking of the drama, it says that the Nāṭyaveda was the creation of Brahmā himself. It further assigns to drama a very high status by ranking it as the fifth Veda. It then goes on to discuss in quite an elaborate manner the plot, the characters, and the sentiments which constitute the essentials of a drama. In this connection it mentions the different divisions of the drama and gives their distinguishing characteristics and construction. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* also deals with such other relevant topics as the gestures of the actors, the mode of delivery, and the dress and other equipment. It says that the dress and the make-up should always be appropriate to the *rasa* or *bhāva*, and also suggest the correct way of speaking in the drama, which should be appropriate to the different emotions intended to be conveyed. It may be noted here that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives a detailed account of the use of the languages, especially about the assignment of the various forms of Prakrit to different characters. The religious ceremony, called the Pūrvaraṅga, which is to precede the drama, is described in detail by Bharata, but it has practically gone out of vogue in the classical drama.

The theatre and the scenery are also given proper attention by the author. He mentions three kinds of theatres, one for the gods and the other two, the rectangular and the triangular, evidently meant for human beings. The author has not forgotten the role which the audience plays in the successful representation of a drama, and says that the audience should be clever and capable of appreciating the feelings and emotions expressed by the actors.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* deals with poetics, metre, music and dance as they affect the composition and representation of the drama. It is responsible for the development of an important doctrine of *rasa* or sentiment. It accepts *rasa* as the essence of Kāvya and relegates *guṇa* and *alaṅkāra* to a subordinate position. It recognises eight subdivisions of the sentiment, which is just a condition produced in the mind of the audience as a result of the emotions of the characters. It enumerates 36 *lakshaṇas* or embellishments of poetry (*Kāvyavibhūshaṇāni*), four poetic types, and ten poetic merits and faults. It does not distinguish between the *alaṅkāras* of *śabda* and *artha* but mentions the *Upamā* (with five sub-divisions), the *Rūpaka*, the *Dīpaka* and the *Yamaka* as the four *Nāṭakālaṅkāras*.

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[1] Keith, *SD*, p. 292.

The author, however, recognises that the theorist can give only a few suggestions, the people themselves being the final authority over the drama; and as human nature affords immense variety, no hard and fast rules can be insisted upon by theorists.

3. *Metrics*

The science of Metrics is supposed to have originated with Piṅgala, and his *Chhandas Sūtra* is even believed to be a Vedāṅga.[1] It is generally agreed, however, that it was probably Piṅgala who gave a sure foundation to this science. He started the practice of measuring a metrical line with the help of the Tṛikas or the eight groups of three letters each. From very old times the Sanskrit metres in the Vedas were distinguished from each other by the number of letters contained in each line of a stanza. In the days of the *Prātiśākhyas,* 26 varieties of this type were already noted; but as the science progressed and metres came to be harnessed to a new kind of music, each one of these 26 varieties yielded many different metres, according as the order of short and long letters in their line changed. This new kind of music is the Varṇa Saṅgīta as distinguished from the Svara Saṅgīta of the Vedic and the Tāla Saṅgīta of the purely Apabhraṁśa metres. This Varna Saṅgīta is based upon a sound-variation, unlike the Svara Saṅgīta which is based upon a pure modulation of the voice unconnected with the variation of short and long sounds.[2]

All the Classical Sanskrit metres, beginning with the Anushṭubh, are based upon this Varṇa Saṅgīta. The earliest and most successful attempt to define a few among these many sub-varieties of the main 26 kinds is found in Piṅgala's *Chhandas Sūtra,* and this is very likely the reason why Piṅgala is supposed to be the father of

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[1] Vol. I, p. 478.

[2] *PO,* VIII, p. 202.

Sanskrit metrics. Along with these Varṇa Vṛittas, which are based upon a positive form of the Varṇa Saṅgīta, Piṅgala mentions three other main varieties of metres which are based upon a negative form of that Saṅgīta. These are the Āryā, the Vaitālīya and the Mātrāsamaka. In later metrical works they are all counted as the Mātrā Vṛittas; but Piṅgala does not call them by this name. Even the enumeration of the five Mātrā Gaṇas of four Mātrās each, which are necessary for these metres, is peculiar in the case of Piṅgala. He describes them as though they were only another group of the Akshara Gaṇas, where the usual *ta, na, ma* and *ya* are dropped and a group of two long letters and another of four short letters are added. Among the Varṇa Vṛittas, Piṅgala does not define metres whose lines contain less than six letters. Jayadeva and Bharata also do the same so far as the Sanskrit metres are concerned; but the latter defines and illustrates the shorter metres from Prakrit poetry. This is really noteworthy.

It should also be noticed that Piṅgala mentions only four of the six Pratyayas; he completely drops the *adhvan* and does not at all refer to the graphical representations of long and short letters as is done by writers who came after him. This would perhaps indicate that at his time the writing down of metres was not much in vogue. Piṅgala's date is uncertain; yet it is clear that he belongs to a period which is posterior to the full development of the epic Anushṭubh and Trishṭubh or the Upajāti. He is nevertheless an ancient writer and is mentioned by Śabarasvāmin in his Bhāshya on the *Mīmāṁsā Sūtras*. He may thus be assigned to the first or second century before Christ. Piṅgala himself mentions earlier authorities like Rāta, Māṇḍavya, Kāśyapa and others while defining the classical metres, which shows that the development of the classical metres had begun long before Piṅgala.

Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* also contains two chapters on metres, namely Chs. 16 and 32.[1] In the former, the names of the metres are introduced by Mudrā, while this is not done in the latter, where the illustrations are mostly in Prakrit and seem to have been composed by Bharata himself. At least, the Prakrit illustrations do not appear to have been extracted from any sustained poetical composition. Bharata makes a distinction between the metres described in Chs. 16 and 32; the former are to be used for the general type of poetry to be employed in dramas, etc., while the latter are exclusively to be employed for purposes of singing and for the Dhruvās. A Vṛitta is

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[1] Edited in Kashi Sanskrit Series.

pāṭhya (to be recited), while the Gītas in Ch. 32 are *geya* (to be sung), according to Bharata. Usually the metrical definitions are given in a whole stanza in the metre which is being defined; but sometimes they are given even in an Anushṭubh stanza. As noted above, metres containing less than six letters in a line are defined and illustrated by Bharata under the Gītas in Ch. 32. Bharata's notable deviation from Piṅgala is that, whereas the latter uses merely a Sūtra for the definition, he defines the metres in a full stanza, composed in the same metre which is being defined. When this was done, there really was no need for an additional illustration; but Bharata invariably quotes a stanza in illustration after defining a metre. Piṅgala gives no illustration at all.

Jayadeva is the next known writer on Sanskrit metres. He closely follows the plan of Piṅgala, giving the Vedic metres in the first three chapters, and then the Mātrā Vṛittas (Ch. 4), Vishama and Ardhasama Varṇa Vṛittas (Ch. 5), the Sama Varṇa Vṛittas (Chs. 6 and 7) and lastly the six Pratyayas (Ch. 8). He, however, differs from Piṅgla in two important respects. He mentions *adhvan* among the six Pratyayas, which was not even hinted at by Piṅgala. *Adhvan* is the space occupied by a given metrical line when written down, the rule being that each letter, whether short or long, shall occupy the space of an Aṅgula, and that so much space shall also be left between any two letters. This indicates that by Jayadeva's time writing had come to be employed, though it was in its early stages when the letters were required to be rather big in view of the writing material, which could not have been either birch bark or palm leaves, but merely big wooden, stone, or metal boards. The second point in which Jayadeva differs from Piṅgala is that the former employs in his metrical definitions single lines of the very metre which is being defined, whereas Piṅgala used only the Sūtras. As contrasted with Bharata, Jayadeva has introduced economy by making the definition itself serve the purpose of illustration. Jayadeva is quoted by Abhinavagupta and Svayambhū (himself quoted by Hemachandra), and very likely was known even to Varāhamihira. He may roughly be assigned to a period which immediately follows Bharata and, therefore, to the second or third century A.D. Jayadeva's work, called *Jayadevachhandas*, is so far known to exist in a single manuscript at Jaisalmer, which also contains a commentary by one Harshaṭa, son of Mukula. *Jayadevachhandas* has recently been published with Harshaṭa's commentary.[1]

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[1] See pp. 1-40 of *Jayadāman*, edited by H. D. Velankar, Bombay, 1949.

4. *Science of Polity*

The science of polity was known by various names, Arthaśāstra, Daṇḍanīti, Nītiśāstra, Rājanīti, etc. and dealt not only with the political theories and the actual organisation of administrative machinery, but also various matters connected with State and society which would now form the subject-matter of law, sociology, and economics. At first these subjects were treated in a section in the Dharma-sūtras and later in the Dharma-śāstras. But independent treatises were also written at an early date. The *Arthaśāstra* ascribed to Kauṭilya (also called Vishṇugupta) is the earliest extant work of this class, but it contains references to a large number of treatises which were regarded as authoritative in his days. These were the products of no less than five schools and thirteen individual writers on the science of polity. Many of these are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* which deals with the subject under the name Rājadharma. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra,* however, gradually came to be regarded as the standard work on the subject and, as often happens, the previous works were cast into shade and completely lost by the pre-eminence and the well-deserved reputation of this masterly and comprehensive treatise. Ever since its publication in the year 1909 this work has provoked a prolonged controversy as regards its authenticity and date, which does not seem to have been finally settled even now.

Indian tradition is unanimous in holding the *Arthaśāstra* as the work of Kauṭilya, and the work repeatedly ascribes itself to Kauṭilya (or Vishṇugupta), also styled Chāṇakya, who is reported to have been the minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The work would thus belong to the fourth century B.C. Those scholars who favour this traditional theory point out that Daṇḍin and the author of the Pañchatantra ascribe the *Arthaśāstra* to Vishṇugupta or Chāṇakya, and that Bāṇa is certainly aware of a treatise on political science by Kauṭilya; that the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka is based on Vishṇugupta's work on polity and Vātsyāyana seems to have modelled his work on the *Arthaśāstra;* that both Kālidāsa and Yājñavalkya seem to be indebted to Kauṭilya's work; that the picture of the society portrayed by Manu and Yājñavalkya is in many respects later than the one depicted by Kauṭilya; that the divergences between the *Kauṭilīya* and the *Manu-smṛiti* show the antiquity of the former; and that the civil and constitutional laws explained by Kauṭilya are similar to those recorded by Megasthenes.

The opponents of the traditional view, however, maintain that the *Arthaśāstra* is a later work, which may have been based on the teachings of Kauṭilya, but cannot have been a work by his own hand. In support of this theory they point out that the mode of citation '*iti Kauṭilyaḥ*' or '*neti Kauṭilyaḥ*'[1] in the text speaks against the authorship of Kauṭilya; that the very name Kauṭilya, which means 'falsehood', is nothing to be proud of and hence is highly suspicious; that the close agreement between the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Kāmasūtra* and the fact that they both quote the same rare authorities suggest closeness of their dates; that the reference to China in the *Arthaśāstra* points to a later date for the work; that the Purāṇas and later works are silent about Chāṇakya's literary activity; that even in the latest parts of the *Mahābhārata* Kauṭilya is not referred to, only Bṛihaspati and Śukra being mentioned as the teachers of Nīti; that though Patañjali refers to the Mauryas and the *sabhā* of Chandragupta, he is silent about Kauṭilya; that not only does Megasthenes not refer to him but also that in matters of essential details the two authors entirely differ; that in the *Arthaśāstra* there is no reference either to Chandragupta or to his capital Pāṭaliputra; that the rules of government laid down by the *Arthaśāstra* pertain to a small state and not a vast empire as that of Chandragupta; that the knowledge of alchemy and the use of the word *suruṅga* (Greek *syrinx*) suggest contact with Greeks over a long time; that the metre and the language are regular and have no special archaic features; and that, on the whole, the work seems to have been written by a *Paṇḍit* and not by a statesman. According to this view, therefore, the *Arthaśāstra* was composed much later than the time of Chandragupta Maurya and may even be as late as A.D. 300. The question has been further discussed in the Appendix.

The work is divided into 15 *adhikaraṇas* with 180 *prakaraṇas*. It is also divided by another device, perhaps a later one, into *adhyāyas*, separated from one another by the insertion of verses summarising the subject of each *adhyāya*. The form of the work is said to be a combination of *Sūtra* and *Bhāshya* (commentary). The term *sūtra* probably applies to the headings of the *prakaraṇas*, and the rest is a commentary on it with a certain mixture of verses. The purpose of the work is stated to be that of laying down means for the acquisition and maintenance of dominion over the earth. The various topics that are dealt with in the different *adhikaraṇas* are briefly as follows: (1) the education and discipline of princes; the qualification of ministers; the different kinds of spies; the daily duties of a king; (2) the superintendents of different departments and the departments themselves; the administration and fortification of towns, industrial establishments, regulation of prostitution, etc.; (3) civil law; (4) removal of dangerous elements and criminal law; (5) methods to remove state-enemies and fill the treasury of the king; salaries of government servants; (6 and 7) seven elements of kingship and the six lines of policy; (8) vices of the king and calamities, such as floods, fire, etc., to the State; (9 and 10) military campaigns; (11) corporations and guilds; (12 and 13) methods to win wars and become popular in a conquered country; (14) recipes for preparing powders and mixtures to produce illusive appearances, spread diseases, etc.; (15) description of the plan of the work.

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[1] "This is (or is not) the view of Kauṭilya."

The style of the *Arthaśāstra,* though generally simple, is enigmatic in places. The presence of many obscure and technical terms renders the work at time difficult to understand. Its language is correct Sanskrit, though a few un-Pāṇinian forms like *rochayante* and *pāpishṭhatama* occur.

5. *Medicine*

The crudity of early Indian medicine can be judged from the *Atharvaveda,* which betrays belief in the demons of disease and prescribes spells as cures. The detailed references in Buddhist canonical literature to topics concerned with medicine[1] and Patañjali's reference to Vaidyaka speak for the development of this science in the early centuries preceding the Christian era. But only a few works on medicine have come down to us in the form of Saṁhitās dealing with various topics. The oldest among them is the Saṁhitā ascribed to Charaka. His date is uncertain, though tradition makes him the physician of the great king Kanishka. The available text of this Saṁhitā is not the original one but that which was revised by Dṛiḍhabala, a Kashmirian of the ninth century. Dṛiḍhabala himself admits of having added certain chapters to Charaka's work. It deals with such topics as the eight principal diseases, diet and remedies, pathology, anatomy, embryology, etc. Its popularity can be gauged from its early translations into Persian and Arabic.

The Saṁhitā ascribed to Suśruta is equally famous. From the *Mahābhārata* we learn that Suśruta was the son of Viśvāmitra. This

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[1] Cf. particularly the story of Jīvaka in the Vinaya Texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (*Gilgit Manuscripts,* Vol. III, part 2, pp. 1-52).

Saṁhitā also has not come down to us in its original form. We are told that Nāgārjuna worked over Suśruta's treatise, and we have also a text in a revised form by Chandraṭa. The treatise deals with such topics as pathology, anatomy, embryology, therapeutics, and toxicology. It also contains two chapters on surgical instruments and the mode of operation.

The *Bhela Saṁhitā* is preserved in a defective manuscript. It is mostly in metrical form with some mixture of prose. It shows acquaintance with Suśruta and has the same divisions as in the *Charaka Saṁhitā*.

The so-called Bower manuscript[1] discovered at Kashgar in 1890 contains certain tracts on medicine. Palaeographically it has been assigned to the fourth century A.D. and special importance therefore attaches to a number of previous authors cited, *viz.* Ātreya, Kshārapāṇi, Jātūkarṇa, Parāśara, Bheḍa, Hārīta and Suśruta. It deals with the qualities of garlic, elixirs for prolonging life, recipes for external and internal application, and many other topics. The tract called the Navanītaka forms the cream of ealier works and discusses powders, decoctions, elixirs, etc. Another manuscript in fragment and written on leather was discovered in East Turkestān. It dates from c. A.D. 200 and expounds the doctrine of eight of ten *rasas* as opposed to the six found in the works of Charaka and Suśruta. The language of these treatises is Sanskrit, but it shows a marked influence of the current Prakrit tendencies.

VII. GENERAL REVIEW

The literary activity of the period shows a great advance over that of the preceding one. The religious literature has grown in content and diversity, and the vast canonical literature of the Buddhists throws into shade anything attempted before or since in this line. Philosophical literature has also been systematised and developed. The Dharma-sūtras and Dharma-śāstras contain the last echo of the Vedic civilisation which was rapidly passing away. They also form the foundation of modern Hindu law and customs, the later works on the subject being mere imitations or digests. The epics represent the monumental literary effort of the age which was destined to exercise a unique influence upon the whole Indian nation for untold centuries. The dramas of Aśvaghosha are only fragmentary, and those of Bhāsa are no doubt thrown into the background by the later masterpieces of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, but the *Mṛchchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka has ever remained popular on account of its variety of incidents and quick dramatic appeal. The poems of Aśvaghosha, though not widely read these days, had strength enough to influence the diction and incidents in the works of Kālidāsa. These works are happily free from the elaborate styles adopted by later Sanskrit writers. The authors of this period do not show the same fondness for sound-plays and double meaning as, for instance, evinced by Bāṇa and Subandhu, or Bhāravi and Māgha. They all, whether they are Brahmanical or Buddhist, show unmistakable influence of the epics on their style and language. It may be mentioned with regret that in this period we very much miss lyrical works for which Sanskrit poetry is so famous. The achievements of this period in many departments of technical or scientific literature have remained supreme throughout the history of Sanskrit literature. There did not appear at a later stage any grammarian who had the critical acumen of Pāṇini or the remarkable observation of Patañjali; and whatever the merits or demerits of the *Arthaśāstra,* no work of a later period has been able to oust it from the high position adorned by it in the branch of polity. Similarly in medicine most of the important works were written in this period. Important works were written on astronomy, the knowledge of which was considerably advanced by contact with the western world. But they are all lost and their names alone survive in later texts as will be noted in the next volume. On the whole there was a general efflorescence of literary activity, which reached its climax in some branches during the period under review.

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[1] So called after its discoverer. Edited by Hoernle in 1914.

PART II. LANGUAGE

I. SANSKRIT

In the continuous development of the Sanskrit language the period that came after the Brāhmaṇas and the early Upanishads is marked by the formulation of the Classical Sanskrit. The Brāhmaṇas have no doubt done away with some of the Vedic terminations, the variety of the infinitives, and the subjunctive mood, yet their richness in the use of the different verbal forms taught by Pāṇini gives them a pre-classical character.

The language of the epics shows a popular tinge in it, for it contains more solecisms than are to be met with in any other form of literature. And this is just as it should be, for the original composers of the epic ballads were in Sūtas who were outside the priestly circle. The language of the epics, and especially of the *Mahābhārata*, does not show a clear uniformity, and we cannot speak of the 'epic dialect' except in a general way. The language, no doubt, conforms generally to the standard Sanskrit norm of the period, but it also betrays many archaisms of the Vedic period, Prakritisms of the Middle Indo-Aryan period, and also ungrammatical forms showing the hand of uneducated authors. It is true that some of these irregularities and especially the unwarranted shortening or lengthening of the vowel quantities are *metri causa*, and they are so regarded (*chhandovat*) by Patañjali; but it is also true that most of the irregularities giving analogical forms show the influence of the popular dialects.

But the language which Pāṇini aims to describe was strictly the spoken language, at any rate very much akin to it, among the hieratic classes. No one now doubts that the *bhāshā* of Pāṇini was the spoken language of his days. The colloquialisms like *khāda khādeti khādati, atra khādatamodatā vartate,* expressions with *ṇamul* forms like *hastagrāham gṛihṇāti jīvanāśam naśyati*, precise instructions as to the intonations of questions and commands, of forms used when addressing people at some distance, etc.,—all point to a spoken language and not to a mere literary medium. The differences that are noticed in the language of the Vedas and the *bhāshā* of Pāṇini are clearly due to the process which normally govern the development of any language. The contact with the aboriginal tribes may have accentuated to a certain extent the process of simplification of the older language. After the period of Pāṇini and his followers, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, Sanskrit became more and more a literary language and its sphere as a spoken language gradually decreased, with the result that after the beginning of the Christian era, Classical Sanskrit ceased to develop as a language and assumed a stylized form. This was also due, to a certain extent, to the celebrity, almost religious, accorded to the three great grammarians. A few un-Pāṇinian forms are, no doubt, found in the works of early classical writers like Aśvaghosha and Bhāsa. But the number of such forms is so small that it merely shows the last phases of the influence exerted by the popular speeches on the sacred Sanskrit language. The archaisms and irregularities that are met with in the Purāṇas are only due to the influence of the epics and the lack of learning on the part of their authors. Partial acquaintance with grammar is also responsible for the confusion and errors, sometimes bewildering, found in the works of Buddhist and other non-Brahmanical origin (cf. for instance, the language of the works like the *Lalitavistara* and the tracts in the Bower Manuscript).

The *bhāshā* of Pāṇini has the following features:—In phonology there is evolved a strict system of euphonic combinations, *sandhi*, which, when carried to extremes, lends an artificial character to the language; the sound *l*, in place of the older *r*, is recognised, and this is probably due to the eastern influence; the Ṛigvedic changes of *ḍ* > *ḷ* and *ḍh* > ḷh are completely set aside; and there is a marked tendency towards cerebralisation, in all probability a further development of an inherent tendency accentuated by the contact with the aboriginals.

In declension we find more simplificaion; in the singular of *-a* stems *-ena* has removed the older variant *-ā* and in plural *-ās*, *āni*, *-ais* and *-ānām* have wiped out *-āsas*, *ā*, *-ebhis* and *-ām* respectively; in pronouns the nom. *yuvam* and abl. *yuvat* are eliminated; in conjugation *-masi* of the first pl. active, *-e* of the third sg. middle, *-dhva* of the second pl. are all lost; the whole subjunctive goes out of use, and in optative and infinitive the rich variety is seriously lost; of the Vedic gerunds in *-tvā*, *tvī* and *tvāya* only the first prevails; on the other hand, only a few new forms like the two periphrases and the formation of perfect with auxiliaries are developed.

As we come to the period of Kātyāyana we find that the different verbal forms, though taught in the grammar, were not actually used. His Vārttikas *asti aprayuktaḥ*, etc. show that in his time some verbal forms, for instance, the perfect *ūsha*, *tera*, *chakra*, etc., had become obsolete and their place was taken by participial expressions. Thus the way was gradually being prepared for the later nominal or attributive style in place of the earlier verbal style. Kātyāyana also notes certain innovations in the language after the days of Pāṇini: thus he gives *brahma* and *nāma* also as voc. sg. forms besides *brahman* and *nāman;* by the extension of optional forms to masculine in words like *dvitīya* we have both *dvitīyāya* or *dvitīyasmai*, *dvitīyāt* or *dvitīyasmāt*, etc., in feminine forms, additions like *mātulā*, *upādhyāyānī*, *āryāṇī* and *kshatriyāṇī* are noted.

The *Mahābhāsya* of Patañjali gives us the earliest extant specimen of a somewhat developed nominal style. So far as the development in the language itself is concerned Patañjali does not show any great advance over the stage arrived at in the days of Kātyāyana. He notices the loss of certain idioms like *nivachane-kṛi* (to be silent).

anvāje- or *upāje-kṛi* (to strengthen); similarly the pronominal base *tya*, infinitive in *-tavai*, and perfect participle middle in *-āna* are disused; there have also occurred a few changes in syntactical peculiarities. It is significant to note that Patañjali ascribes the correct usage of Sanskrit to the Śishṭas of his times, who are described as Brāhmaṇas inhabiting the Āryāvarta. They could speak correct Sanskrit, even without studying Pāṇini's grammar; in fact it was the use of these Śishṭas that decided the correctness or otherwise of a particular form. Other persons, though they spoke Sanskrit, made certain mistakes which are clearly attributable to the influence of Prakrits. Thus in their speech *kasi* appeared for *kṛishi*, *disi* for *dṛiśi*, *gāvī*, *goṇī*, etc. for *gaus*, and, among the verbs, *āṇapayati* for *ājñāpa-*, *vaṭṭati* for *vart-*, and *vaḍḍhati* for *vardh-*.

Later classical writers strictly conformed to the norm set up by Pāṇini and as revised by Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Here and there they commit such errors as the confusion of *-tvā* and *-ya* in gerunds, of active and middle, and the loose use of the past tenses. But the real change that affected the later writers was not in language but in style. They developed a fondness for the use of participles in lieu of inflected forms, of gerunds for subordinate clauses, and of compounds to give the style an element of brevity. In vocabulary Classical Sanskrit has lost many of the Vedic words and roots, and this loss has hardly been compensated for by a few borrowings from the indigenous Prakrits and the language of the later invaders.

II. PRAKRIT

The grammarians leave no doubt in our mind as regards the use of Sanskrit as a spoken language in their days. But at the same time they afford evidence that gradually there had appeared in the spoken medium many corrupt forms and usages, and hence it had become essential to turn to the Śishṭas, the cultured and the educated persons in society, for a knowledge of correct Sanskrit. When we consider this state of affairs and add to it the fact that the founders of Buddhism and Jainism propagated their faiths among the masses with the help of the Prakrits and not Sanskrit, it clearly follows that, as time went on and as the Aryans spread in different parts of India, Sanskrit lost its position as the medium of expression among all classes of society and was restricted to only the highly educated. That even in this period and for many years to follow Sanskrit had not become unintelligible to the lower strata in society is amply shown by the Classical Sanskrit dramas, the earliest of which belong to the first or second century A.D. In these dramas, men of the upper classes speak in Sanskrit, but women and men of the lower classes speak various forms of Prakrit, proving thereby that the distinctions which arose in the forms of speech of the people were due to their social status, sex and locality.

Philologists have traced in detail the successive stages of this linguistic evolution, but we can only briefly refer to them. The old Indo-Aryan stage of the Aryan speech, as typified by Vedic and early Sanskrit, altered imperceptibly and became transformed into Middle Indo-Aryan and Prakrit. The rate of change of this progress—or degeneration—was not the same in every part of India. The language was more conservative in the north-west, the original nidus of the Aryans in India, and more advanced or modified in the east. Already in the period of the Brāhmaṇas, long before Buddha, we find indications of at least three distinct dialectical types in North India just when Middle Indo-Aryan took its rise—*Udīchya* (north-western), *Madhyadeśīya* (middle) and *Prāchya* (eastern). The Classical Sanskrit, which came to be established as a literary language after Pāṇini, was based primarily on Udīchya (Pāṇini's own dialect) and Madhyadeśīya dialects. But although the Brāhmaṇas used the Classical Sanskrit, the dialects continued their development unchecked and gradually the gulf between the two became wider and wider. This was more prominently marked in the east where arose the anti-Vedic and anti-Brāhmaṇa socio-religious and philosophical movements like Buddhism and Jainism. It was symptomatic of the attitude of the followers of Mahāvīra and Gautama that they should address the masses in their own dialect and not hieratic Sanskrit. Thanks to the exertions of the heterodox sects, the Prakrits (vernaculars) grew as literary languages and became powerful rivals to Sanskrit. The earliest literary products of these Prakrits were the canonical texts of the Buddhists and the Jains, to which detailed references will be made later. Apart from these, the inscriptions of Aśoka give us the first definite knowledge about them. They prove the existence of at least three different dialects, *viz.* those of the east, west and north-west. The eastern dialect, as the language of the imperial city of Pāṭaliputra, was undoubtedly the most popular and widely prevalent all over the Maurya Empire.

The dramas of Aśvaghosha (c. A.D. 100) show the next important stage of development when we can distinguish the older forms of the first three of the four well-known Prakrit dialects of later date, viz. Ardha-Māgadhī, Māgadhī, Śaurasenī and Māhārāshṭrī.[1] It is probable, though not definitely proved, that both Gautama Buddha and Mahāvīra preached their doctrines in Old Ardha-Māgadhī dialect, but the extant canonical texts of their sects are written in a language which shows great divergencies from it. The early Jain scriptures are lost, but even the earliest preserved texts, *viz.* those of the Śvetāmbara canons, which go back to the middle of the fifth century, show a strong influence of the Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit. As regards Buddhist canon, the best preserved is that of the Hīnayāna school (Theravāda) in Pāli, and now used in Ceylon, Burma and Siam. But the origin of Pālī, or in other words the particular Prakrit dialect from which it was derived, is a matter of dispute among scholars, and no unanimous conclusion has yet been arrived at. While some derive it from the Prakrit dialect current in Magadha, others find a closer association between it and the dialects of Kauśāmbī or Avanti, *i.e.* the Midland or Madhyadeśa.

The theory that Pāli was originally a dialect of Avanti has much to commend itself. When Aśoka quotes from Buddhist scriptures in his Bhābrā Edict, he quotes from a version in the eastern dialect which was evidently current in his day. Literary Pāli was evidently unknown to him. The Buddha as an easterner can only be expected to have used the eastern Prakrits and these, as we find from the eastern inscriptions of Aśoka, agree in some vital matters with the Magadhan Prakrit. Pāli, however, does not at all agree with the Magadhan Prakrit. It rather agrees with the Śaurasenī or midland dialect, particularly with the old Śaurasenī which we find in Aśvaghosha's works. The Buddha enjoined upon his disciples that his teachings should be studied by the people in their own dialects (*sakā nirutti*) and we have definite evidence that the Buddhist canon was redacted, if not wholly, at least in part, in no less than four different forms of speech, viz. Eastern Prakrit (Aśoka's inscription), N.-W. Prakrit (Central Asia), Buddhist Sanskrit (Gilgit and Nepāl) and Pāli. It seems that almost immediately after the death of Buddha, his sayings were rendered into the midland speech from the original one by persons who were connected with Ujjain and Mathurā. A parallel case happened nearly two thousand years later when the discourses of Kabir, who belonged to Banaras and spoke Bhojpuri, appear to have been rendered into a midland literary speech consisting of Brajbhākhā of Mathurā and the incipient Hindustānī of Delhi. It should be remembered that the Pāli canon mainly survived in Ceylon where it was presumably taken by Mahendra, who was born in Ujjain and had his training there before he took Orders and came to his father's court at Pāṭaliputra.

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[1] See above, p. 259.

But whatever may be the origin of Pāli, there is no doubt that the growing popularity of the Prakrits, due mainly to the patronage of the Buddhists and Jains, gave a temporary set-back to Sanskrit. This is clearly evidenced by the epigraphic records of the period. It is significant that all the inscriptions of Aśoka through which the great Maurya Emperor addresses his subjects or officers are written in Prakrit dialects. This inscriptional activity started by Aśoka was picked up later on by many others, whether kings or donors, and we get a large number of Prakrit inscriptions—about 1,500 in number—throughout the length and breadth of India and covering a period of no less than seven centuries. The fact that not more than a dozen inscriptions were written in Sanskrit during the same period proves incontestably that Prakrit continued to be the dominant language in popular usuage up to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., after which, however, not many Prakrit inscriptions are to be met with. In the literary field, on the other hand, the Prakrits did not long continue to enjoy the same status, and even Buddhist and Jain writers from the second century A.D. onwards showed their preference for Sanskrit to the neglect of Prakrits. It must, however, be admitted that the non-canonical literature of the Buddhists and Jains continued to be written in Pāli and Jaina-Māhārāshṭrī till a very late date. Similarly, the Prakrit *Dhammapada* acquired from Khotān in 1892 and the use of a variety of Indian Prakrits in the Kharoshṭhī documents discovered in Chinese Turkestān speak for the popularity attained by these languages outside India in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The Prakrit languages were, besides, employed by the Sanskrit dramatists for their female and secondary characters. Thus the dramas of Aśvaghosha, Bhāsa and Śūdraka are replete with speeches composed in Māhārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and the secondary dialects derived from these. Generally Māhārāshṭrī is employed for verses, Śaurasenī for prose, and Māgadhī for the speeches of menials. Māhārāshṭrī is indeed regarded by grammarians as the model Prakrit and it is quite evident that this particular Prakrit was a great favourite of poets and authors.

A very large amount of stray lyric poetry was undoubtedly composed by poets and even poetesses during this period. Hāla's

Gāthāsaptaśatī is a collection of such stanzas, properly arranged, edited, and often supplemented by Hāla himself. All these verses are composed in the Āryā metre; but surely there existed even others that were composed in the Classical Varṇa Vṛittas as is evident from Svayambhū's quotation from Hāla in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.[1] The most important Prakrit work of this period, however, is Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛihatkathā* which was composed in the Paiśāchī language and which contained an inexhaustible treasure of romantic tales as can be judged from its Sanskrit versions of Kshemendra and Somadeva in later days. The work itself is irretrievably lost, but has supplied themes to many a work of later times.

APPENDIX

NOTE ON THE DATE OF ARTHAŚĀSTRA

As noted on p. 274 above, there are widely divergent views on the date of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and a considerable literature has grown up on the subject. It is not possible to traverse the whole ground and discuss the different views in detail,[2] but a few salient points bearing on the subject may be noted here.

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[1] *JBBRAS*, 1935, p. 26.

[2] In support of the fourth century B.C. as the date of the *Arthaśāstra*, see Shamasastry's Preface to his edition of the *Arthaśāstra;* Fleet's Introductory Note; T. Ganapati Sastri's Introduction to his edition of the *Arthaśastra;* Jacobi, *IA*, XLVII. p. 187; K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, I. Appendix C. pp. 203-215; N. N. Law, *CR*, Sept., Dec. 1934; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ABORI*, VII pp. 65 ff. Radha Kumud Mookerji's Introductory Essay on the "Age and Authenticity of the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya" in N. N. Law's *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity.* See also H. C. Ray, *IA*, LIV, pp. 170, 201; Kane, *ABORI*, VII, pp. 85 ff, *KHDS*, I, p. 85. L. D. Barnett in his "*Indian Antiquities*" does not commit himself but works on the basis of the same hypothesis. V. A. Smith (*Early History of India*, 3rd and 4th editions) and F. W. Thomas (*Cambridge History of India*, I) use the *Arthaśāstra* in connection with the Mauryas.

For a date about the beginning of the Christian era cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *POC*. 1, Vol. I, pp. 24-5.

For the third century A.D. as the most probable date of the *Arthaśāstra*, see Introduction to Jolly and Schmidt's edition of the *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 1-47; Jolly's paper "Kauṭalya and Chāṇakya" submitted to the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, 1926; Winternitz, *CR*. April, 1924; A. B. Keith, *JRAS*, 1916, pp. 130-38; HSL, pp. 458 ff.

Hillebrandt ascribes the composition of the *Arthaśāstra* to a school of Kauṭilya's disciples, and Keith ascribes it to some follower of Kauṭilya. But Kauṭilya is really in line with Hindu tradition in introducing his name in his own work. It may be stated, in reply to Keith, that *Āchāryāḥ* is only the customary honorific plural: that on p. 263 (Shamasastry's edition) Kauṭilya distinguishes the view of *Āchāryāḥ* from those of Kauṭilya and Vātavyādhi, and that on page 322 the views of *Āchāryāḥ* are distinguished from those of Bhāradvāja. On p. 255, the criticism of Kauṭilya by Bhāradvāja and that of the latter again by Kauṭilya only bring together the opinion of two schools of thought. The fact seems to be that the *Arthaśāstra*, like the Dharma-śāstra, had several traditions and that Kauṭilya represented one, perhaps the most powerful, of them.

For references to Kauṭilya in Hindu literature, cf. Kāmandaka, II, 4-7, Daṇḍin, *Daśakumaracharita*, II, 8 and other works cited by Shamashastry, Ganapati Sastri and Jolly in their introductions to the editions of the *Arthaśāstra*. The Jain *Nandisūtra* placed the *Kauṭilīya* among the false sciences; though

The *Arthaśāstra* certainly existed before Bāṇa (seventh century A.D.), the *Nandisūtra* of the Jains (not later than the fifth century A.D.) and possibly the *Jātakamālā* of Ārya Śūra (third or fourth century A.D., see p. 267 above). In the Junāgarh rock inscription of Skanda-gupta reference is made to the testing of officials by *upadhās*, as we find in the *Arthaśāstra*. Again verse 10 of the same record reminds us of *Arthaśāstra* I. 1.

The prevalence of the study of *Arthavidyā* in still earlier days is proved by the Junāgarh rock inscription of Rudradāman I (second century A.D.), which mentions such technical terms as *praṇaya, vishṭi*, etc. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the fact that the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, which purports to be a compendium of pre-existing *Arthaśāstras*, does not quote the views of previous writers in the chapter on *Kośābhisaṁharaṇam* which deals with *praṇaya* (Book V. Chap. II). It is, therefore, not unlikely that the knowledge of the term in the days of Rudradāman I was derived from the *Kauṭilīya* itself and not from any pre-existing treatises. An early date is also suggested by the absence of any reference to the *Denarius* (Bk. II. Chaps. 12 and 19) in the sections dealing with coins and weights.

Regarding the *terminus a quo* there are grave doubts as to whether, in its present shape, the famous book is as old as the time of the first Maurya (c. 300 B.C). It is, for example, not clear why in the matter of dating Aśoka should ignore the system of *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (II. 6; 20; IX. 1), if the work really proceeded from the pen of his grandfather's chancellor, and prefer the Persian model as urged by some writers. Aśoka's dating, it may be remembered, not only pertains to the issue of proclamation of edicts (as in the case of the Achaemenids), but also to military campaigns (R.E. XIII), tours (R.E. VIII), appointment of officers (R.E.V.), and gifts (Barābar hill cave inscr.). Some of the dated orders relate to the *Yuktas* (R. E. III) who had duties in connection with state-funds and accounts.

The following points, too, deserve attention:—

1. None of the writers, whose evidence is usually cited in favour of a date for *Kauṭilīya* in the fourth century B.C., can with certainty be definitely placed before c. A.D. 300. The interval of six centuries is wide enough for the growth of legends.

2. The official language contemplated in the *Śāsanādhikāra* (II. 10) is *Sanskrit* and not *Prakrit* used by the Mauryas, the Sātavāhanas and the earliest Pallavas. Cf. use of prefixes like Pra and passages like *agrāmyaśabdābhidhānam-audāryam* "the use of words other than colloquial (*grāmya* Prakrit according to Monier Williams' Dictionary) is dignity." The number of *varṇas* (letters of the alphabet) according to *Kauṭilīya* is 63 (*akārādayo varṇāḥ trishashṭiḥ*). It would be interesting to know if all these sixty-three letters were known to the scribes of the Maurya age. Aśokan scribes seem to have been acquainted with about 41 letters.

3. The *prākāra* of Kauṭilya's *durga* is to be made of brick. He had a horror for wooden structure "as fire finds a happy abode in it" (II. 3). Arian, apparently on the authority of Megasthenes, the Greek diplomat in the court of Chandragupta, informs us that "such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick", and Strabo definitely states that the city

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about the tenth century A.D. the Jain author Somadeva Sūri borrowed the material of his *Nītivākyāmṛita* from Kauṭilya. For reference in the Jain Paiṇṇas cf. *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 609.

The author of *Arthaśāstra*, is also called Chāṇakya and Dramila by Hemachandra in his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* (Bombay edition, p. 34) and *Yādavaprakāśa* (Vaijayantī, ed. Oppert. p. 96). Hemachandra identifies him with Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Kāmasūtra* (Shamasastry, *QJMS*, IV, pp. 210-16). The identification is not corroborated by any other work in Sanskrit literature, but the resemblance in the style of the two works is striking.

In manuscripts of the *Arthaśāstra*, both Kauṭalya and Kauṭilya occur as spellings of the author's name. Both may, therefore, be held to be correct. Kauṭalya occurs in the Alur inscription of Vikramāditya V of the tenth century A.D. (*EI*. XVI, No. 7) and also in another inscription of the thirteenth century A.D. (*IHQ*, 1925, pp. 569, 786). The name is not, as some scholars have supposed, a nickname signifying 'false' or 'fraudulent'. For the matter of that, as has been pointed out, Śunaḥśepa means 'dog's tail' and Divodāsa, 'time-server'.

of Pāṭaliputra was 'girded with wooden walls" (McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, revised edition, pp. 65, 67).

4. There is no reference in *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* to royal titles characteristic of the Maurya age. On the contrary, *Indra-Yama-sthānametat* (I. 13) cannot fail to recall *Dhanada-varuṇ-endrāntaka-sama* of the Allāhābād *praśasti*.

5. While some of the official designations in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* are met with in Maurya inscriptions, epigraphic references to the *samāhartṛi* and *sannidhātṛi* are definitely late.

6. The geographical horizon of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* embraces Pārasamudra, Chīnabhūmi (the land of Chīnapaṭṭa) and Kambu (II. 11, 13). If Pārasamudra stands for Palaesimundu of the classical writers, the name cannot claim as high an antiquity as Taprobane *i.e.* Tāmraparṇī which is the designation of the place in question known to Maurya epigraphs. The *Periplus* in the first century A.D. mentions Palaesimundu as the name, current in his days, of the island which "the *ancients* called Taprobane". China silk, as is well known, occurs frequently in Classical Sanskrit literature, and finds prominent mention in the work of Kosmas Indikopleustes (*Bom. Gaz.*, I. I. 547; McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 162). China and Cambodia were clearly outside the horizon of the earliest Mauryas. There is no indisputable evidence of any contact between India and China before the Han period (206 B.C.—A.D. 220). Among other geographical or ethnic designations which possibly point to a comparatively late date are Nepāla (II. 11) and Hārahūraka (II. 25).

The points mentioned above show that the problem of the true date of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* still awaits solution. Taking all relevant facts into consideration, the theory of interpolation or identification of well-known places like China, "the land of Silk," with obscure localities on the borders of India, as is done by certain writers on the subject, does not carry conviction.

B. DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

I. *General Review*

The Dravidian group of languages comprises Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayālam. To this group also belong dialects like Tulu, Kodagu, Gondi and some others including Brahui in Baluchistān. The Dravidian languages are today spoken by about 75 millions in India, roughly 20% of the population of the country. As Mr. E. P. Rice remarks, "a line drawn from Goa, on the West Coast, to Rājmahāl, on the Ganges, will approximately divide the Dravidian languages on the south from the Aryan languages on the north."[2]

While the filiations between the Dravidian and the Sanskritic (or Aryan) groups of languages are obvious enough, it would not be correct to assume that the Dravidian languages are but *vikṛitis*, *i.e.* languages derived from Sanskrit or Prakrit. These two groups of languages have existed side by side for several centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that a large number of Sanskrit words are now found in the Dravidian tongues. But Sanskrit, too, has borrowed many words of Dravidian origin and incorporated them

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1. For the origin of the Dravidian language, its relation to other speech families and its early history cf. Vol. I, Ch. VIII.
2. *Kanarese Literature* (1921), p. 11.

into its own texture. There is also a further category of words like *mīna* (fish) and *mukhil* (cloud) which, from the beginning, belonged to both. It should be remembered that it is the root that fixes the common stock, and not the words borrowed or annexed from one language to another. A language can borrow freely from other languages, it can coin new words to express new concepts, but it cannot fundamentally change the character of its grammar and its syntax. If we take into account the striking grammatical peculiarities of Sanskrit *vis-a-vis* the Dravidian languages, we mark the following important points of difference:—

(a) In the Dravidian languages, all inanimate things and non-human creatures are classified under the neuter gender. In Sanskrit, this is not necessarily so.

(b) The Dravidian languages use post-positions, unlike the languages of the Indo-European group, which use prepositions.

(c) In Sanskrit the adjectives are declined: but they are not declined in the Dravidian languages.

(d) The existence of two pronouns of the first person plural, like the Tamil, *nām*, *nāngal*, is a peculiar feature of the Dravidian family of languages, and is absent from Sanskrit.

(e) The governing word in Sanskrit *precedes* the word governed, while in the Dravidian languages it *follows*, and the result is that the principal verb comes last.

We may therefore conclude that the Dravidian languages are not just by-products of Sanskrit, although they have doubtless been considerably influenced by it.

(a) Soon after the early Aryans penetrated into the South, many Sanskrit or Prakrit words gained general currency. This was before the Christian era, and may have extended over a period of some centuries.

(b) In the second period, the period of Buddhist and Jain influence, many more Sanskrit words were freely used by Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu writers.

(c) In the third period, the period of the Ālvārs, Nāyanmārs and other religious reformers, Sanskrit influence was a palpable fact, and in the latter half of the period, roughly between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, a large number of Sanskrit works were translated or adapted into the various Dravidian languages.

Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu (Andhra) and Malayālam are the present active members of the Dravidian group. Tamil leads the rest chronologically no less than in respect of its recorded achievement, being in Dr. F. W Thomas's words "the greatest Indian literature" next to Sanskrit.[1] Besides, Tamil is the representative language of the family, as it reached maturity earlier than the others, and was able, with its vocobulary, systematized grammar, and spirit of independence, to inspire its junior sisters in the Dravidian family. The earliest extant work in Kannaḍa is Nṛipatuṅga's *Kavirāja-mārga*, a treatise on poetics, written in the ninth century, though *Vodda-ārādhana*, a recently discovered prose work attributed to the Jain author Śivakoṭyāchārya, is presumably of an earlier date still. Likewise, the ealiest extant works in Telugu and Malayālam are respectively Nannayya-Bhaṭṭa's *Bhārata* (eleventh century) and Śrī Rāma's *Rāmacharitaṁ* (fourteenth century). But from inscriptions we can conclude that both Kannaḍa and Telugu flourished as full-fledged literatures even before the time of Nṛipatuṅga and Nannayya-Bhaṭṭa. As for Malayālam, prior to the tenth century it was Śentamil or pure Tamil.

II. *'Tamil' and 'Tamilakam'*

The word Tamil' is often used as a synonym for 'Draviḍa'. It is said that the Sanskrit word 'Draviḍa' was corrupted into 'Dramiḍa' and 'Damiḷa' and ultimately became 'Tamil'. But Pandit R. Raghava Iyengar thinks that 'Tamil' was in all likelihood originally a Tamil word, accreting to itself an 'r' and becoming 'Dramil' and 'Dramiḍa', and ending up as 'Draviḍa'. From the root 'dhru' (to drive out), we may derive the meaning of 'Draviḍa' as that which is driven out, the implication being that 'Tamil' was driven out by the northern Sanskrit. Even the expression 'Tenmoli' (southern tongue), which came into currency in opposition to 'Vadamoli' (northern tongue or Sanskrit), is said to have been applied to Tamil with a mischievous intention, for the southern direction is synonymous with the abode of Yama, the ruler of our Hell! To dispel this insinuation, some Tamil writers have taken pains to show that even the word *'ten'* (in 'tenmoli') is used in many places to signify sweetness. The word 'Tamil' too has been made to yield the meaning of sweetness or hoariness. Also, from *'tami'* the meaning of 'alone' has been derived, and 'Tamil' is therefore said to suggest isolated grandeur. These views are, however, hardly reasonable and the more probable origin of the name Tamil has been discussed above.[1]

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[1] *The Legacy of India* (ed. by Garratt) (1937) p. 214.

Tamilakam[2] is the land of the Tamils—the land where Tamil is the current language of the classes as well as the masses. The geographical limits of Tamilakam have been thus defined in an old work. Veṅkaṭam (*i.e.* the Tirupati Hills) in the north, Kumārī in the south, and the sea on the east and west. 'Kumārī' is said to refer, not to Cape Comorin, but to a river of that name, now lost in the Indian Ocean.

The beginnings of every language and literature must necessarily be wrapped in obscurity, and Tamil is certainly no exception to the rule; but the Tamils have been busy with myth-making, and all sorts of stories are told in connection with Agastya, the supposed father of the language and its first grammarian. We summarise below the most important of these traditional accounts.

In bygone times, when God Śiva celebrated on Mount Kailāsa his marriage with Umā, people migrated from the south to witness the celebrations. This circumstance threatened to tilt the earth's balance. The assembled elders therefore prayed to the divine bridegroom to send to the southern corner of India a saintly personality who could attract men and thereby restore normal conditions. Śiva chose Agastya for this task; for Agastya, though a pigmy in stature, was a great sage. In a fit of temper he had once drunk up the oceans —so great were his powers! Agastya's wife was the renowned Lopāmudrā, the beacon light of chastity. Certainly, Agastya and Lopāmudrā were almost, if not altogether, on a par with Śiva and Umā.

Learning of his new mission, Agastya begged Śiva to guide him into the mysteries of the Tamil language and literature, as he felt that a knowledge of the country in which he was going to reside was an essential condition for the success in his mission. Śiva thereupon summoned the two *ṛishis*, Agastya and Pāṇini, and started beating a drum with his two hands. The sounds that came from the left were the basis for the Tamil language and the sounds that came from the right were likewise the basis of the Sanskrit language. The *ṛishis* took the cue, and Agastya in due course reached the Podhikai Hills from which flows the river Tāmbravarṇī (in the Tinnevelley District). There, in the cool mountain fastness, Agastya produced a giant Tamil grammar called *Agastyam*, the supposed fountain-head of Tamil language and literature.

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[1] Vol. I, Ch. VIII.

[2] The word is usually pronounced Tamilaham.

It is difficult to say whether or not this mythical tale had any kind of historical basis. It may, however, explain—or is perhaps the result of—the Agastya cult which is wide-spread and popular in the south.

Agastyam (or Akattiyam as it is commonly called) is supposed to have consisted of 12,000 *sūtras* or aphorisms. Excepting for a few incorporated in later works, Agastya's aphorisms are all lost. One of the extant aphorisms enunciates the close tie that should exist between language and literature, or rather between form and substance:

> There is no language without literature,
> Even as there can be no oil without seed;
> But as oil is extracted from seed,
> So is language (grammar) evolved out of literature.

III. *The Śaṅgams*

Putting aside this mythical work, the history of Tamil literature has necessarily to begin with an account of the so-called 'Śaṅgams.' Tradition tells us that there were three of these Śaṅgams in antiquity. Śaṅgams were societies of learned men and functioned presumably in the manner in which the great French Academy has been functioning in recent times. It appears that the word 'śaṅgam' was used by the Buddhists and the Jains as a euphonious substitute for the earlier Tamil word 'kūdal'. All three Śaṅgams are said to have flourished in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, and to have been patronized by its kings.

The 'Śaṅgam Age' in Tamil literature was, according to the popular view, a period of great literary glory, never to be surpassed in the history of any literature whatsoever. It saw the production of a colossal volume of Tamil poetry in its pristine purity. Works were produced in every department of knowledge,—though, alas, most of them are now lost to the world. The age was, besides, a period of national awakening, when the arts and the sciences flourished alike, when the people obtained all social amenities, and when far-flung trade and commerce secured to the Tamils prosperity and power.

The traditional story is thus succinctly set forth in Nakkīrar's commentary on Iraiyanār's *Ahapporul*:—

The first Śaṇgam had its seat in old Madurā—the Madurā that is now submerged in the Indian Ocean. It included celebrities like Agastya (its President), Tiripuramerittha Virisadaikkadavul (Śiva), Kunramerinda Murugavel (Muruga or Subramania), and Muranjiyur Mudināgarāyar (Ādiśesha). The membership of the academy or college totalled 549. No less than 4,499 authors submitted their wrintings to the Śaṅgam and obtained its approval for them. Eighty-nine Pāṇḍyan kings, seven of them poets, patronized the first Śaṅgam, which lasted 4,400 years. The standard works of the first Śaṅgam were *Akattiyam* (Agastyam), *Paripadāl*, *Mudunārai*, *Mudukuruku* and *Kalariāvirai*.

The second Śaṅgam had its seat in another submerged town called Kapātapuram (or Alaivāi) and included Agastya, Irundayur Kurungōlimōsi, Vellūrkāppiyan and others, forty-nine members in all. This Śaṅgam set its imprimatur on the works of 3,700 poets, received the support of fifty-nine Pāṇḍyan kings, and flourished in unbroken continuity for 3,700 years. The classics of this period were *Akattiyam*, *Tolkāppiyam*, *Māpurānam*, *Isai-Nunukkam*, *Bhūta-purānam*, *Kali*, *Kuruku*, *Vendāli* and *Vyālamālai*. This Śaṅgam housed in its library 8,149 works, but all were swept away by the sea. Since Agastya (Akattiyar) is common to both the Śaṅgams, it is obvious that the second was but a continuation of the first, though held in a different place owing to the loss of old Madurā. The works of the second Śaṅgam are also now lost, except *Tolkāppiyam*,[1] the great Tamil grammar attributed to Tolkāppiyar, one of Agastya's twelve direct disciples.

The third Śaṅgam had its seat in Northern Madurā or the Madurā known to us. Its membership totalled forty-nine, but 449 poets submitted their works to it for approval. Forty-nine Pāṇḍyan kings patronized it, and it continued for 1,850 years. The major lights of this Śaṅgam were Nakkīrar, its President, Iraiyanār, Kapilar, Paranar, Sīttaḷai Sāttanar and the Pāṇḍyan king Ugra The classics of this period were *Nedunthokai*, *Kurunthokai*, *Natrinai*, *Aiṁkurunnūru*, *Paditrupattu*, *Nūtraiṁbathu*, *Pari-Pādal*(70) *Koothu*, *Vari*, *Perisai* and *Sitrisai*. While many of these are now totally lost, some have fortunately survived to give modern readers an idea of the richness and variety of Śaṅgam literature. A complete list of the forty-nine members of the third Śaṅgam is given in the "Garland of Tiruvalluvar," included at the end of his immortal work, *Kural*.

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[1] Most of the extant works of the third Śaṅgam, as also *Tolkāppiyam*, have been published by the South India Śaiva Siddhānta Publishing Society, Tinnevelly.

On the face of it, the traditional account of the first two Śaṅgams seems to have little historical value. The promiscuous mention of gods and human beings as members of the first Śaṅgam, the inclusion of Agastya in both of them, the inordinate stretches of time involved, and the loss of almost everything produced,—all these point to the conclusion that the story of the first two Śaṅgams at any rate is a pure fabrication. On the other hand, it could be argued that there might be some truth after all behind this mythological scaffolding. The names of gods were perhaps meant to refer to certain deified celebrities of the time or were mere interpolations. It is highly probable that the Śaṅgams were more or less continuous, although they are now described as three, because of the changes in the capital from Old Madurā to Kapātapuram and again from the latter to Northern Madurā.

Since the traditional dates are of no use to us, scholars have tried to determine the actual period of the three Śaṅgams, though there is hardly any unanimity among them. From the available evidence, however, it seems to be reasonable to assume that the three Academies—the Śaṅgam epoch, in short—comprised a period of about one thousand years, instead of the traditional ten thousand; and we shall not be far wrong if we fix 500 B.C. and A.D. 500 as the extreme limits of the Śaṅgam Age.[1]

We saw that none of the works of the first Śaṅgam has come down to us. From the second, apart from stray verses cited by later writers, only, one work, *viz.* *Tolkāppiyam*, has survived. As *Tolkāppiyam* is a grammatical treatise, it must obviously have been preceded by centuries of literary activity. It may be supposed that Tolkāppiyar, being a close disciple of Agastya, was faithful to his master in the grammatical work he has bequeathed to posterity. This great work, *Tolkāppiyam,* is in the form of *sūtras,* and is divided into three parts of nine sections each. These three parts deal respectively with *Eluthu* (orthography), *Sol* (etymology), and *Porul* (matter). The book is truly encyclopaedic in range and masterly in treatment. Rhetoric and prosody, the expression of subjective experiences like love and objective experiences like war, the language of flowers, contemporary manners and customs,—all these are discussed in detail in the book. It is thus as much a treatise on language as a manual on *dharmārthakāmamoksha* or *aram-porul-inbam-vidu.* This masterly work has been annotated by many writers, the most famous of them being Nacchinārkiniyar. Some of the other disciples of Agastya also wrote treatises of their own, of which references to *Avinayam, Naththatham* and *Kākkaipādinayam* (bearing the names of the respective authors) are found in the works of later writers.

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[1] The question is discussed in detail by V. R. R. Dikshitar (*Studies in Tamil Literature and History*) and S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture,* Vol. II, Part II).

IV. *The Third Śaṅgam*

Some of the principal works of the third Śaṅgam have come down to us in the shape of anthologies. Of these three are especially known to fame: *Patthuppāttu* (The Ten Idylls), *Ettuthokai* (The Eight Collections), and *Padinenkīlkanakku* (The Eighteen Minor Didactic Poems). We shall briefly refer to them.

1. *The Ten Idylls*

Two of these are by Nakkīrar, two by Rudran Kannanār, and the remaining six are by Maruthanār, Kanniār, Naththathanār, Nappūthanār, Kapilar and Kousikanār respectively. The idylls, excepting the fifth, are dedicated to various kings like Karikāla-Chola, Neduñ-Jeḷiyan the Pāṇḍyan, and Iḷandiraiyan. The idylls are all meritorious descriptive poems, snapping nature in her most characteristic moods.

Of the two idylls by Nakkīrar, *Tirumurukāttruppadai* is in praise of the god Muruga and of the various shrines in which he is worshipped, while *Nedunalvādai* is a singular study in contrast, describing side by side—in the modern Hollywood "look-upon-this picture-and-on-that" fashion—king Neduñ-Jeḷiyan in his camp on the battle-field and his lonely queen pining in her bed chamber. The latter poem is the more consistently beautiful of the two idylls; as Mr. Purnalingam Pillai remarks, "the taste and tact with which every line is made to subserve to the one single artistic effect of presenting the king and his queen spending the dreary winter night alone and apart and away from each other, cannot but arrest the reader's attention."[1] In addition to these two poems, Nakkīrar wrote many other minor works as well. The influence his personality exerted on his contemporaries and successors was greater than his actual literary achievement; and he thus holds a position analogous to that held by Dr. Johnson in English literature.

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[1] *Tamil Literature* (1929) p. 40.

Rudran Kannanār's *Perumpānāttrupadai* is a poem of five hundred verses and contains, among other interesting descriptions, a memorable account of Kāñchipuram. His *Pattinappālai* is a moving song of love, and it is said to have obtained for its author a reward of a large sum of money from Karikāla. Torn between love and the call of battle-drums, the hero at last succumbs to the former and decides to remain with his beloved. Incidentally, we have in this poem a graphic and rather detailed description of Puhār, once the great capital of the Chola kingdom.

Of the remaining six poems, Maruthanār's *Maduraikkānchi* glorifies the Pāṇḍyan kingdom at the time of Neduñ-Jeḷiyan and mirrors the civilization of the ancient Tamils; Kanniār's *Porunarātruppadai* gives a convincing picture of the average impoverished man of letters moving about in tattered rags; and Naththathanār's *Sirupāṇātruppadai* is full of references to contemporary social customs. In the last poem, under the guise of describing the virtues of Nallia-Kodan, Naththathanār pictures in fact his vision of the ideal king.

Napputhanār's *Mullaippāttu* describes in the course of its one hundred felicitous verses the ardent longing of the queen for her absent husband. She is anxious, she is impatient, she consults the omens, she is a prey to gloomy forebodings, but the long night of separation comes to an end at last, she hears the lusty sound of the trumpets—her lord will soon be with her! Kapilar's *Kurinchippāttu* is the story of a mountain-chief and a charming girl falling in love at first sight, triumphing over all obstacles and being united in happy wedlock. The last of the ten idylls, Kousikanār's *Malaipadukadām*, is a long poem of nearly six hundred verses. Amidst much admirable description of nature the poem also gives a critical account of the art of dancing.

These ten idylls constitute a literary heritage of no mean order. The poets have an eye for nature's shifting movements, they are attracted by its opulence of colour and sound, and they read the human heart like an open book. Two of the poems are dedicated to Karikāla-Chola and two to Neduñ-Jeḷiyan. We can therefore conclude with reason that these poems were composed in the second century of the Christian era.

2. *The Eight Collections*

The first of the Eight Collections (*Ettuthokai*) is called *Natrinai* and brings together 400 short lyrics in the *ahaval* metre. The second, *Kurunthokai,* likewise consists of about 400 stanzas on love, written by about two hundred different poets. The third, *Ainkurunūru,* is a collection of 500 love poems composed by five different poets. Tolkāppiyar has discussed in the third part of his grammar the five-fold aspects of love, *viz.*, union, separation, waiting, lamenting and sulking; he has paired them off with the corresponding facets of nature, *viz.* mountain (*kurinchi*), desert (*pālai*), jungle *(mullai)*, beach *(neithal)* and fields *(marutham)*. The 500 verses of *Ainkurunūru* are similarly divided into five centuries of verses, each by a different poet, and each devoted to one of the five aspects of love enumerated above.

The fourth collection in the *Ettuthokai* is called *Paditruppattu* or the 'Ten Tens'.[1] It originally consisted of ten poems containing ten stanzas each, but the first and the last are not now available. The remaining eight poems commemorate the military prowess or other virtues of various Chera kings. The kings referred to seem to have lived during the second and third centuries of the Christian era. We can therefore assign these poems—and their authors, Paranar, Kapilar, Palai Kauthamnār, Kākkai Pādiniār, and the rest —to the same period. These poems are of considerable historical value, and they are also of great interest to the social historian, who will find references in them to many curious customs such as women braiding their hair into five parts, soldiers wearing garlands of ginger and flowers, the burial of the dead in urns at the foot of tress, etc. As Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar points out, *Paditruppattu* is "a museum of obsolete words and expressions, archaic grammatical forms and terminations, and obscure customs and manners of the early western Tamil people who were the ancestors of the Malayalis."[2] The fifth of the group is a song in praise of Cheran Senguttuvan, the greatest of the Chera kings. The sixth of the group was written by the woman poetess Kākkai Pādiniār. It is worthy of note that *Paditruppattu* has few Sanskrit words—hardly a dozen words of Sanskrit origin in about 1.800 lines.[3]

The fifth collection, *Paripādal*, seems to have originally consisted of 70 poems, but only twenty-four have survived the ravages of time. Some of the pieces are hymns in praise of some deity or other, but the descriptive ones are no less striking. Here, for instance, is a description of the peacock's dance:

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[1] The standard edition is that of Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar.
[2] *Tamil Studies* (First Series), p. 264.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

> "On either side
> Raising up his wings
> Which seem like uplifted fans
> Which people wave
> To dry the painted sandal,
> With the spotted tail
> Dances on the slope
> To the rhythmic rumble
> Of the rolling clouds."[1]

The sixth collection, *Kalithokai*, comprises 150 love songs in *kali* metre, the songs, as in *Ainkurunūru*, being grouped under the classical Tolkāppiyam categories of *kurinchi*, *pālai*, *mullai*, *neithal* and *marutham*. This collection is supposed to be the work of Kapilar and four other poets.

The seventh collection, *Ahanānūru*, also known as *Nedunthokai*, is a choice anthology of four hundred love lyrics, the work mainly of Paranar and Māmūlanār. These lyrics also are divisible under the classical categories, though the number dealing with *pālai* or separation are far more numerous than those dealing with the other four.

The last collection, *Puranānūru*, brings together 400 pieces gleaned from many sources spread over a considerable period. No wonder some of the poems are attributed to the poets of the first Śaṅgam! Of the one hundred and fifty poets who are represented in this collection, the most important are Kapilar, Avvai, Kovūr-Kilār, Perunthalai Sāttanār, Perum-Sittiranār and Uraiyūr Ēnichēri Mudamōsiyār. This collection is a mine of useful information regarding the life of the Tamils of about two thousand years ago. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the pieces as poetry, they also constitute an inexhaustible source-book of early Tamil social history.

3. *The Eighteen Minor Didactic Poems*

One of these 'minor' didactic poems is the world-famous classic, Tiruvalluvar's *Kural*,[2] which is indeed one of the cornerstones of

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[1] Translation by P. N. Appuswami Aiyar (*Free India*, Dec. 1941).

[2] Various English renderings of the *Kural* are available, of which the most important are those by G. U. Pope, V. V. S. Iyer, H. P. Popley & K. T. Paul, and C. Rajagopalachari.

Tamil literature. It is, besides, a touchstone of taste and an invaluable guide to the art of good living. Tradition tells us that Tiruvalluvar was an *avatāra* of God Brahmā. Very many interesting stories are told about Tiruvalluvar and his poetic sister, Avvai. It appears he had much difficulty in getting his *Kural* approved by the third Śaṅgam, but in the end it was acclaimed as a masterpiece and posterity has more than reaffirmed that verdict. The poem is made up of 113 sections of ten couplets each, and the whole territory of knowledge is amazingly comprehended by these poetic aphorisms. Virtue, wealth, love, morals, prosperity, happiness,—these are Tiruvalluvar's themes, sung in verses that have the beauty, brevity and finality of a Japanese *haikku* in which whole worlds of significant suggestion or pointed advice find their glittering place. Ethics, statecraft, kingcraft, citizenship, married love, the art of life in all its ramifications,—all these problems yield their secrets to Tiruvalluvar. His work is not therefore inaptly called 'Veda in miniature', "a mustard seed into which is comprehended the riches of the seven seas." It is impossible to bring out in translation the brevity, brilliance and beauty of the original verses, but some of the ideas may be rendered as follows:—

"When a man is blessed with a good wife, he wants nothing in this world; when he is not so blessed, he lacks everything."

"Wounds inflicted by fire may be cured; those caused by a biting tongue can never be cured."

"To forgive trespasses is good, to forget is even better."

"Only those who haven't heard the prattle of their children find music in the *vīṇā* and the flute." !

The *Kural* is one of the few Tamil works that form a constituent of the popular culture of the Tamils. It is also the only Tamil classic that has been translated into many modern Indian and European languages.

While the *Kural* is the eleventh of the Eighteen Minor Poems, *Nāladiyār* is the first, being an anthology of 400 *venbās* or quatrains composed by various Jain writers. Unlike the *Kural*, the *Nāladiyār* is an unequal work. But it includes a good deal that is first-rate, justifying the common saying in the Tamil country: "Just as the banyan and the neem tree are good for one's teeth, *Nāladiyār* and *Kural* are good for one's speech."

The second item in the collection, Nāganār's *Nānmanikkadaikai*, contains a century of quatrains full of felicitous parallelisms like the following:—

> The diamond comes out of the quarry;
> Happiness comes out of the beloved's speech;
> Virtuous action comes out of a generous heart;
> And all come out of wealth.

The next four items are called jointly *Nā-nārpathu* or the "Four Forties." Of these, *Kār-nārpathu* deals with *mullai* and depicts the feelings of a lady who is separated from her beloved. It is inset with striking descriptions, and is a moving love poem. *Kalavali-nārpathu* is a vivid description of a battle between a Chera king and a Chola king. The author of this war hymn is identified by some with Poikai-Ālvār, one of the great Vaishṇava singers. The remaining two "forties," *Iniavai-nārpathu*, and *Inna-nārpathu*, are complementary, and consist of positive and negative exhortations respectively. One of the latter may be rendered thus:

> The desire of the destitute to act generously is vain;
> For the poor, to dwell in a city of palaces is vain.
> To feast upon the sight of a kitchen is vain;
> To hug the friends who desert you in need is vain.

The next group of four anthologies is called *Ainthinai*. They are all love poems based on the *Tolkāppiyam* parallelism between love's vicissitudes and nature's changing facets. The poems contain between fifty and one hundred and fifty stanzas.

Tirikadukam and *Sirupanchamūlam*,[1] the twelfth and the fifteenth in the series, are similar in conception, and each consists of a century of pointed verses. *Tirikadukam* is a sequence of verses, each of which is built upon three correlated thoughts, as for example:

> The three sure ways of impoverishment are—
> Arrogant exhibition of your riches,
> Excitement for no purpose,
> And an inordinate need to possess the whole world.

Likewise, each verse of *Sirupanchamūlam* is built upon five corrected thoughts:

> A chaste wife is ambrosia to her husband;
> A genius to his people;

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[1] Rao Saheb Vaiyapuri Pillai has recently published an authoritative edition of these two poems (Madras University, 1945).

An industrious subject to his king;
A pillar of strength to his country;
And a loyal servant to his master.

The remaining items of the Eighteen Minor Didactic Poems are *Āchārakōvai*, *Palamoli*, *Mudumolik-kānchi*, *Innilai* and *Elādī*. All these are bunches of exhortations on problems of conduct, and thus supply choice quotations for every occasion. A specimen from *Āchārakōvai* is: "These four—one's body, wife, trust money, and means of maintenance--must be treasured like gold, lest irremediable evil should follow."

V. THE EPICS

The three collections of the third Śaṅgam are not the sole surviving monuments of the literary activities of the Tamils of that bygone age. Indeed, the second century of the Christian era seems to have been a Golden Age (or 'Augustan' Age) in Tamil letters. The poets of the time were drawn from different parts of the Tamil country and belonged to diverse faiths and castes; they represented, besides, the various professions. Thus, in the Tamilakam of seventeen hundred years ago, men and women of different faiths—Jains, Buddhists, Śaivites, Vaishṇavites—seem to have lived together in understanding and harmony. One of the greatest writers of the third Śaṅgam, Sīttalai Sāttanār, was a corn merchant and a Buddhist; many of the minor didactic poems already described were composed by Jains; and the Hindu poets praised Śiva or Vishṇu without flying at each other's throats. Two at least of the "Five Major Epics" were composed during the Golden Age, and the others, and perhaps the Five Minor Epics as well, were composed not much later; and most of these epics were the work of Buddhists or Jains. Some of these epics cannot now be traced and are perhaps lost for ever; but even the extant works give us a fair idea of the glory of that great age in Tamil literature.

The five major epics are *Silappadikāram*, *Manimēkhalai*, *Jīvaka-chintāmani*, *Valayapati* and *Kundalakēsi*. Of these, only the first three are now available.[1] The five minor epics are *Yasōdhara Kāvyam*, *Chulamani*, *Udayana Kāvyam*, *Nāgakumāra Kāvyam* and *Nīlakēsi*. Of these, again, the fourth is lost, but the others have been either published or something at least is known about them. *Yasōdhara Kāvyam*, based on a Sanskrit work, consists of 320 stanzas; *Chulamani* by Tholamolithēvar is a longer and a better poem; *Nilakēsi* is a philosophical poem, written perhaps as a reply to *Kundalakēsi*, a Buddhist work.

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[1] The standard editions of *Silappadikāram*, *Manimēkhalai* and *Jīvaka-Chintāmani* are the fruits of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Swaminatha Aiyar's monumental industry and scholarship. More recently, V. R. R Dikshitar has published an English translation of *Silappadikāram* (Oxford University Press 1939).

1. *Silappadikārām*

Ilangō-Adigal, the younger brother of the celebrated Cheran Senguttuvan, became a monk in order to allay the fears of Senguttuvan, the reigning king. Kanakasabhai and Purnalingam Pillai think that Ilangō became a Jain monk, Swaminatha Aiyar thinks he remained a Śaiva, while Ramachandra Dikshitar describes Ilangō as a follower of Hinduism "in its broader sense."[1] In the course of his wanderings, Ilangō met the Buddhist poet, Sīttalai Sāttanār, who read out to him his poem *Manimēkhalai*. Thereupon, Ilangō wrote *Silappadikāram*, taking Sāttanār's story a generation backwards. Whether there is any truth in this tradition or not, it is evident that Ilangō and Sāttanār were contemporaries. A princely ascetic and a merchant-humanist—a Hindu monk and a Buddhist householder—but poets both, poets who bore the burden of poesy with ease, tolerance, broad humanity and with mellowed wisdom! *Silappadikāram* and *Manimēkhalai* are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Tamil poetry and it is impossible to exaggerate their importance.

Silappadikāram tells movingly the star-crossed story of Kōvalan and Kannaki. The story is highly dramatic and moves human hearts profoundly even to this day. Kōvalan forgets his sweet and chaste wife, Kannaki, being infatuated by the courtezan, Mādhavi; after exhausting his fortune and that of his wife, the penitent husband and the forgiving wife leave Puhār for Madurā. A tragic error leads to Kōvalan's execution on the orders of the Pāṇḍyan king. Under the stress of this final overwhelming sorrow, Kannaki the angelic and uncomplaining wife excels herself and towers above king and queen and petty humanity. The sight of Kōvalan's dead body makes her cry out in her anguish:

"Are there women here, are there women? Are there women who can endure such injustice done to their wedded husbands? Are there such women?

"Are there good people? Are there good people here? Are there good people who nurture and fend for children born of them? Are there good people here?

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[1] Introduction to the *Silappadikāram*, p. 69.

"Is there a god? Is there a god? Is there a god in this Kūdal, whose king's sharp sword killed an innocent man? Is there a god?"[1]

In Medusa-like splendour, Kannaki freezes the royal couple to death and pronounces the doom of Madurā. In a deathless scene in this immortal story, she twists and plucks out her left breast with her hand, and in her extremity of pain hurls it across the street The city of Madurā is accurst, and is soon a heap of charred remains. The lovers, however, are at last reunited in heaven, and Kannaki is henceforth worshipped as the goddess of chastity in the land of the Tamils. *Silappadikāram*, besides telling us a moving and poignant story, amazes us by its perfect sense of form, its harmonized blending of *iyal* (poetry), *isai* (music), and *nāṭakam* (drama), its gorgeous and picturesque descriptions, epic dignity and sublimity.

2. *The Other Epics*

Manimēkhalai, although chronologically considered to be the earlier work, is in effect a sequel to *Silappadikāram.* Its heroine Manimēkhalai is Kōvalan's daughter by Mādhavi, but spiritually she is rather Kannaki's daughter! She sees through the limitations of human love and consecrates herself to the service of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The poem no doubt lacks the intensity and tumult of *Silappadikāram*, but it is not lacking in incident or humanity. The vicissitudes of Manimēkhalai's terrestrial fortunes signify rather the evolution of the human soul into a state of perfection. It is true *Silappadikāram* and *Manimēkhalai* read here and there like sectarian special pleadings; but we are never made to forget that humanity is the main thing, and that poetry is one with humanity.

Tiruthakkathēvar's *Jīvaka-chintāmani* is the work of a Jain author, perhaps a young Chola convert to the Jain faith, a poet who was young as well as wisely austere. A minister usurps his master's throne; the king dies; his child Jīvaka, undergoes many tribulations, but at last regains his father's throne after killing the usurper. In his forty-fifth year, king Jīvaka renounces the world, lives the life of a Jain ascetic, and gains bliss at last. The story of a soul's pilgrimage from birth to liberation is told in over three thousand stanzas of chaste and flowing verse. It is rightly considered one of the major Tamil epics. Another Jain work, Konguvelir's *Perunkathai*, detailing the story of Udayanan, bears marked resemblances to *Jīvaka-chintāmani*.

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[1] The *Silappadikāram*, pp. 244-5.

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

I. STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The period under review is very rich in data concerning the political theory, administrative organisation, law and legal institutions. For political theory we have the Rājadharma section of Śāntiparva in the *Mahābhārata*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, and the Smṛitis, such as those of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛihaspati. For the administrative organisation our chief sources are the Greek accounts, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the Smṛitis. The Smṛitis also deal in detail with law and legal institutions. Some light is thrown on all these topics by the inscriptions and literature of the period including Buddhist and Jain canonical literature.

A number of treatises dealing with the science of polity were written during this period. The most important of them is Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. This was long regarded as the standard text on the subject and we have many references to, and quotations from, it in works of ancient authors. But the text of this important work was discovered only at the beginning of the present century. It ascribes itself to the famous Brāhmaṇa Kauṭilya, also named Vishṇugupta and Chāṇakya, who, according to tradition, overthrew the last Nanda king and placed Maurya Chandragupta on the throne. At the end of each of the 150 chapters of the work the author subscribes himself as Kauṭilya and refers, in a concluding verse, to the overthrow of the Nanda dynasty as one of his exploits.

R. Shamasastry, who published the text (and also an English translation), regarded it as the genuine long-lost work on polity composed by Chāṇakya, the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya. This view was at first endorsed by many scholars who held that "though the existing text is perhaps not absolutely word for word that which was written by Kauṭilya, still we have essentially a work that he did compose."[1] But, gradually, doubts arose about both its authorship and date of composition. Many scholars now refuse to accept the view that the work was really composed by Kauṭilya or any statesman of the type, and they regard it as of a much later date.

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[1] Fleet in *KAT*. p. ii.

Some bring it down to the third century A.D., though others would prefer a date three or four centuries earlier. The whole question has been discussed in detail in Chapter XVI.[1]

But, whatever be the date, it would be convenient to designate the work as *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* or *Arthaśāstra* composed by Kauṭilya, without implying in any way his identity with the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya. References in this work prove beyond doubt that there were many works on the science of polity at the time Kauṭilya wrote and these were fully utilised by him. The very opening sentence of the book states that "this Arthaśāstra is made as a compendium of almost all the Arthaśāstras which, in view of acquisition and maintenance of the earth, have been composed by ancient teachers." The book itself contains quotations from works of five different schools and no less than thirteen individual authors. The existence of many treatises on the subject is also confirmed by the story, contained in the *Mahābhārata,* of the origin of the science of policy—how it was originally written by Brahmā in one hundred thousand chapters and underwent successive abridgments by different authors. The importance of political science is also indicated by Kauṭilya in his enumeration of the different sciences. Different schools of thought quoted by him regarded the number of sciences as four, three, two or one, but each included Daṇḍanīti or the Science of Government in his list. The school of Uśanas declared that Daṇḍanīti was the only science, for "it is in that science that all other sciences have their origin and end."[2]

Everything thus indicates that political science was assiduously studied during this period and it had attained a high rank among the subjects of study. No wonder, then, that the political thought of the period is rich in content, richer probably than that of any other period of Indian history. It centres round various topics such as the spiritual and mundane objectives of society, social stratification, political purposes, inter-state, federal and feudal relationships, organisation of the legislative, judicial and executive authorities, the kingship, ministers, administrative hierarchy, local and functional institutions, law and military science.

II. POLITICAL THEORY

1. *The King and State—their Origin and Nature*

The origin of State or kingship forms the subject of an important inquiry by the writers of this age.[3] In the *Mahābhārata*, Yudhishṭhira asks Bhishma: 'Whence arose the powers of a king? Possessed of physical and mental qualities similar in every respect to the other men, how does he govern the rest of the world?' The two replies, put in the mouth of Bhishma in two chapters, really elaborate the theory of the divine origin of kingship and the theory of social contract with which we are familiar. As already noted,[1] the theory of divine origin can be traced in the Brāhmaṇa period. It is stated in its most developed form in the following verses in *Manu-Saṁhitā*[2]:—

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[1] See pp. 274-76, 285-87.

[2] *KAT*. 6.

[3] Cf. Bhandarkar, *CL*, I, 119 ff.

"The Lord created a king for the protection of this whole creation, taking (for that purpose) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera).

"Even an infant king must not be despised, (from an idea) that he is a (mere) mortal; for he is a great deity in human form."

But although this extreme theory of divine origin was destined to prevail in the long run, the theory of social contract also exercised great influence during this period. Its genesis may be traced to the Sūtra period for, according to Baudhāyana,[3] 'the king was to protect his subjects, receiving as his pay a sixth part (of their grains).' It is stated more fully in the *Mahābhārata*, and was also known to Kauṭilya. He briefly expresses it as follows: "People suffering from anarchy first elected Manu to be their king and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by his payment, kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects."[4] The theory is also repeated in the Buddhist canonical texts, according to which the people elected, not Manu, but 'the most handsome, gracious and powerful individual from among them on condition of giving him a portion of their rice[5]. The general rule, found in the Sūtras, Smṛitis and *Arthaśāstra*, that if the king cannot recover stolen property, he must compensate the owner, may be regarded as a logical corollary to this theory. Its influence may also be seen in the exclamation of the Buddhist monk Āryadeva towards a haughty king: "What is thy pride worth, O King, who art a (mere) servant of the *gaṇa* (multitude, *i.e.* body politic) and receiveth the sixth part as wages?"

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[1] Vol. I, p. 430.
[2] VII. 3, 4, 8.
[3] I. 18. 1.
[4] *KAT*. 26.
[5] Bhandarkar, *CL*, I, 121.

According to both the theories, State and kingship evolved out of necessity caused by the evils of anarchy and of wickedness inherent in human character. Hence special stress is laid on the importance of *daṇḍa,* a term which is difficult to translate, but more or less refers to the power of punishment or chastisement vested in the ruler. The *daṇḍa,* according to Manu,[1] 'alone governs all created beings, protects them, watches over them while they sleep, and the wise declare it (to be identical with) the law.' According to Kauṭilya, 'on *daṇḍa* depends the progress of the arts and sciences and the well-being of mankind'. Hence the science of government is called by him *daṇḍa-nīti.*[2] All political writers agree that the king must exercise this *daṇḍa* judiciously. "If the king," says Manu,[3] "did not, without tiring, inflict punishment (*daṇḍa*) on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit." Kauṭilya also echoes this sentiment.

But while the necessity of a strong king is stressed by all, none is prepared to vest in him the absolute authority of doing whatever he likes. The theory of divine origin did not carry with it the divine right which the Stuart kings, for example, claimed to exercise over their subjects at their pleasure, being accountable to none but God. Thus Manu[4] declares that while a just king prospers, one who is voluptuous, partial and deceitful will be destroyed. The very *daṇḍa,* which is the symbol of royal authority, "strikes down the king who swerves from his duty, together with his relatives." It is fully recognised that *daṇḍa* is hard to be administered by men with unimproved minds and both Manu and Kauṭilya, as well as other political writers, give elaborate directions for the proper education and training of the king. Kauṭilya even goes so far as to say that if the only son of a king proves to be of perverted mind and devoid of intelligence, he would even "try to beget a son on his wife by the system of levirate, but never shall a wicked and only son be installed on the royal throne."[5] This has been a cherished theory of political writers and has been summed up by Kāmandaka when he says: "The king, who is virtuous, is a part of the gods. He who is otherwise is a part of the demons." Consequently the right of the people to rebel against a wicked or tyrannical king is not only recognised but held up as a dire consequence to a vicious king. Though we do not hear so much of direct constitutional checks against the arbitrary exercise of power by the king, the political writers repeatedly enjoin upon the king the duty of following the *Dharma* or eternal principles of law laid down by the sages, and warn him against doing things which are likely to incur the wrath or displeasure of his subjects. They also quote with approval many instances of kings falling a victim to public uprising on account of their tyranny and unjust rule.

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[1] VII. 18.
[2] *KAT.* 9.
[3] VII. 20.
[4] VII. 26-28.
[5] *KAT.* 39-40.

The king was not the State but merely a part of it. The State was conceived as an organic whole, its different constituent parts being called *aṅga* or limbs, evidently on the analogy of a human body. These are generally described as 'the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the friend'. In other words a fixed territory, organised administration, economic self-sufficiency, adequate means of defence, and recognition by other states were regarded as essential requisites of a state. The desirable qualities of each of the elements are also described in detail. Manu[1] felt that injury to any of the preceding elements was to be regarded as more serious than to the following one. But in the next two verses he recognises that none of the organs is really superior to the others. "Each limb is particularly qualified for the fulfilment of a distinct purpose and hence each is declared to be the most important in reference to that purpose which is fulfilled by its means."

2. *Scope of State Activity*

But although the conception of a State is surprisingly modern, the scope of the State's activity is widely different. In order to understand this we must have some idea of the Hindu view of life.

As is well known, the Hindus had a profoundly spiritual outlook on life. Their civilisation is distinguished from that of Greece, Rome and modern Europe, pre-eminently by its inwardness, its constant stress on the inner consciousness, the imperative need of integrating it with the totality of the universe and with the spiritual principle embodied in it. *Dharma* is the principle that sustains all existence, embodies the whole truth, and covers all the forms, institutions and practices of social life. It upheld an ideal that elevated the soul to the loftiest heights. *Dharma* in the practical sense stands for belief, ritual and conduct. It was felt that *Dharma* stood above all the rulers of the world and was binding upon them. *Dharma* was conducive to the highest good. *Dharma* is easily equated with the totality of social relationships. At the same time, it was perceived that identification with society was an aspect of, or a step in, the identification with the universe. Society was not only inevitable, but also desirable; for it assisted the development of the psyche and ought to be an instrument of elevating the human soul. Accordingly, the social aspect is comprehended in the spiritual, and Hindu social theory approaches all problems from a profoundly spiritual standpoint.

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[1] IX. 295.

Inter alia, the spiritual approach served to impart breadth and integration to all social speculation. It furnished a criterion for the tenor of individual life and social institutions as well as the political apparatus. It implied that every detail might be subjected to one supreme test was it or was it not conducive to the lasting welfare of the soul? All Hindu thought assumed that man must try to achieve salvation or heavenly bliss and that social institutions existed to further the end. Political institutions existed to sustain the social order and hence to subserve the spiritual aim.

It is clear from the foregoing propositions that there was never an *a priori* limit set to the activity of the State. The State was integrated into the vast institutional apparatus for the realisation of the spiritual life, and could not, therefore, be restricted to merely police functions, or the administration of justice. Hindu government could not be merely negative. It had to adopt a positive attitude towards all the main concerns of life—religion, ethics, family, economics, culture, etc. We find accordingly that the Hindu State touched the whole of life.

This is the reason why the duty of the State is frequently summed up as protection. The State protects the religion, the morality, the customs and the tradition which have been derived from the gods or evolved by society. It is totalitarian in the sense that it embraces the whole of life. But it is not totalitarian in the sense of dominating all other associations and enacting statutes for wholesale regimentation. The State holds the ring for the interplay of social forces, intellectual influences, economic enterprise and, above all, the spiritual tradition. Protection also means that it is one of the prime functions of the State to defend its territory against all possible enemies and to protect the people against internal disorder or injustice. It undertakes accordingly to maintain law and order and to administer justice. Thirdly, it must protect the people from the effects of natural calamities like floods, earthquakes and locusts. It must protect them against famine, disease, fire, etc. It must protect people against their own folly and ignorance. In short, protection covers not merely hindrance or hindrances to good life, which the German and British idealists have defined as the proper sphere of the State, but it is also stretched to comprise the whole programme of spiritual, cultural and economic welfare.

The best practical illustration of this view is the picture of the State activity in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* which includes practically everything. The State should promote true religion, but Kauṭilya wants it also to regulate the age and conditions under which one might renounce the world. The State should see that husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister, uncle and nephew, teacher and pupil, are faithful to one another and do not play each other false. The State itself should provide support to the poor, the pregnant women, their new-born offspring, orphans, the aged, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless. Kauṭilya tells us when it was legitimate to use witchcraft to gain the affections of wives or sweethearts and when, for instance, in case of perversion, it was to be punished with mutilation or death. He prescribes conditions of divorce, separation, second or subsequent marriages and ways of teaching manners to refractory women. Detailed and minute are his provisions for safeguarding the honour of women, the safety of immature girls, relations of lovers, as well as the profession of prostitutes. The State should facilitate, regulate and control public amusements and entertainments, including gambling.

The three-fold motive of regulating life, detecting thieves and spies, and securing some revenue for the State underlies Kauṭilya's excise policy. In town and country, camp and fort, the State should itself establish liquor shops at suitable distance from one another or license private individuals to do so according to the laws of supply and demand. Kauṭilya would furnish public houses with beds and seats and enhance their attractions with scents, garlands of flowers, water and other comforts. Stringent regulations on the sale and use of liquor and other fermentations are given, but the code of temperance was to be relaxed for four days on occasions of festivity, fairs and pilgrimages. On the slaughter of animals and the sale of meat, Kauṭilya is equally minute.

According to the *Arthaśāstra*, all professions and occupations are to be controlled by the State. For instance, physicians should report all cases of grave illness to the government. If death occurred in an unreported case, the physician should be punished with the first amercement. If in any case death was due to his carelessness, he should receive the middlemost amercement, while positive neglect or indifference was to be treated as assault or violence. Similarly rules with an amazing fullness of detail are given for the conduct of goldsmiths, weavers of various descriptions, washermen and others, while a series of veritable draft statutes of labourers prescribe, *inter alia,* that artisans must fulfil their engagements as to time, place and form of work, and obey the instructions duly given, on pain of forfeiting their wages or paying damages or both. The State itself appears as the biggest of all business concerns[1] and was entitled to regulate the whole of the economic life in order to promote prosperity. Kauṭilya would license wholesale business, fix the prices and allow a profit of 5% on home commodities and 10% on foreign ones. He would fix rates of interest on loans and mortgages at 15% and 12½%. All imports and exports are to be taxed.

For relief of famine, the State granaries should open their doors, the rich should be compelled to yield up their hoards of grain, heavy taxes should be levied on wealthy people, hunting and fishing should be resorted to on a grand scale; emigration to the seashore, and to the banks of lakes, rivers, etc. should be encouraged; wherever possible, grains, vegetables, roots and fruits should be intensively cultivated. Relief should be sought from friendly States in the neighbourhood; prayers should go forth to the higher powers; the gods Mahākachchha and Indra as well as the gods of the mountains and the holy Gaṅgā should be worshipped during drought.

According to Kauṭilya the State is to provide, manage and regulate the *Rājamārga* or the king's highway, *Rāshṭra-patha* or the State road, and paths for animals, paths for asses and camels, cart-tracks, foot-paths, pasture-paths, shop-paths, defile-paths, cremation-paths, etc. On the main thoroughfares, pillars at intervals of half a *kos* should be set up to serve as signposts.

3. *Forms of Government*

It is impossible to describe Hindu government in Greek terms which have been taken over by modern political science from Plato and Aristotle. Ancient India knew of republics, but they differed in texture and form from the city-states of the Greeks and the Romans. The Hindu State, for the most part, was a country State. It could not be democracy because direct democracy implies a primary assembly of all citizens and was a physical impossibility in an extensive State. Here the democratic element is to be found at the bottom, in village communities and in group organizations on the basis of kinship or function, all over the country. But democracy at the centre, either in the Greek or in the modern European sense, was, except for small tribal republics, ruled out by the facts of geography and the difficulties of transport.

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[1] For details see Ch. XXIII.

Nor could Hindu governments be aristocratic in the sense in which a number of Greek cities in antiquity, Venice during the Middle Ages, and Britain, Prussia and Hungary in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, were aristocratic. Here in India caste forbade a combination of the power of wealth with that of office. There never was an organized church in India comparable to the Roman Catholic or Protestant churches, but there was a sacerdotal caste, some of whose members, though not all, functioned as priests, preceptors, writers and political advisers. They enjoyed high prestige of birth but were mostly poor. They were expected to lead austere lives and depended on gifts of offerings from prince and peasant alike. True, there was supposed to be a ruling and military caste in India known as the Kshatriyas, but it had had to share social control with the Brāhmaṇas, who represented the brain power, and the Vaiśyas who represented the economic strength of the community. Secondly, many Kshatriyas had nothing to do with functions of government. Thirdly, many non-Kshatriyas, including Śūdras, occupied important positions including the throne in some regions and ages. Accordingly, there was no concentration of the prestige of birth, influence of wealth, and political office which imparts an aristocratic tinge to social organisation and sustains aristocratic government. There was no aristocracy in India in the Greek or European sense of the term.

The normal form of government in India was monarchical, but it was different from that which flourished in Europe during the Roman Empire, for the most part during the Middle Ages, and in the modern period up to the outbreak of the French Revolution. The Hindu State rarely presented that high degree of centralisation which is associated with the Roman Empire and the modern nation-State.

But it had a centre whose main features demand attention. This was the king, usually hereditary in accordance with the rule of primogeniture, living in high style and a blaze of glory, in enjoyment of an immense revenue from private and public property. Political theory which usually, though not uniformly, approached political questions from the ethical standpoint, expected the king to lead a blameless life, disciplined to ceaseless administrative labour and consecrated to the public good. It laid heavy responsibilities, temporal and spiritual, on him, promised him lasting bliss in heaven or threatened him with all the tortures of hell in accordance with his success or failure in the great moral and political venture. In practice, doubtless, the absence of constitutional, as distinct from conventional, checks left many a crowned head comparatively free to indulge in luxury and vice, caprice and injustice. But it is only fair to remember that all despotic authority was tempered by rebellion or assassinations. So long as he was on the throne, the king presided over the executive and judicial departments of government and was expected to take the lead on the field of battle. The part he played in the promulgation of law will be described later.[1]

The machinery for executive administration was well organized. It was the special care of the king, assisted by ministers and a number of high officials. Below the great functionaries stood a host of minor officials, military officers, diplomats and spies, secretaries, clerks, technical employees and so forth.

There was no separation of the executive and judicial functions. But in practice there were a number of men whose primary function was adjudication and who were assisted by a set of minor functionaries.[2] Hindu theory laid the highest emphasis on justice. In theory and practice alike judicature was one of the most important aspects of governance.

Such was the machinery in outline that normally worked at the centre. But it was difficult to ensure its extension to the provinces, districts and towns or villages. It was necessary to devise means for reconciling central with local government and administration. Three lines were struck by political theory. In the first place, a great deal of autonomy was left to feudatories and subfeudatories. In the second place, the king or feudatory organized a regular system of provincial and district administration. In the third place, a great deal of autonomy was left to villages, more in the Deccan than in the North, and most of all in the South.

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[1] For details see next Chapter.
[2] See next Chapter.

This territorial organization contained elements of federalism, feudalism and local autonomy. But it did not exhaust the whole subject of social regulation. There existed parallel organizations, on the basis of function, in the form of village communities, kinship associations, and guilds of manufacturers, merchants, bankers or others. They enjoyed considerable autonomy in the management of their affairs. Their customs or rules were recognized by the state and upheld by the law-givers. It will be observed that in India the principle of function dovetailed into that of kinship and habitancy and was, therefore, often vested with greater significance than in medieval Europe. In any case, it was the basis of an important part of the machinery of social control.

Thus, organization was both horizontal and vertical, and comprised a number of local and functional jurisdictions and intermediate associations standing in various, more or less ill-defined, relations with the State. Incidentally, the vocational association often cut across lines of caste and locality. For instance, *Śreṇī* or a guild consisted of persons following the same craft though belonging to different castes, while the *Naigama* formed a guild of traders belonging to various towns.

4. *Inter-State Relations*[1]

The organization of the Hindu State was determined by its geographic and economic environment. The extensive plains favoured the growth of large States, but the difficulties of transport and communication were so formidable that the Central Government could not usually make its power felt at the circumference. So began that interplay of centripetal and centrifugal forces around which a good deal of the history of India, as of every other country, seems to revolve. Every State tended to encroach upon its neighbours. It was not long before opinion and philosophy held up to admiration the ideal of the "big kingdom", "the kingdom extending up to the sea", "the universal dominion". On the other hand, such an empire could not last long. The outlying regions were constantly tempted to cut adrift from the main body, to start on an absolutely independent career and, in their turn, to make a bid for supremacy.

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[1] On this topic cf. N. N. Law, *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*.

Normally, a compromise was struck in the interests of peace and harmony. A kingdom or empire came to mean a fusion of two features which, for want of perfectly suitable terms, may be designated federalism and feudalism. There was a king or emperor at the centre claiming suzerainty over a number of princes who offered allegiance to him, subordinated their foreign policies to his diplomatic moves, usually served him in war and offered him tribute, but who retained their autonomy in internal administration. These Princes in their turn might have feudatories who stood towards them more or less in the same relation in which they stood towards their suzerain. So there might be a third, a fourth, and even further layers in the political hierarchy.

All these tendencies are reflected or exaggerated, systematised or unduly simplified, analysed or synthesised in a very logical and abstract manner by the doctrine of Maṇḍala which imparted a very symmetrical form to the relationships resulting from the quest for suzerainty and the consequent need of astute diplomacy and alliances. The Mandala is supposed to consist usually of twelve kings:—

(1) The *Vijigīshu* or the would-be conqueror, *i.e.* the sovereign in the centre.

Then, next in geographical order, were five kings in front of him, *viz.*

(2) *Ari*, the enemy.
(3) *Mitra*, the friend of the *Vijigīshu*.
(4) *Ari-mitra*, the friend of the enemy.
(5) *Mitra-mitra*, the friend's friend of the *Vijigīshu*.
(6) *Ari-mitra-mitra*, the friend's friend of the enemy.

In his rearward stood in geographical order:

(7) *Pārshṇigrāha* or a rearward enemy.
(8) *Ākranda*, rearward friend.
(9) *Pārshṇigrāhāsāra*, friend of the enemy in the rearward.
(10) *Ākrandāsāra*, friend of the friend in the rearward.

The circle was completed by:

(11) *Madhyama* or the intermediary.
(12) *Udāsīna* or the neutral.

Within this circle the *Vijigīshu* was to maintain a sort of balance of power or to assert his own supremacy. It is assumed in the above enumeration that two adjacent states are normally hostile, and consequently two states with another intervening between them would be friendly, being common enemies of the latter. The *Udāsīna* is the strongest power in the neighbourhood, which normally can rely on its own strength and need not enter into any diplomatic relationship with the neighbouring powers for protection. The *Madhyama* is intermediate in strength between the *Udāsīna* and the other powers.

The game of power-politics naturally lowered the tone of statecraft and imparted to it a Machiavellian tinge. For instance, all the writers enumerate the four instruments of policy, *viz. Sāma* or conciliation, *Dāna* or gift, *Daṇḍa* or chastisement, and *Bheda* or sowing dissensions. Kauṭilya recognises deceitfulness and secret punishment among the legitimate means of statecraft. There were, however, a few writers who repudiated the whole doctrine of reason of State. Thus Ārya Deva[1] declared that morality, *i.e.* righteousness, must everywhere be supreme, in public as in private life.

It was a natural consequence of this state of things that there should grow up conventions and rules on relations between suzerains and vassals as well as on those between independent sovereigns. There is accordingly a regular network of doctrines and maxims on what may be called foreign affairs or inter-state relations and client states.

The most comprehensive account of this is given in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. It enumerates the following six-fold policy determining the relations of States with one another:—

1. *Sandhi* (Treaty of peace or alliance);
2. *Vigraha* (War);
3. *Āsana* (Neutrality);
4. *Yāna* (Making preparation for attack without actually declaring war);
5. *Saṁśraya* (Seeking the protection of another);
6. *Dvaidhībhāva* (Making peace with one and waging war with another).

Kauṭilya points out in detail the most important conditions that should influence the decision of a ruler in the matter of adopting one or other of the above policies. This discussion shows a penetrating insight into affairs of State. The sole guiding principle in making the choice is the material welfare of the State. "A wise king," says Kauṭilya, "shall observe that form of policy which, in his opinion, enables him to build forts, to construct buildings and commercial roads, to open new plantations and villages, to exploit mines and timber and elephant forests, and at the same time to harass similar works of his enemy."

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[1] Chatuḥśatikā, pp. 462-64.

Kauṭilya is not guided by any spirit of chivalry when it is not conducive to the material interest of a State. Thus when a weak king is attacked by a powerful king, he should seek the protection of a powerful king, combine with a number of his equals or even inferior kings, or shut himself up in an impregnable fort. Failing all these means he should, according to one school of writers, rush against the enemy like a moth against a flame, with a view to secure death or victory. But Kauṭilya is definitely against this. According to him, the weak king should rather accept the most humiliating terms, biding his opportunity to free himself from this servitude. The details given by Kauṭilya about these terms indicate the extent of a suzerain king's authority over his vassal. Without the permission of the former the latter could not undertake, among other things, to construct forts, celebrate marriages of sons or daughters, hold the installation ceremony of his heir-apparent, purchase horses, capture elephants, perform sacrifices, march against foes or even go out on excursions for amusements.[1] He was not free even in his dealings with his officers and subjects. Even on occasions of worshipping the gods and making prayers he should invoke the blessings of God on the suzerain king. He should help the protector as much as he can, and always proclaim his readiness to place himself at the disposal of his suzerain.

Various kinds of treaties between independent kings are discussed by Kautilya. One of them was an alliance with another State with the ultimate object of forming a coalition against an enemy. The others have for their objects acquisition of land or gold, colonization of wasteland, and construction of forts.

Kauṭilya also enumerates various types of treaties concluded between a powerful and a weaker state when the latter is threatened by the former. These are divided into three broad classes according as the essential conditions are the cession of territory, payment of money, or promise of military help by the inferior State. There are various sub-divisions in each class. In the first, for example, there may be (1-2) cession of only a part of the kingdom or the whole of it without the capital, or (3-4) the payment of the product of his lands, or of more than his lands produce. In the second class the amount of indemnity may be large or small and paid in one or more instalments. In the third class, it might be stipulated that the troops to be sent for the assistance of the superior king were to be led in person by the king of the inferior State, his son and commander-in-chief, or by some other person. In the first two cases a person of high rank or a woman was to be given as hostage, evidently to ensure the presence of the king or the prince with his troops, which was naturally regarded by them as the most humiliating. These various kinds of treaties indicate in a general way the relation between States of unequal power.

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[1] This is the interpretation of Ganapati Sastri (II. 341) which is somewhat different from that of Shamasastry (*KAT*, 377; *KA*. 310).

The enforcement of a treaty proved a difficult problem. In addition to the promises of the two parties, sometimes an oath was taken for the due fulfilment of the terms of the treaty. "Honest kings of old", we are told, "made their agreement of peace with this declaration: 'We have joined in peace.' In case of any apprehension of breach of promise, they made their agreement by swearing by fire, water, plough, a fort-wall, clod of earth, shoulder of an elephant, horse-back, seat of a chariot, weapon, precious stone, seed of plant, fragrant substance, *rasa* (mercury, poison, or milk) and gold, and declaring that these (*i.e.* the thing or things by which the oath is administered) will desert and kill him who violates the oath."[1]

One school of political writers thought that mere honesty and oath were not sufficient, but hostages were necessary for the due fulfilment of the treaty. Kauṭilya differs from this, though he enunciates the principle that "whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace." In general, moral considerations have no place in Kauṭilya's statecraft, its sole guiding principle being the welfare of the State.

It is difficult to say whether there was any definite body of rules regulating the relation between different States, such as we have, for example, in the international law of the present day. Some such usage as the inviolability of ambassadors, or the personal safetv guaranteed to cultivators even in times of war, may be regarded as coming under this category. The humane rules of warfare laid down by Manu[2] might also be regarded as generally recog-

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1. N. Law, *Op. Cit.* 50-51; cf. *KAT*. 381; *KA*. 314.
2. VII. 90-93.

nised by States. These forbid the use of weapons, which are concealed, poisoned or barbed, or the points of which are blazed with fire, and also striking down an enemy who is wounded, engaged in fighting with another, has offered submission, turned to flight, broken his weapon or lost his coat of mail. But the elaborate directions of military campaigns laid down in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[1] do not take into account these humanitarian rules of warfare. He recommends, without scruple, any means, fair or foul, that may bring success against the enemy.

Kauṭilya however, agrees generally with Manu in recommending mild and beneficent measures to be adopted towards a conquered country. The conqueror should "follow the friends and leaders of the people", and "adopt the same mode of life, the same dress, language and customs as those of the people. He should follow the people in their faith with which they celebrate their national, religious and congregational festivals or amusements."[2] Manu, however, further recommends that relative of the vanquished ruler, approved by the people, should be put on the throne on stipulated conditions.

That there was a more or less regular diplomatic intercourse between different States is proved by Kauṭilya's long dissertation on the 'mission of envoys.'[3] The envoys are divided into three grades, according to status, and probably also, as their names imply, with reference to the powers vested in them. To the highest category belongs an ambassador vested with full discretionary powers. The second class had limited powers and was probably despatched with a particular object in view. The envoys of the third class merely carried a definite message.

The envoys sent to a foreign State were expected to secure information about its internal condition including its military strength, the state of parties and public opinion. For this he should employ spies and use cypher-writings. The duties of an envoy, enumerated by Kauṭilya include the transmission of messages, observance of the due fulfilment of treaties, contracting alliance, intrigue and sowing dissension among allied powers, gathering information about the movements of spies, securing release of hostages, etc.

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1. Book X.
2. *KAT.* 491-92.
3. *KAT.* 34-7.

III. SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

1. *Monarchy*

(i) *The king*

Strictly speaking, Hindu political theory vests sovereignty in the *Dharma* or law in the widest sense of the term.[1] But administration was entrusted to the king. Accordingly the kingly office is extolled to the skies. The theory of his divine origin and absolute power has been referred to above. Priestly functions pertained to the Brāhmaṇas, not to the king, but all were integrated into a single stream of social and spiritual life. It is often stated that protection of the people on the part of the king was equal to the performance of the greatest sacrifice (*Yajña*) and was conducive to bliss and prosperity.[2] Similarly, Nārada observes that the king attains to his position through austerities. By way of prescribing a high standard of conduct to the king, Manu[3] observes that "where another common man would be fined one Kārshāpaṇa, the king shall be fined one thousand, that is the settled rule." One of the most valuable ideas that run through Sanskrit literature is that power or the kingly office is a trust.

The king, on his part, must be humble and modest, versed in sacred and secular lore. The absence of constitutional checks on the kingship was an additional reason for moral exhortation and for stress on duty with a supernatural sanction behind it. All the writers hold that the conquest of internal enemies by the king, *i.e* the attainment of perfect self-control and equilibrium, was a condition precedent to his successful government at home and conquest abroad. As already observed, some of them go so far as to observe that rulers who lacked culture and were victims to folly, greed and sensuality were incapable of wielding the rod of punishment. Manu[4] and Yājñavalkya[5] insist that the king must be versed in *Vārtā* or the science of economics and should develop the resources of the State.

His duties are described by Manu and Kauṭilya in wide terms. He must have a good education[6] and undergo rigorous training in discipline. "Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to

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1. See Vol. I, pp. 430 f, 482 f.
2. Cf. *Manu*, VII. 84.
3. VIII. 336.
4. VII. 43.
5. III. 111.
6. See Ch. XXII.

conquer his senses; for he (alone), who has conquered his own senses, can keep his subjects in obedience." He must shun all the vices which spring from sensuality, greed and wrath. He must actively encourage agriculture, improve the highways, exploit the mines, clear the forests, colonise barren lands, tame elephants, build forts and bridges.[1] He must be unremitting in the performance of his duty. He must rise in the last watch of the night, perform religious ceremonies, worship the Brāhmaṇas, and then commence the business of government by entering the hall of audience and gratifying all who have come to see him. Then he must proceed to consult his ministers.

The daily programme which Manu and Kauṭilya prescribe for the king follows the line of the *Mahābhārata*. Nārada[2] observes that "it is not permitted to advise or rebuke a king or a Brāhmaṇa on account of their sanctity and dignity, unless they should swerve from the path of duty." This evidently implies that rebuke was permissible for dereliction of duty. The king is to follow a rigid time-table, in order to be able to discharge all his duties, including deliberation on state affairs, administrative planning, review of finance and revenue, inspection of the cavalry, the elephant force, the armoury, etc., supervision of spies, receptions, etc., in addition to ordinary administrative and judicial business.

(ii) *The Ministers*

All the writers on polity agree that in order to carry on successfully the heavy work of administration, the king must have assistance. As Kauṭilya so characteristically puts it, "sovereignty is possible only with assistance," for "a single wheel can never move."[3] According to Kauṭilya, therefore, the king shall employ ministers (*mantrī*) and also have a council (*mantriparishad*).[4]

Kauṭilya starts with the general proposition that "all kinds of administrative measures are preceded by deliberations in a well-formed council." It would be of interest to know something definite about the constitution and powers of the council, but Kauṭilya's account is somewhat vague. He quotes the opinions of preceding writers who suggest the number of members as 12, 16, or 20, but himself recommends that it 'shall consist of as many members as the needs of his dominion require.' That it consisted of members not usually resident in the capital city appears from the direction that the king shall consult those that are not near by sending writs. The powers of the council are described in very general terms. There is, however, one important point that requires careful consideration. "In works of emergency", says Kauṭilya, "the king shall call both the ministers and the council," and after discussion, "shall do whatever the majority of the members suggest or whatever course of action leading to success they point out." If we accept this interpretation, we must hold that the king's power was effectively checked by the joint body of ministers and councillors. Some, however, interpret the passage differently and take it to mean that the king should either accept the view of the majority or follow that course of action which (in his opinion) leads to success.

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[1] *Manu,* VII. 154.
[2] XVIII. 122.
[3] *KAT.* 14.
[4] For these two topics cf. *KAT.* 14-20, 30-32.

The council or *mantriparishad* was probably an important feature of the Maurya constitution, for we hear of a *parishad* in Aśoka's inscription, and the emperor attached a great deal of importance to its deliberations.

As compared with the vagueness of his account about the council, Kauṭilya gives a comprehensive account of the ministers. The first point discussed is the method of selection. A discussion recorded by Kauṭilya, though avowedly theoretical, throws interesting light on this point. He dwells at length on the opinions of preceding writers and the criticism urged against them. Thus we are told that Bhāradvāja advised the king to select ministers from among his old fellow-students, but Viśālāksha demurred to it as ultimately destructive of royal prestige. Parāśara emphasised loyalty as the foremost qualification, but Piśuna pointed out that capacity, intellectual and administrative, was the essential desideratum. Kauṇapadanta laid stress on family traditions and recommended the appointment of those whose fathers and grandfathers had been ministers before, but Vātavyādhi explained that new men versed in the science of politics were safer. Bāhudantiputra, however, decried mere theoretical knowledge and laid emphasis on high birth and capacity. Kauṭilya generally agreed with the last view. He holds that 'the ministerial appointment shall wholly depend on qualifications' and describes in detail what these qualifications are and how to ascertain them. One possessed of the necessary qualifications should be subjected to various tests—the four allurements of religion, money, love and fear, as Kauṭilya calls them. Those who successfully pass all the tests should be selected as ministers, while those who pass one or more of them will be appointed to high offices according to the test to which they were put.

Manu on the whole holds the same view, though expressed more briefly. Thus he lays down that the king should "appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons, and descended from (noble) families and who have been tried."[1] Kauṭilya, after a long discussion, concludes that the king should discuss matters of State not with one or two, but with three or four ministers. For 'a single minister proceeds wilfully and without restraint, and in deliberating with two ministers the king may be overpowered by their combined action.' According to Manu, however, the king 'shall first ascertain the opinion of each minister separately, and then the views of all together'.[2]

Among the ministers, one should be selected as the chief. But though Manu directs that he should be a Brāhmaṇa,[3] Kauṭilya does not lay down any such restriction.

(iii) *Other Officers*

Every minister seems to have controlled one or more departments. The precise number of the departments is not stated by Kauṭilya, but his work, as a whole, gives an idea of the working of the departments of Audit and Accounts, Records, Stores, Treasury, Forest Produce, Weaving, Agriculture, Pasture Lands, Cows, Slaughter-houses, Weights and Measures, Gold-smithy, Mines, Ocean-mines, Metals, Mint, Salt, Wastelands, Commerce, Tolls, Excise, Passports, Ships, etc. On the military side the chief departments are those of Armoury, Elephants, Horses, Chariots and Infantry.

Each of these departments was under a Superintendent who was assisted by 'accountants, scribes, coin-examiners, stock-takers and additional secret overseers (*i.e.* spies).' Kauṭilya, however, observes that 'each department shall be officered by several temporary heads' and also that 'elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry shall each be placed under many chiefs.' It has been very plausibly suggested[4] that these passages refer to a system of administration by the Board described by Megasthenes in connection with the municipal and military organization in the time of Chandragupta Maurya.[5]

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[1] VII. 54.
[2] VII. 57.
[3] VII. 58.
[4] *PHAI.* 233.
[5] See above, pp. 63-65.

In addition to the heads of various departments mentioned above, Kauṭilya mentions two very high officials, *viz.* the *Sannidhātā* and the *Samāhartā*. The former, whose designation literally means that he ever attends upon the king, seems to have been in charge of the Treasury, including stores of all kinds. The latter was the Collector-General of Revenue. In describing their duties Kauṭilya gives a comprehensive account of the manifold sources of revenue and also the various kinds of stores collected by the State. Among other important officials may be mentioned the *Purohita*, *Senāpati*, *Dauvārika* (gate-keeper), the *Antarvaṁśika* (leader of the harem guards), *Durgapāla* (Governor of forts) and *Antapāla* (Governor of the frontier). The Superintendent of the City was also another important officer whose duty and method of administration are described in detail, throwing much light on the sense of civic duty and responsibility in those days. Another class of officers, who formed an indispensable part of the administration, were the spies. The method of recruiting them and the nature of their training and work constitute an important chapter[1] in Kauṭilya's work and strongly support the views of those who hold that there was a complete divorce between morality and statecraft in those days. Many other views, situations and their remedies, described in the *Arthaśāstra*, would lead to the same conclusion.

It must be remembered, however, that like Machiavelli of later days, Kauṭilya took a detached scientific view of the State, and judged of policy solely by its conduciveness to the welfare of the State. He prescribed what he believed would lead to the growth of material prosperity of the State and the power and well-being of the ruler. He expressed his views frankly, without any mental reserve; and uninfluenced by any considerations of morality. Although, *prima facie*, some of his theories might appear to be quite different from those held in modern times, in practice the difference is not really so great. He professed what most modern states condemn in theory but actually put into practice. But we do not know how far ancient rulers followed in actual life the dictates of Kauṭilya as laid down in his *Arthaśāstra*.

The village was the administrative unit and was under a *grāmika*, who was appointed by the king, according to Manu.[2] The fact that *grāmika* is not included in the list of salaried officials given by Kauṭilya has led some scholars to hold that he was 'not a paid servant of the crown but an elected official of the villagers.'[1] According to Manu, the king appointed lords of ten, twenty, hundred and thousand villages. Similar divisions are also hinted at by Kauṭilya, who mentions a royal official called *Gopa* who looked after 5 or 10 villages, and another called *Sthānika* who supervised one-quarter of a *Janapada* or district. Such a regular gradation of officers, under the central State authority, must be regarded as an essential feature of administration of a large kingdom, though the names of officials and other details varied. Kauṭilya refers to *Samāhartā* (Collector-General) assisted by *Pradeshṭās* (Commissioners) as in supreme charge, and we find the later mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions along with Rājūkas and other officers. According to Kauṭilya the Commissioners appointed by the Collector-General shall check the proceedings of Superintendents and their subordinates and inflict punishment on them. Kauṭilya also recommends that a commission of three *Pradeshṭās* or three *Amātyas* shall deal with measures to suppress disturbance to peace (lit. removal of thorns).[2] Some regard these bodies as so many tribunals appointed, in addition to ordinary law-courts, to deal in a summary manner with various abuses and malpractices of administration. They were also authorised to take cognisance of various high crimes and also offences of a miscellaneous character.

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[1] *KA*, Book I, Chs. XI-XII.
[2] VII. 115 ff.

On the whole, Kauṭilya gives us a picture of a highly organized system of administration under a powerful bureaucracy at the centre, though much scope was left for local self-government. How far it was a theoretical scheme, and the extent to which it reflects the actual system of administration in any particular age or locality, it is difficult to say. It is, however, reasonable to hold that the system laid down by Kauṭilya was followed, at least in general principles, during the period under review and perhaps also in subsequent times.

(iv) *Sources other than Arthaśāstra*

The political data supplied by presumably contemporary Tamil literature tally with the *Arthaśāstra*. The relevant passages in V. Kanakasabhai's *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, based on literature, often remind one of Kauṭilya. The same remark holds true of the *Muppāl* or the *Kural* composed by Tiruvalluvar. He insists on the same qualities in the King as Kauṭilya—fearlessness, liberality, wisdom, energy, vigilance, learning, bravery, virtue in general, freedom from pride, anger, lust, avarice and low pleasures, and capacity and readiness to hear unpalatable words.[1] The king must be accessible to the people, must personally conduct the administration, examine cases and give decisions.[2] The need for consultation is emphasised and the qualifications and duties of the chief officers of State are dwelt upon in the manner of the *Arthasastra.*[3] On ambassadors the *Kural*[4] reads like an echo of the *Arthasastra.* On forts[5] and on the army[6] the *Kural* is feeble, but in line with the *Arthaśātra.* Tiruvalluvar's sayings on espionage might, with slight alterations, pass for those of Kauṭilya: 'A spy and a book of laws are the eyes of a king."[7] Though avowedly an ethical treatise, the *Kural*, when dealing with diplomatic or foreign affairs, betrays the same lack of moral considerations as Kauṭilya. Its opportunism and Machiavellian precepts are exactly parallel to the maxims of the *Arthaśāstra.*[8]

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[1] *PHAI*, 240.
[2] *KAT*, 253.

The political theory of the Arthaśāstras, the Dharma-śāstras and the epics, as well as the administrative structure referred to in the inscriptions, foreign accounts and other data are reflected in the Classical Sanskrit literature. Thus Aśvaghosha[9] in his *Saundarananda-Kāvya* testifies to the supreme need and indispensability of kingship, and wants it to function as the guide and teacher. In the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, Aśvaghosha prescribes a very elaborate curriculum for the prince, comprising grammar, writing, rhetoric, eloquence, the Vedas, literature, astronomy, medicine, sacrifices; music and song, playing on the tambourine, playing on the conch, dancing and laughter, computation, chess, dice, the science of precious stones and valuable materials for clothing, silk, sealing, weaving, wax work, strategy, sewing, sculpture, painting, arrangement of garlands, interpretation of dreams, interpretation of the flight of birds, reading horoscopes; the training of elephants, domestication of horses, wielding the lance, jumping, running and fording a river, archery, rules of battle array, strategy, etc.

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1. *Kural*, Ed. Lazarus, 382-84, 387-89, 390, 431-432, 436.
2. *Ibid*, 520, 547-50, 561, 568. See also 551-55, 563-67 on righteous rule.
3. *Ibid*, 631-35, 638-40, 643, 646, 655, 660, 675.
4. *Ibid*, 681-82, 685-86.
5. *Ibid*, 742-50.
6. *Ibid*, 761-62, 764, 766-80.
7. *Ibid*, 581.
8. *Ibid*, 471-74, 488-90.
9. See pp. 258, 266.

Unfortunately, we have very little knowledge of any actual system of administration, save that of the Maurya's which has been described above. Of the States that flourished before them we have scattered references to administrative organization in literature, but it is not possible to draw up any definite outline of it. Thus Pāli *Mahāvagga* refers to 80,000 townships of king Bimbisāra and an assembly attended by their overseers (*grāmikas*). Whatever we might think of the number, it testifies to the importance of the village as an administrative unit, and an administrative organization based on democratic principles. The Buddhist Pāli texts also refer to some high officials like *Mantris*, but do not say anything about their power and function. The system sketched in the Dharma-sūtras and already described above[1] must have formed the basis of administration at the beginning of this period, and gradually developed into the highly elaborate structure of the Maurya period which has been already described.[2] This development is largely reflected in the Dharma-śāstras and specially in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, though the latter may not form its very basis.

Of the administrative system of the many States that flourished after the Mauryas, our information is very meagre, and we get only a few isolated references in epigraphic records.

The kingdom of the Andhras comprised many feudatories, some of whom at least enjoyed, *inter alia*, the right to stamp their own coin. An inscription of Pulumāvi of the second century A.D. shows military officers holding large areas of land. Coins and inscriptions reveal a number of high officers styled *Mahārāṭhis*, *Mahābhojas*, *Mahāsenāpatis*, *Amātyas*, *Mahāmātras* and *Bhāṇḍāgrikas*. They acted as ministers, treasurers and heads of departments at the central, provincial or feudal capitals. There was a regular secretarial staff, comprising *Lekhakas* or clerks.

The Kshatrapas and Mahā-Kshatrapas, who ruled over South Rājputāna, Saurāshṭra and contiguous districts, had numerous feudatories under them. Epigraphic evidence shows that they attended to irrigation, observed religious toleration, built rest-houses, constructed wells, tanks and gardens, etablished free ferries at many places and founded *jala-satras*,[3] halls for meetings, etc. On the other hand, forced labour was sometimes exacted for public works and new taxes were often imposed. The digging of salt, unless alienated, seems to have been a royal monopoly. The higher officials seem to have been divided into two grades, *Mati-sachivas*, *i.e.*, councillors or ministers, and *Karma-sachivas* or executive officers.

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[1] Vol. I, pp. 486-88.
[2] See pp. 62 ff.
[3] Road-side sheds for free supply of drinking water.

The Kushāṇa empire was founded like its predecessors and successors on the bases of autonomy and feudalism. The Manikiala inscription[1] refers to *Daṇḍanayago* (=Daṇḍanāyaka), perhaps a general or probably a judicial official, *Navakarmiga*, superintendent of buildings, and *Vihāra-(karavhaena)*, the architect of Vihāras.

The Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman shows that the foreign rulers were well-versed in the Indian science of polity and adopted the general administrative machinery described in it. But side by side with many familiar official names we also meet with foreign ones such as Satrap (provincial governor), Meridarch (probably district officer) and Strategos (military governors).

In general, the foreign rulers used high-sounding royal epithets like King of Kings (in Greek) and the corresponding Indian titles *Chakravartin*, *Adhirāja* or *Rājātirāja*. The last, along with *Devaputra*, assumed by the Kushāṇa kings, was probably due to the theory of the divine origin of kings discussed above. To the same idea we may attribute the apotheosis of deceased rulers of which we get clear evidence in this period. Special reference may be made in this connection to the practice of erecting *Devakulas* or temples containing representations of dead kings. Apart from general references, a *Devakula* of the grandfather of the Kushāṇa king Huvishka is actually mentioned in an inscription at Mathurā. Some scholars have found in it an imitation of the practice of dedication of temples in honour of the Roman emperors. The same influence may also be traced in the assumption of the title of *Kaisara* (Caesar) by a Kushāṇa king, according to the generally accepted reading of the Ārā inscription.[2] Some idea of the administrative organization of the post-Mauryan period may be formed from the names of officials mentioned in epigraphic records, some of which have been mentioned above.

An important feature of the administration of the period is the association of near and dear relations of the king, like son, grandson, brother, or nephew, with the government. Sometimes, these had equal powers and status with the king, as we find, among others, in the cases of Lysias and Antialcidas, Agathocleia and Strato I, Strato I and Strato II, Spalirises and Azes, and Chashṭana and Rudradāman. Sometimes the relations probably held the position of subordinate colleagues. The best examples of this are furnished by the coins of Vonones.[1] It may be noted that this practice also prevailed among the Pallavas and, later, also among the Cholas in South India.

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[1] *JRAS*, 1909, p. 645.
[2] See above, p. 151.

(v) *Taxation*

To defray the expenses of administration an elaborate system of taxation is prescribed by the writers on polity. Incidentally, Manu has a remarkable idea on the origin and validity of property. "Land belongs to him who clears off the timber, and a forest animal to him who owns the arrow." It reminds one of Locke who sees the beginning of property in the mixing of human labour with natural substance. But in Manu[2] the idea is not followed up to establish taxation on consent. The maxim is: "No taxation without protection." A king who levies taxes but does not afford protection takes upon himself "all the foulness of his people" and sinks into hell. Duties and taxes must be fixed after full deliberation so as to provide an adequate revenue to the State and an adequate return to the workers. "As the leech, the calf and the bee take their food little by little, even so must the king draw from his realm moderate annual taxes." The land tax should be one-sixth, one-eighth, or one-fourth of the crops, *i.e.* of the gross produce. "A fiftieth of cattle and gold may be taken by the king," says Manu. There was hardly anything which the State did not tap to increase its resources. Manu awards the king a sixth part of "trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, (medical) herbs, substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots and fruit; of leaves, pot-herbs, grass, (objects) made of cane, skins, of earthen vessels, and all (articles) made of stone."

The duties on traders should be fixed on a consideration of the rates of sale and purchase, the means of communication, the charges of securing goods and the necessary expenses of the dealers. Elsewhere Manu prescribes one-twentieth of the value of each saleable commodity as calculated by experts. All who live by traffic must annually pay something, be it a trifle. Those who violated these rules were to suffer the confiscation of their whole property. An attempt to defraud the customs-house was to be punished with a fine of eight times the amount due. There was another species of contribution to which the State was entitled from those who had nothing to give in cash or kind. Mechanics, artisans and Śūdras who lived by manual labour should work for the king for a day in each month.

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[1] See above, pp. 123 f.

[2] For taxation cf. *Manu*, VII. 127-139.

Treasure-trove is pointed out as another source of income. The king was entitled to one-sixth, one-tenth, or at least, one-twelfth of the property lost and afterwards found. Such property was to be deposited temporarily with special officers. If any one of them tampered with it, he was to be trampled under the feet of an elephant. If the king, *i.e.* the State, discovered any old treasure hidden underground, one-half of it must go to the royal exchequer and the other half be distributed among Brāhmaṇas. Not only of ancient hoards but also of the metals underground, the king was entitled to one-half, on the ground that he was the lord of the soil. Here Manu seems to suggest that, in the ultimate analysis, the State was the owner of the land. Numerous petty dues were levied at ferries. Their classification is curious. At a ferry, an (empty) cart shall be made to pay one *paṇa*, a man's (load) half a *paṇa*, an unloaded man one-half of a quarter. Carts laden with merchandise paid according to the value of the goods.

Manu[1] exhorts the king to appoint experts to look after the mines and inspectors to attend to concerns which yielded revenue to the State. A later work, *Bṛihat-Parāśara Smṛiti* (X) admits the right of a king to appropriate the wealth of heretics, usurers and public women. Vishṇu exempts Brāhmaṇas from taxation on the ground that their actions are an adequate contribution. He assigned to the State a sixth of the gross produce of the land, ten *per cent* on sales within the country, and five *per cent* on that of commodities sold by his subjects in foreign countries, two *per cent* on cattle, gold and clothes; 16 2/3 *per cent* on roots, fruits, liquids and condiments, wood, leaves, skins, earthen pots, stone vessels and anything made of split bamboo; two days' labour in a month from artisans, manual labourers and Śūdras, and the whole produce of the mines. Treasure-trove, if discovered by the Brāhmaṇas, belonged entirely to them; otherwise, it was to be divided in varying proportions between the discoverers, the State and Brāhmaṇas. Besides numerous fines the State was entitled to ten *per cent* of the debt which might form the subject of law-suit.[2]

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[1] VII. 62, 81.

[2] *Vishṇu,* III, 23-32, 55-64; VI. 20.

For every suzerain ruler tributes and presents formed a regular source of income. It may be observed that fines imposed by courts of law formed one of the principal sources of revenue.

Kauṭilya also elaborately deals with taxation. While he taps all possible sources for ensuring an ample revenue, he warns the king against fiscal tyranny which leads to popular discontent and outbreak of rebellion. Kauṭilya enumerates various sources of revenue, the more important of which may be noted below.

1. Land-tax of various forms. There were crown-lands which were either worked by hired labourers or let out to tenants who got a share (normally one-half) of the produce. As regards other lands, the king received a tax for protection though in some cases they were given to officials free of rent in lieu of service. The rate or tax was normally one-sixth of the produce. There were also taxes on houses in cities, contributions levied for the maintenance of troops (probably at the time of an actual campaign), and also special and occasional taxes such as those paid on the birth of a prince.

2. Duties on sales of goods in market and taxes on imports and exports.

3. Road-cess, canal-dues, ferry-dues, tax on loads, various taxes levied by toll-houses, fee from passports.

4. Taxes levied on artisans, fishermen, prostitutes, gambling houses, wine houses, slaughter houses, etc.

5. Income derived from royal properties such as forests, mines and manufactories attached thereto, and the monopoly of salt and other commodities.

6. Forced labour.

7. Fines from law-courts.

8. Incomes from escheats, lost articles, treasure-trove.

IV. NON-MONARCHICAL CONSTITUTION[1]

One of the most important characteristics of the period is the existence of oligarchic and republican State side by side with the kingdoms.[2] Some scholars are of opinion that this was true also of the Vedic period. But although some passages in Vedic literature seem to imply the existence of oligarchic or republican clans, we cannot come to any definite conclusion on the point.

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[1] There is a vast literature on the subject. Cf. Bhandarkar, *CL*, I, pp. 140 ff; *CLAI*, Ch. III; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*.

[2] See above, pp. 2-3.

So far as the period under review is concerned, there is abundant evidence that monarchy was not the sole form of government. The classical writers refer to many republican clans who fought with Alexander, and some of these, as noted already,[1] are referred to in Pāṇini's grammar. According to them Nysa was an oligarchic State ruled by a president and a governing body of 300 members. Patalene had a political constitution resembling that of Sparta. It had two hereditary kings of different houses, who led the army, and a council of elders with paramount authority. According to Megasthenes democratic constitution replaced monarchy in most of the cities. Strabo refers to an 'aristocratic form of government consisting of five thousand councillors.' According to Arrian there were a large number of oligarchic states to the east of Hyphasis. Quintus Curtius refers to the big republican State of the Sabarcae which had extensive territory and an army consisting of 60,000 foot, 6000 cavalry and 500 chariots. It is to be noted that the majority of Indian States with which Alexander came into contact were non-monarchical.

The non-monarchical states are also referred to in Indian literature such as the *Mahābhārata* and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. But by far the most interesting account of them is preserved in the Buddhist literature. According to *Avadānaśataka* a few merchants from the central part of North India (Madhyadeśa), who visited the Deccan, replied, being asked about the form of government in their country, that 'some States are under kings while others are ruled by *gaṇas*.' This indicates that the non-monarchical constitution, referred to as *gaṇa*, was a general feature of the political system of the country. This is fully borne out by the political condition of North India at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. described above.[2]

The Buddhist literature mentions a large number of republican clans, but does not give any details regarding their constitution save in the case of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu and the Vajjian Confederation, of which the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī were the most prominent. These were ruled by a supreme assembly, consisting of both old and young members, which frequently met and fully discussed all important questions concerning the State. There was a head of the State, probably elected for a term of years, who functioned as the chief executive officer. There are good grounds to believe that the Mallas and Lichchhavis, and probably also others, had an executive council of nine members. The head of the State and the members of the assembly were called Rājā, which bore here the same sense as Consul and Archon. The house where the Assembly met was called Santhāgāra.

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[1] See pp. 2-3.
[2] See pp. 1-3, 17.

A few details of the Supreme Assembly are preserved in Jātaka stories which are of a later date than the canonical texts. According to them the Lichchhavi assembly consisted of 7,707 *rājās* or members who had a ceremonial consecration, like the king in a kingdom, and an important feature of the ceremony was a bath in a tank reserved for the purpose. We are further told that each of them had a viceroy (*uparāja*), a general and a treasurer. In other words, the Lichchhavi State was divided into a number of small administrative units, the heads of which composed the supreme assembly at the centre. This has a strong resemblance to the Cleisthenian constitution of Athens, and perhaps in both cases the locality was substituted for the clan as the administrative unit, which meant in effect the transition from the principle of kinship to that of locality or residence.

Whatever we might think of the number 7,707, there is no doubt that the supreme assembly of the Lichchhavis consisted of a large number, and as such may be regarded as a popular body. Some scholars are, however, of opinion that these numbers were recruited from the nobility.[1] In any case the assembly fully discussed all important questions, and its conduct of proceedings and the management of affairs of State drew the highest encomium from Gautama Buddha. Indeed he was so deeply impressed by the Lichchhavi and other republican states that he adopted a democratic constitution for his own church (*Saṅgha*).

The Buddhist texts give us a detailed account of the rules and regulations of the democratic government of the Saṅgha (Buddhist Church), and many scholars hold that these are identical with, and probably based upon, the democratic constitution of the republican States. This is very plausible, though not an established fact. If we assume this, we can formulate the following general principles in regard to the republican constitution.[2]

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1. For different views on the constitution of the Śākyas and the Lichchhavis cf. *IHQ*. XX (334), XXI (1) and the references contained therein.
2. Bhandarkar, *CL*. I. 179 ff.

1. Definite rules were laid down regarding the method of moving resolutions in the Assembly. Generally the proposal was repeated thrice, and if no objections were raised it was taken as passed. In case of objection, the sense of the assembly was determined by the votes of the majority. Definite rules were laid down for the counting of votes and there was a special officer for the purpose. Voting by ballot was in use.

2. Complicated questions were referred to committees.

3. Definite rules were laid down about quorum, votes of absentees, subsequent legalisation of acts done by an illegally constituted assembly, etc.

Buddhaghosha's commentary has preserved a unique account of the administration of justice among the Lichchhavis and other clans forming the confederacy of the Vajjis. According to it there was a regular chain of eight courts presided over by eight officers from *Vinichchayamahāmātta* at the bottom to the *Rājā* at the top. An accused person could be discharged by any one of them, if found not guilty, but otherwise he had to be brought before the next tribunal; he could thus be punished only if he was found guilty by all the successive eight tribunals. The truth of this account has been doubted on the ground of the late date of Buddhaghosha, but it is not unlikely that he relied upon old tradition. In any case, it upholds a democratic view of the liberty of a citizen which has probably no parallel in the history of the world. Whether literally true or not, it reflects a general belief in the ultra-democratic character of the Lichchhavi constitution.

There is a remarkable passage in the old Buddhist canonical text *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*[1] in which Buddha gives eloquent expression to his views about the constitution of the Vajjis. "So long, Ananda," said he, "as the Vajjians hold these full and frequent public assemblies, meet together in concord and carry out their undertakings in concord ...... and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians .... so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words .... so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper." Thus, while convinced of the inherent strength of a democratic constitution, Buddha was not oblivious of its two chief dangers, *viz*. disunion, and the tendency of the younger section to disregard the elders and established usages, and favour sweeping changes of a radical character. These dangers of the republican States are more fully described in the *Mahābhārata*[1] which offers suggestions for remedying them. But Kauṭilya urges upon the kings to destroy these States by exploiting their weakness, chiefly by sowing dissensions among the members of the assembly—a policy anticipated by Ajātaśatru in dealing with the Lichchhavis.

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[1] *SBE*, XI, 3-4.

Kauṭilya and the author of Ch. 107 of *Śānti Parvan* in the *Mahābhārata* represent two distinct schools of political thought. The former was in favour of a strong monarchy and regarded the republican States as the chief centres of opposition to his policy. Hence he recommended their destruction by all means, fair or foul, of which a lurid account is given in the *Arthaśāstra*. The other school was in favour of the democratic forms of government, and was anxious to preserve them from the dangers to which they were naturally exposed. The chief of these were disunion and dissension and lack of secrecy. Hence they recommend forbearance and toleration as the guiding principles of members, and the formation of a small cabinet of select leaders. "The *gaṇa* leaders," we are told, "should be respected, as the worldly affairs depend to a great extent upon them. The spy and the secrecy of counsel should be left to the chiefs, for it is not fit that the entire body of the *gaṇa* should hear those secret matters". In conclusion it is said that "it is the internal danger that is chiefly to be guarded against; the external danger is not of much importance. The *gaṇas* are torn asunder by the enemies.......by creating dissensions and offering bribes; so it is said that unity is the chief refuge of the *gaṇas*."

The long passage in the *Śānti Parvan* from which the above extracts are quoted shows a thorough comprehension of the essential features of a democratic constitution. The existence of the democratic States in India for more than a thousand years (600 B.C. to A.D. 400) gave rise to a political philosophy of which only a faint echo has been preserved in this remarkable passage in the Great Epic.

GENERAL REFERENCES

1. *Kauṭilīyaṁ Arthaśāstram*, Edited by R. Shamasastry, Mysore (1919).
2. English Translation of 1. by Shamasastry, Bangalore 1915. The statements about Kauṭilya in the text are, unless otherwise stated, based on this work. References to this book are mostly omitted as the relevant passage can be easily found from the Table of Contents and Index of this work.
3. N. C. Bandyopadhyaya. *Kauṭilya.*
4. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity.*

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[1] *Śānti Parvan*, Ch. 107.

CHAPTER XVIII

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

The period with which this volume deals saw the beginning of the systematic treatment of Hindu law, as well as its full development. It is in *Manu-smṛiti* that we first come across a regular exposition of the legal system, which was further followed in the later *Dharma-śāstras,* especially in those of Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛihaspati. Although the dates of these works are not definitely known, there are good grounds to believe that they were all compiled during the period under review or within a century after that.[1] In order to understand the historical development of the legal system of the Hindus, it is necessary to treat separately the four *Dharma-śāstras* mentioned above.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya also deals with legal topics, and adds considerably to our knowledge of the subject. But it was not regarded as an authentic source of law, and has not exercised much influence upon later writers. It has not, therefore, been thought necessary to refer to the details given by Kauṭilya, which are fairly comprehensive and deal with both judicial procedure and exposition of law. But some general principles of a distinctive character have been referred to by way of comparison. Kauṭilya was probably not far removed from the time when *Manu-smṛiti* was put in its present form, but the differences between the outlook of the two are both interesting and instructive. This is, however, beyond the scope of the present work.

I. MANU-SMṚITI AND ARTHAŚĀSTRA

1. *Sources and Topics of Law*

Manu enumerates four sources of law, *viz.* Śruti or the Vedas, Smṛiti, customs of holy men, and one's own inclination.[2] He makes it clear that in case of conflict the Śruti prevails over Smṛiti and that these have precedence over the last two.[3] But Kauṭilya lays down that "*Dharma* (sacred law), *Vyavahāra* (contract), *Charitra* (custom) and *Rājaśāsana* (royal decree) are the four legs of law, each of which is of superior validity to the one previously named." This is an important innovation by which the king becomes the highest authority for promulgating law. Still more revolutionary is Kauṭilya's dictum that 'whenever sacred law (*Śāstra*) is in conflict with rational law (*Dharmanyāya*), then reason shall be held authoritative.' This is denied by most of the *Dharma-śāstras* which place the sacred law above all, even above the royal decree.[1]

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[1] For the dates of the Smṛitis, see above, p. 257.
[2] II. 6. 10. 12.
[3] II. 13.

The custom or law which bound the king and all other organs of government thus represented the will of the gods as well as the wisdom of ancestors. It was both written and unwritten, to be gathered from the scriptures and the codes as well as from oral tradition, transmitted from generation to generation in various localities, and among various groups. But it was necessary to bring it abreast of the times and resolve doubts through fresh enactments or interpretations. This imperative necessity was fulfilled by two means. The first was the composition of new texts on customary law, or the interpolation of new passages into old texts, or the composition of commentaries which elucidated the text in the light of contemporary conditions, stated and resolved doubts, and offered fresh interpretations. That is the purpose underlying a good many *Dharma-śāstras* and *Arthaśāstras*, their editing and re-editing, as well as (in later times) a plentiful crop of *bhāshyas, ṭīkās* or commentaries. This stream of literature can be traced to the fifth or sixth century B.C. and has not yet ceased to flow. It constitutes a feature of the first importance in Hindu thought and life in the long-range perspective of history. But the process was slow and had to be supplemented by another means to cope with immediate necessities of legislation and interpretation. A *parishad* or assembly for law-making was accordingly prescribed by the *Dharma-śāstras*. The *parishad* would also serve to forestall monarchic despotism and surround the legislative process with investigation, discussion and promulgation in appropriate form. Thus Manu prescribes a *parishad* of either ten or three persons. The latter was composed of persons who each knew one of the three Vedas—Ṛig, Yajus and Sāma. The former included, in addition, three persons conversant respectively with logic, *Mīmāṁsā* and *Nirukta*, one who recites (the Institutes of) the sacred law, and three men belonging to the first three Orders.[2]

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[1] Cf. *PIHC*. VII. 43. The four terms denoting four legs of law are differently interpreted by Nārada and Bṛihaspati. Cf. below, pp. 349, 354.

[2] XII. 110-112.

Manu, for the first time, gives a regular classification of the law under eighteen heads or titles. These are (1) non-payment of debts, (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, (5) resumption of gifts, (6) non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between the owner (of cattle) and his servants, (10) disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault, (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery, (16) duties of man and wife, (17) partition (of inheritance), and (18) gambling and betting.[1] Almost all these items occur in Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra*, but are not specified in a systematic manner, though some scholars have also divided them into eighteen titles of law.[2]

2. *Criminal Law and Punishment*

As regards punishment, Manu recommends, in order of severity, (gentle) admonition, (harsh) reproof, a fine, and lastly corporal punishment.[3] To this may be added banishment, actually prescribed in many cases. "The king having fully ascertained the motive, the time and place (of the offence), and having considered the ability (of the criminal to suffer) and the (nature of the) crime shall cause punishment to fall on those who deserve it."[4] "Unjust punishment destroys reputation among men, and fame (after death), and causes even in the next world the loss of heaven; let him, therefore, beware of inflicting it." The same consequences ensue to "a king who punishes those who do not deserve it and punishes not those who deserve it."[5]

Caste privileges and disabilities are reflected in criminal law, especially on matters of morality and social hygiene. Different punishments are laid down for identical offences in accordance with the caste of the criminal and the victim. As a general rule, Brāhmaṇas were to be exempted from capital punishment. "No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brāhmaṇa; a king, therefore, must not even conceive in his mind the thought of killing a Brāhmaṇa." At the worst a Brāhmaṇa was only to be banished, and even then he must be allowed to take away all his property with him. Kauṭilya also makes similar distinctions, though in general his punishments to the lower castes are less severe. But he provides the death penalty (by drowning) for a Brāhmaṇa guilty of high treason.

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[1] VIII. 3-7.
[2] N. C. Bandyopadhyaya, *Kauṭilya*, p. 219.
[3] VIII. 129.
[4] VIII. 126.
[5] VIII. 127-8.

Caste enters in a conspicuous manner into Manu's law on defamation. For defaming a Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya was to be fined a hundred *paṇas*, a Vaiśya from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, while a Śūdra was to suffer corporal punishment. On the other hand, a Brāhmaṇa should be fined fifty, twenty-five and twelve *paṇas* for defaming a Kshatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra respectively. There was a uniform penalty of twelve *paṇas* for a twice-born man for defaming a caste-fellow. If a Śūdra even mentions the names and castes of the twice-born with contumely, "an iron rail ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth." If he insults a twice-born man with gross invective, his tongue shall be cut off "for he is of low origin". If he is arrogant enough to teach Brāhmaṇas their duties, "the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and into his ears." Even harsher and sometimes unspeakable are the punishments prescribed for insults which a Śūdra may chance to offer to men of superior castes. It is more than doubtful if these brutal punishments were ever actually awarded. Perhaps they only embody the ultra-orthodox theory of the superiority of the twice-born and the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa. Vishṇu lays down practically the same penalties and procedure of justice as Manu, but his treatment of insults and offences is extraordinarily minute. For example, a fine is prescribed for omitting to invite a Brāhmaṇa neighbour to a feast or for offering him no food when he has been invited. On the other hand, if the guest having duly accepted the invitation, refused to eat, he should pay a gold *Māshaka* as fine and double the amount of food to the host.

Similar distinctions are also made by Manu in the case of assaults. "With whatever limb a man of a lower caste injures a man of the three higher castes, even that limb shall be cut off."[1] Among other punishments for less serious offences under this head are prescribed branding on the hip, banishment and fine. For adultery various penalties are imposed according to the caste of the accused and the ravished woman, and the circumstances under which the crime was committed. These include fine, forfeiture of property, imprisonment, and even death (except for a Brāhmaṇa). Corporal punishment was prescribed for those "who either gamble and bet or afford an opportunity for it." Kauṭilya, however, recognises gambling as lawful, and penalises gamblers only if they play elsewhere than in central places fixed for the purpose under regulations laid down by the superintendent of gambling.

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[1] VIII. 279.

Manu prescribes capital punishment for the murder of Brāhmaṇas, women and children, tampering with the loyalty of ministers, treason and false proclamations. Mutilations are prescribed for robbers, cut-purses and for those who obstruct popular well-being or steal cows belonging to Brāhmaṇas. Banishment is prescribed for destroying the wall or gate of a town or filling up the ditch, or acts which were calculated to endanger public safety. The same penalty was also prescribed for gamblers, dancers and singers, cruel men, men belonging to a heretical sect, those following forbidden occupations, and sellers of spirituous liquor. Damages and fines are recommended for destroying a bridge, the flag of a temple or royal palace, a pole or image, stealing rope or water-pot from a well, or damaging a hut erected for the distribution of water.[1] Manu allows that the law may be taken into one's own hand on certain occasions, as in self-defence, and permits recovery of debt by artful management or even by force.[2]

Kauṭilya also refers to capital punishment being awarded for various offences.[3] For murdering another man in a quarrel the offender was to be tortured to death. Hanging is the penalty for various crimes, ranging from murder to such trivial offences as spreading false rumour, committing house-breaking, theft, and causing hurt to royal elephants, horses or carriages. "Any person who aims at overthrowing the kingdom, who forces an entrance into the king's harem, who instigates wild tribes or enemies against the king, or who creates disaffection in forts, borders, or the army, shall be burnt alive." "When a person breaks the dam of a tank full of water, he shall be drowned in that very tank." "Any woman who murders her husband, preceptor, or offspring, or sets fire to another's property, shall be torn asunder by bulls, no matter whether or not she is big with child." After mentioning these and other barbarous forms of capital punishments and mutilation Kauṭilya observes: "Such painful punishments as the above have been laid down in the Śāstras of great sages; but it has been declared as just simply to put to death those offenders who have not been guilty of cruelty". This is an important statement, inasmuch as it shows a general repulsion against the savage punishments laid down in theory, and an attempt to modify them in practice. Perhaps some of the penalties provided in *Manu-smṛiti* and other law-books belong to the same category.

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[1] *Manu,* VII. 319; IX. 225, 232-242, 270-293.

[2] VIII. 48-50.

[3] *KAT.* 286-88.

3. *Civil Law*

As regards civil law, which is also dealt with in an elaborate manner, reference may be made to certain interesting points only. The monthly interest on debt is allowed at the rate of 2, 3, 4 or 5 *per cent* according to the order of the castes. The enjoyment of property for ten years gives a prescriptive right to it, but 'a pledge, a boundary, the property of infants, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of the king and the wealth of a Śrotriya' are exempted from the operation of this rule.[1] "A contract made by a person intoxicated or insane, or grievously disordered (by disease and so forth), or wholly dependent, by an infant or very aged man, or by an unauthorised (party) is invalid"; and so also is the agreement which is "contrary to law or to the settled usage of the virtuous."[2] As regards inheritance, minute rules are prescribed to meet various contingencies and different usages. In general the division of property took place only after the death of the father, and the eldest brother got, as his share, either the whole property or a larger share than the other brothers. Maiden sisters also got a share, which was normally one-fourth of the brother's.

4. *Administration of Justice*

All Hindu theory lays the greatest stress on the administration of justice as an essential part of the protection to which the people are entitled from the government. Manu[3] personifies Daṇḍa or punishment as a being of dark complexion, with red eyes, inspiring terror and threatening penalties. He thinks that Daṇḍa is born out of the glory of Brahmā and is the real ruler.[4] It is implied here that punishment was both retributive and deterrent. Manu[5] expressly lays down that "the king shall establish prisons all along the public road where the suffering and disfigured offenders might be seen." In actual practice, punishment does not always seem to have been harsh. As noted above, there was great insistence on justice and equity. Manu[1] observes: "Where justice, wounded by injustice, approaches and the judges do not extract the dart, there (they also) are wounded (by that dart of injustice). Where justice is destroyed by injustice, or truth by falsehood, while the judges look on, there they shall also be destroyed. Justice, being violated, destroys; justice, being preserved, preserves; therefore justice must not be violated, lest violated justice should destroy us."

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[1] VIII. 145-149.
[2] VIII. 163-164.
[3] VII. 25.
[4] VII. 14 ff.
[5] X. 288.

According to Manu, the king should normally preside over the law-courts, and be assisted by Brāhmaṇas and experienced councillors.[2] In the king's absence the court should consist of a learned Brāhmaṇa appointed by the king, assisted by three councillors who were normally Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas. A popular element is introduced into the trial of disputes on boundaries between fields or villages. If the inspection of various marks such as tanks, wells, cisterns, fountains and temples failed to furnish decisive evidence, the case had to depend on the testimony of witnesses. These must be examined "in the presence of the crowd of the villagers and also of the two litigants. As they, being questioned, unanimously decide, even so he (the king) shall record the boundary." If no witnesses were available, the case should be left to the decision of people from four neighbouring villages.[3]

According to Kauṭilya, each important city and locality shall have a court of justice, consisting of three members acquainted with sacred law (*dharmastha*) and three ministers of the king.[4]

5. *Evidence*

According to Manu, if the defendant denies the charge, the complainant must call witnesses or adduce other evidence. Trustworthy men, who know their whole duty and are free from covetousness, are admissible as witnesses irrespective of caste. Interested persons, friends, companions, enemies, those convicted of perjury, and persons of several other categories were not admissible as witnesses.

As a rule, women, twice-born men, Śūdras, and men of the lower castes should give evidence only on behalf of people of the same class. But any person who has personal knowledge of a murder case, or of acts done in the interior of a house or in a forest, could be called as a witness. Indeed, on failure of regular witnesses, anyone could be summoned to bear evidence—women, infants, pupils, relations, slaves or hired servants, for example. Particularly in cases of violence, adultery, defamation and assault, the competence of a witness should not be examined too closely. The witnesses were strongly exhorted to speak the truth and severe penalties were laid down for giving false evidence.[1] It appears that witnesses did not merely report facts; they also shared a little of the character of assessors. This is the hypothesis which best explains the following verse in Manu:—

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[1] VIII. 12, 14-15.
[2] VIII. 1.
[3] VIII. 253-258.
[4] *KAT*, 187.

> "On a conflict of the witnesses the king shall accept (as true) the (evidence of) the majority; if (the conflicting parties are) equal in number, (that of) those distinguished by good qualities; on a difference between (equally) distinguished (witnesses, that of) the best among the twice-born."[2]

In case there were no witnesses the judge could ascertain the truth by means of oaṭh or ordeal. A religious sanctity was attached to oath, for he who swears an oath falsely is lost in this (world) and after death.[3] "Let the (judge) cause a Brāhmaṇa to swear by his veracity, a Kshatriya by his chariot or the animal he rides on and by his weapons, a Vaiśya by his kine, grain and gold, and a Śūdra by (imprecating on his own head the guilt of) all grievous offences." "Or the (judge) may cause the (party) to carry fire or to dive under water or severally to touch the heads of his wives and children. He whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water forces not to come (quickly) up, who meets with no speedy misfortune, must be held innocent on (the strength of) his oath."[4] This method of taking oath really amounts to ordeals.

Kauṭilya mainly follows Manu, but has some new suggestions to offer. "If witnesses differ", says he, "judgment may be given in accordance with the statements of a majority of pure and respectable witnesses; or the mean of their statements may be followed, or the amount under dispute may be taken by the king."[5] He also lays down, somewhat differently, the words of oath or admonition to be administered to witnesses of different castes. Kauṭilya does not refer to ordeals but gives gruesome details of eighteen kinds of torture to elicit confession of guilt.[1]

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[1] *Manu*, VIII. 60-100.
[2] VIII. 73.
[3] VIII. 109-111.
[4] VIII. 113-15.
[5] *KAT*, 225.

Mention may be made of one remarkable suggestion of Manu[2] for finding truth about deposits in the absence of witnesses. The judge should, through a spy, make a deposit of gold with the accused. If after some time, when the deposit is demanded back, the accused refuses to return it, he shall be held guilty of the first charge also and compelled to return that deposit.

Reference has been made above to the solicitude expressed by Manu for the impartial administration of justice. It is interesting to note that Kauṭilya prescribes punishment to judges for dereliction of duty, which includes, among other things, unjust punishment, improper treatment of the disputants, failure to do everything possible to ascertain the truth, interfering with witness, delay in the disposal of cases, undue help given to one party, etc. Even the clerk of the court is liable to punishment if he does not correctly record statements in taking down what has been deposed by both parties, enters what has not been deposed, and similar acts.[3]

Punishment is also provided for the superintendent of jails 'when he puts any person in the lock-up without declaring the grounds of conviction, maltreats a prisoner by torture, beating or depriving him of food and water, or receives bribes from him.' Severe punishments extending to death are prescribed for violating the chastity of women prisoners under his charge.[4]

II. YĀJÑAVALKYA-SMṚITI

1. *Judicial Procedure*

More important than the *Manu-smṛiti* are our other authorities on law belonging to this period, namely Yājñavalkya and Bṛihaspati Smṛitis (in their section on *Vyavahāra*) and the *Nārada-smṛiti* (which is completely a legal work). We begin with Yājñavalkya, one of whose chief merits lies in arranging the materials of the *Manu-smṛiti* in a more systematic and concise fashion, Yājñavalkya's description of the royal court of justice[5] agrees with that of

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[1] *KAT,* 278.
[2] VIII. 182-184.
[3] *KAT,* 281-82.
[4] *Ibid,* 282-83.
[5] II. 1 f.

Manu. Yājñavalkya, however, strikes a new note when he arranges[1] the other courts of justice in an order of descending importance as follows: (a) officers appointed by the king, (b) *pūgas* (assemblies of inhabitants of the same village or town), (c) *śreṇīs* (associations of merchants and craftsmen) and (d) *kulas* (families).[2] With the three last-named courts we may well compare the village, castes and family *pañchāyats* of modern times.

Unlike Manu who only hints incidentally at the processes of judicial procedure,[3] Yājñavalkya describes them systematically, as we find also in *Arthaśāstra*.[4] He refers[5] to four 'feet' (*i.e.* stages) of *vyavahāra* without mentioning them by name. The plaint, he says, along with particulars relating to the year, the month and the day, as well as the name and the caste etc. of the parties, is to be put down in writing in the presence of the defendant.[6] The answer is to be written down in the plaintiff's presence after the defendant has heard the plaint.[7] The evidence offered by the plaintiff is to be written down immediately afterwards.[8] In regard to the plaint and the answer, there are some wise provisions. Until the plaint is disposed of, a counter-claim (or counter-charge) is not allowed except in cases of delicts (*kalaha*) and crimes of violence (*sāhasa*). Similarly no one is allowed to file a complaint against one who is already under a charge.[9]

In certain types of serious offences including *sāhasa*, theft and assault, as well as those in which women are concerned, the parties must plead immediately. In other cases they may be allowed time at the discretion of the court.[10] Sureties for satisfaction of judgment have to be taken from both parties at the beginning of the suit.[11]

After the parties have submitted their plaint and answer, evidence has to be presented before the court. Systematising Manu's rule on the subject,[1] Yājñavalkya first mentions[2] three kinds of proof, namely, documents, witnesses and possession, and he adds that ordeal is another kind of evidence in the absence of any of these. In the context of the law of debt Yājñavalkya explains the law relating to documents and witnesses. The latter closely resembles that of Manu. The elaborate requirements of written documents are illustrated by Yājñavalkya's description of the contents of a written contract between the debtor and the creditor. Such a contract, says he,[3] if written by another hand, must state the names of the parties (along with their caste and *gotra*-names and the names of their fathers), and it must also mention the witnesses as well as details about the year, the month, the day, etc. Afterwards it is to be signed successively by the debtor, the witnesses, and the writer in a specified form. A writing in one's own hand, though unattested by witnesses, is still valid, except when it was caused by force or fraud. Should the genuineness of the document be in question, it is to be established by comparison with other documents written in the party's own hand, as also by presumption, by direct proof, by marks, by previous connection, by probability of title, and by inference.[4] Coming to the last point, Yājñavalkya[5] mentions no less than nine kinds of ordeals in place of the three referred to by Manu.[6] These include ordeals by balance, by fire, by water, by poison, and by sacred libation. Ordeals are to be used in cases of serious charges where the plaintiff has undertaken to pay a fine or suffer corporal punishment if defeated, or else by mutual consent of the parties. In cases of high treason and sins of aggravated type, however, ordeals may be resorted to even if the other party refuses to abide by the result.

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[1] II. 30.

[2] The terms *kula, śreṇī, pūga* (or *gaṇa*) in the Smṛitis are differently interpreted by different commentators and authors of Digests, evidently because of lack of continuity of their genuine interpretation. In the present section the terms have been translated as above for the sake of uniformity.

[3] VIII. 53-57.

[4] Book III.

[5] II. 8.

[6] II. 6.

[7] II. 7.

[8] II. 7.

[9] II. 9.

[10] II. 12.

[11] II. 10.

In Yājñavalkya, as in the other Smṛitis, the law enforced by the courts of justice is, first and foremost, that of the Smṛitis. But this is supplemented by equity and custom. As the author says,[7] in case of conflict between Smṛitis, the principles of equity as determined by popular usage are to prevail, but where *Dharma-śāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* are in conflict, the former is to be followed.

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[1] VIII. 73f. 145f, 168, 255, etc.
[2] II. 22.
[3] II. 84f.
[4] II. 92.
[5] II. 95f.
[6] VIII. 114-115.
[7] II. 21.

2. *Civil Law*

Yājñavalkya[1] amplifies the law of prescription and ownership as laid down by Manu[2] and observes[3] that title is superior to possession in all cases except where possession has descended from a line of ancestors. Again he says that title would have no force if there had not been possession even for a short time. In other words, while possession without title creates no claim except in cases of long continuity, title without possession has no force. We shall see in a later volume how the two texts of Yājñavalkya quoted above formed the basis of important discussion by Vijñāneśvara and other jurists.

Dealing with the law of debt, Yājñavalkya says,[4] after Manu,[5] that, in case of debt secured by a pledge, the legal interest is 1/80th of 100 (i.e. 1¼%) per month, while in other cases the interest is 2, 3, 4 and 5% according to the descending order of castes. Specially high rates of interest (namely, 10% and 20% respectively) are charged upon persons who travel through forests and those who travel by sea. In the same context Yājñavalkya, like Manu,[6] lays down the law against usury. The maximum interest allowable for different kinds of articles is declared by him to be eight, four, three or two times the principal. In case of disputes between debtor and creditor, Yājñavalkya follows the authority of Manu.[7]

We may best approach Yājñavalkya's laws of partition and inheritance[8] by considering his view of the son's share in the ancestral property. The father and the son, he says, have equal ownership in the land acquired by the grandfather as well as corody and chattels—a doctrine which was afterwards to be the cornerstone of the view of the *Mitāksharā* school on this point. Proceeding with the subject, Yājñavalkya systematises Manu's rules[9] relating to partition. The partition, he says, may take place either during the lifetime of the father, or else after his death. If the father divides the property, he shall give the best share to the eldest son, or else equal shares to all sons. In the event of partition after the father's death, the sons shall divide equally both his assets and debts, the mother taking an equal share and the sisters a fourth part of the son's share. In the absence of sons the order of succession is to be as follows:—the wife, the daughters, both parents, brothers and their sons, the gentiles (*gotrajas*), the agnates (*bandhus*), the pupil and the fellow-student. Comparison of the above with the parallel text of Manu reveals important differences between the two authorities; for Manu is completely silent about the rights of the widow, while he gives[1] the order of heirs after the sons as 'appointed daughter,' her son, her husband, the father, the brothers, the mother and so forth. In giving the widow the full right to succeed after her sons, Yājñavalkya brings himself into line with the advanced ideas of Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana, unlike the narrow and orthodox views of Manu and Nārada on the subject.

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[1] II. 24.
[2] VIII. 147-48.
[3] II. 27.
[4] II. 37.
[5] VIII. 140-142.
[6] VIII. 151-152.
[7] VIII. 48f.
[8] II. 114f.
[9] IX. 104, 215.

Amplifying Manu[2] Yājñavalkya[3] describes six kinds of *strīdhana* ('woman's property'). These are (1) what was given to a woman by her father, mother, husband or brother; (2) what was received by a woman at the nuptial fire; (3) what was presented to a woman on her husband's marriage with another wife; (4) what was given to a woman by her kindred; (5) a woman's bridal price; and (6) what was bestowed upon a woman after her marriage. The woman's complete right to her *strīdhana* is implied in the negative clause[4] that the husband is not liable to make it good when it was taken by him during a famine, or for performance of religious duty, or during illness, or while under restraint. In Yājñavalkya, as in Manu, *strīdhana* is subject to its distinctive law of succession. If the woman dies childless, says Yājñavalkya[5] agreeing with Manu,[6] her property is to be inherited by her husband or her parents, according as she was married after the four approved, or the four disapproved, forms.

3. *Criminal Law*

Coming to the law of crimes we find that Yājñavalkya is mostly in agreement with Manu.[7] A branch of Yājñavalkya's law of crimes is concerned with what may be called offences against public justice. A complainant trying to establish his claim by non-judicial means as well as a defendant who absconds when a claim is established against him or fails to say anything when summoned to court, is declared to be a false litigant and punishable as such.[1] The suborner as well as the false witness is to be punished with a double fine, while one who, having sworn to give evidence, conceals it under the influence of passion is to pay an eight-fold fine.[2] A person not giving evidence is liable to pay the entire debt together with an additional one-tenth, while he who knows the facts of the case but refuses to give evidence is liable to the same punishment as a false witness.[3]

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[1] IX. 127. 130-35. 185, 217.
[2] IX. 194.
[3] II. 143-44.
[4] II. 147
[5] II. 145.
[6] IX. 196-197.
[7] VIII. 274.

III. NĀRADA-SMṚITI

The *Nārada-smṛiti* is admittedly based upon the extant *Manu-smṛiti*, but it has a number of original features.[4] The description of the courts of justice in Nārada is more elaborate than in Manu and Yājñavalkya. According to Nārada[5] the eight 'members' of a court of justice are the king, his righteous officer (*satpurusha*), the assessors (*sabhyas*), the law (*śāstra*), the accountant and the scribe (counted as one), gold, fire, and water. The full import of this somewhat enigmatical statement will be explained when we come to deal with the fuller description in Bṛihaspati. Nārada, moreover, systematises Yājñavalkya's list of courts of justice by arranging them in the following ascending order[6]:—*kulas* (families), *śreṇīs* (associations of merchants), *gaṇas* (assemblies, in place of Yājñavalkya's *pūgas*), 'the authorised person,' and the king. In the above, it will be noticed, the king's representative has become a permanent judicial functionary instead of being a mere temporary substitute.

1. *Judicial Procedure*

As in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Nārada describes[7] *vyavahāra* (judicial proceeding) as having four 'feet' (*i.e.* modes of decision),

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[1] II. 16.

[2] II. 81-82.

[3] II. 76-77.

[4] For Nārada's relation to Manu, see Jolly, *SBE*, XXXIII, Introd., pp. xii-xv. The *Nārada-smṛiti* exists in two versions, *viz.* the shorter version translated by Jolly (*Institutes of Nārada*, London, 1876) and the longer and authentic version edited by the same author (*The Institutes of Nārada together with Copious Extracts from the Nāradabhāshya of Asahāya and Other Standard Commentaries*, Bib. Ind. Series, Calcutta, 1885) and translated by him (*The Minor Law-Books*, Part I, *SBE*, XXXIII, Oxford, 1889). In the present section, reference is made throughout to Jolly's edition of the longer version, while his translation of the same work has generally been followed.

[5] Introd. I. 15.

[6] Introd. I. 7.

[7] Introd. I. 10-11.

viz. dharma (moral law), *vyavahāra* (judicial process), *charitra* (written document), and *rājaśāsana* (royal edict), each being superior to the one previously named.[1] Here, for the first time according to a *Dharma-śāstra,* we find the king's voice regarded as the final authority in judicial trials.[2]

As compared with Manu and Yājñavalkya, Nārada introduces us to a highly complex judicial procedure. Nārada's list of the successive stages of a judicial trial[3] helps us to understand Yājñavalkya's cryptic reference to the four 'feet' of *vyavahāra* quoted above. Nārada declares the stages to be connection (*scil.* of the case in hand with the whole system of law), the title of law, the cure (*scil.* by means of the four parts of a trial) and the decision. The plaint, according to Nārada, is the essence of judicial proceedings. The plaintiff is defined by Nārada[4] as one who first presents his claim before the king in respect of various specified subjects of dispute.[5] This is in accordance with the general Smṛiti rule that he who first approaches the court with his plaint is the plaintiff. A plaint may be amended at any time before the answer of the defendant has been filed. Nārada gives the plaintiff the right of keeping the defendant under legal restraint (*āsedha*) of four kinds[6] till the arrival of the king's summons lest the defendant should abscond when the case is about to be tried, or does not heed what the plaintiff says.

After the plaintiff has submitted his claim (or charge) the defendant has to put in his answer. According to Nārada[7] the answer may be of four kinds, namely, denial, confession, a special plea and a plea of previous judgment.[8] In suits relating to debt and the like, says Nārada after Yājñavalkya,[9] the answer may be delayed "owing to the recondite nature of law-suits and weakness of human memory." But the answer must be given at once in cases of theft, crimes of violence and so forth.[1] The plaintiff as well as the defendant may appear by agent, but one who appears at a trial without being a relative or an appointed agent is liable to punishment.[2]

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[1] Above, p. 335.

[2] Asahāya, commenting on the text of Nārada quoted above, cites a remarkable dictum, *viz.* "What has been decided in a village goes into the town. What has been decided in the town goes before the king. What has been decided by the king, though wrongly decided, cannot be tried anew".

[3] Introd. I. 36.

[4] Introd. II. 38.

[5] For emendation of Jolly's translation as 'defendant' in the above into 'plaintiff', see Kane, *Kātyāyana-smriti-sāroddhāra*, 139. n. 122.

[6] As Kane observes (*Kātyāyana-smṛiti-sāroddhāra*, 136, n. 104) these four kinds include such modern processes as attachment or arrest before judgment, and temporary injunction.

[7] Introd. II. 4.

[8] The last corresponds to the plea of *res judicata* in modern jurisprudence.

[9] II. 12.

After the statements of the plaintiff and the defendant have been recorded, the evidence has to be placed before the court. Nārada repeats the three kinds of proof specified by Yājñavalkya, namely, documents, witnesses and possession. As regards witnesses, Nārada[3] amplifies and explains the view of Manu[4] and divides them into eleven classes, as will be noted later.

Where both witnesses and documents are wanting, Nārada would allow as a last alternative recourse to the ordeal.[5] Nārada indeed classifies proof under two broad headings, namely, human and divine, the former comprising documentary and oral evidence, and the latter, ordeal by balance and the rest. Nārada increases Yājñavalkya's five classes of ordeals to seven by adding the rice-ordeal and the ordeal of a hot piece of gold. Nārada's long and detailed account of the different classes of ordeals[6] is matched only by Bṛihaspati, but it is unnecessary to quote it here.

The last stage of a judicial proceeding is concerned with the judgment pronounced by the *sabhyas*. The victorious party, says Nārada,[7] is to receive a 'document of victory' (*jayapatra*), while the defeated party is to be punished by the king according to the *śāstra*. When a man loses his case through dishonesty of witnesses or of *sabhyas*, the cause may be tried afresh, but not when he has been cast out through his own fault.[8]

In regard to the law applicable to *vyavahāra*, Nārada's rules recall those of Yājñavalkya above mentioned. In general, the cases are to be decided according to *Dharma-śāstra*. But there remains in the background the view that reasoning is to be observed, "for *vyavahāra* is all-powerful and overrides the sacred law".[1]

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[1] Introd. I. 44 f.

[2] Introd. II. 23. In the former clause is contained the germ of the modern institution of appearance by pleaders. Indeed, according to Asahāya, it applies when a party is prevented from personally attending Court through illness, or not being a good speaker, appoints an agent. The second clause resembles the rule of English Law against champerty and maintenance.

[3] I. 149 f.

[4] VIII. 62 f.

[5] I. 239.

[6] I. 260 f.

[7] Introd. II. 43.

[8] Introd. II. 40.

2. *Civil Law*

The law of debt in Nārada amplifies the rules of Manu on the subject.[2] Nārada mentions[3] without disapproval four kinds of interest, namely, periodical (*kālika*), stipulated (*kārita*), corporal (*kāyika*), and compound (*chakravṛiddhi*), of which the last three are condemned by Manu.[4] On the important topic of liability of heirs for debts of their ancestors, Nārada lays down important rules. The sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, he says, are liable to pay the debts of their ancestor (apparently if they have inherited the ancestral property), while the sons and grandsons have to pay the debt (the latter without interest) even if no ancestral assets have been taken.[5]

Under the head partition and inheritance[6] Nārada likewise makes some important contributions to the law on the subject. If the father divides the property, he shall take two shares for himself and distribute the rest among his sons either in equal or unequal shares according to his inclination. After the father's death, says Nārada, the sons shall divide his property equally after payment of his debts. But even the legitimate son who was hostile to his father, or is expelled from caste, or is guilty of a minor offence, is not entitled to inheritance. In the absence of sons the daughters are to inherit, the chaste widow being granted only the right of maintenance till her death. A remarkable rule which cuts at the root of the strict law of primogeniture allows even the youngest brother, when capable, to take charge of the family management.

3. *Criminal Law*

The penal law in Nārada partakes of the complex character associated with it in many of the Smṛtis. While recognising crimes mainly as offences against the State punishable with fines and the like, Nārada holds in some cases that they are likewise sins expiable with penances, as well as private wrongs requiring payment of compensation to the party injured. His rules relating to various crimes systematise and amplify the previous law on the point. Treating theft as a separate offence from *sāhasa* (violence) Nārada divides it[1] into three grades according to the value of the property stolen. Not only those who give food or shelter to thieves, but also those who do not offer assistance when asked for help or when property is being carried away, are accomplices in the crime. Local responsibility for maintenance of the King's peace is enforced by the clause that the inhabitants of the village, pasture-ground or deserted spot, to which the foot-marks of a thief can be traced, shall make good the loss caused by the theft. Finally, the king's responsibility is enforced by the clause known to other Smṛitis as well, namely, that he must make good the loss from his own treasury in case the thieves are not caught. Persons who give food and shelter to thieves or buy or receive their property are to be equally punishable with them. The punishment for theft varies from fine to corporal punishment, mutilation and death, according to the amount (or value) of the object stolen, and is explicitly said to be the same as that ordained for *sāhasa*. The idea of theft being a private wrong is reflected in the clause that a man receiving stolen property must restore it to the owner, or make good its value besides paying a fine. The view of theft as a sin is illustrated by the clause that a thief approaching the king and confessing his guilt is freed from sin.

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[1] Introd. I. 39-40. Commenting on the last passage, Asahāya quotes a text to the effect that the usages of different countries which have been handed down from generation to generation cannot be overruled by the sacred law. This illustrates the tendency to identify equity with custom, to which Yājñavalkya's text bears witness.

[2] VII. 47 f. 139 f.

[3] I. 102 f.

[4] VIII. 153. But they are approved in *Gautama Dh. S.* (XII. 34-35).

[5] For this interpretation, reconciling the apparent contradiction between Nārada i. 4 and i. 6, see the long discussion in Kane (*Kātyāyana-smṛiti-sāroddhāra*, 229-32 n) rejecting the view of Jolly (*SBE*, XXXIII, 43-44 n).

[6] XIII. 1 f.

IV. BṚIHASPATI-SMṚITI

Close as is the connection of Nārada with Manu, Bṛihaspati's connection is still nearer. In fact Bṛihaspati's work has been proved to be a *Vārttika* on the *Manu-smṛiti,* as he not only gives the *Manu-saṁhitā* the first place among all the Smṛitis, but explains, amplifies, and occasionally modifies its rules on various topics of law.[2]

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[1] XIV. 12 f.

[2] For the relation of Bṛihaspati to Manu, see Jolly (*Tagore Law Lectures* 60-62), followed by Bühler (*SBE*, XXV, Introd. cviii), and Kane *KHDS*, I, 207). A small collection of the fragments of Bṛihaspati's work on *Vyavahāra* was translated by Jolly in *SBE*, XXXIII. A very much enlarged edition (*Bṛihaspati-smṛiti Reconstructed*) has recently been published (*GOS*. No. LXXXV. Baroda, 1941) by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, who arranges the work under five heads, *viz. Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa, Saṁskāra-kāṇḍa, Āchārakāṇḍa, Śrāddha-*

1. *Courts of Justice*

The courts of justice in Bṛihaspati have the same complex constitution as in Nārada. Bṛihaspati[1] expands Nārada's list of eight (really nine) 'members' of a court of justice into ten by including the king's own officer in the category, while he substitutes the authorised person (*adhikṛita*) or the chief judge (*adhyaksha*) for Nārada's 'righteous officer' (*satpurusha*). Explaining the functions of these members for the first time, Bṛihaspati observes[2] that the king inflicts punishment, the *adhyaksha* pronounces the sentence, the *sabhyas* investigate the case, the accountant computes the sum in dispute, the scribe records the proceedings, the king's officer compels the attendance of the plaintiff, witnesses and *sabhyas*, the Smṛiti decides the judgment, gold and fire are required for administering oaths and (quaintly enough) water is required for quenching thirst. Whatever we may think of the above list, it undoubtedly shows that the decision of cases rested with the judge and the assessors, while the king carried out the sentence. The number of *sabhyas*, according to Bṛihaspati,[3] should be seven, five or three. Elsewhere[4] Bṛihaspati mentions the ministers (*amātyas*) and the *Purohita* as members of the court, but he gives no indication of their functions.

Like Nārada, Bṛihaspati contemplates a chain of courts as spreading throughout the kingdom. Courts, says Bṛihaspati,[5] are of four kinds, namely, fixed, moving, meeting under the king's seal, and directed by the king himself. The first of these courts meets in town or village, the second is itinerant, the third is presided over by the *adhyaksha,* and the fourth is attended by the king. The last two classes of courts have their counterparts in the other Smṛitis, but the first two have no precise parallel elsewhere. Besides the above, Bṛihaspati contemplates[6] courts for foresters to be held in the forest, those for soldiers to be held in the camp, and those for merchants in the caravan. Again, courts consisting of learned Brāhmaṇas alone are to decide the disputes among ascetics as well as those versed in sorcery and witchcraft, for otherwise the king

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kāṇḍa and *Aśaucha-kāṇḍa.* In the present section the references throughout are to Aiyangar's edition, while Jolly's translation in *SBE*, XXXIII, has been generally followed.

[1] I. 1. 87.
[2] I. 1. 88-90.
[3] I. 1. 63.
[4] I. 1. 22 and *Ibid* 70.
[5] I. 1. 57-58.
[6] I. 1. 73.

would rouse the resentment of the parties.[1] Finally, we are introduced to the five grades of courts known to Yājñavalkya and Nārada, namely *kulas, śreṇīs, gaṇas* (in place of Yājñavalkya's *pūgas*), the authorised person and the king, each succeeding court being competent to hear appeals from the one immediately preceding.[2] The ample jurisdiction of these courts is illustrated by the rules that *kulas, śreṇīs, gaṇas* and so forth, which are duly authorised by the king, shall decide all cases other than those relating to *sāhasa*.[3]

2. *Judicial Procedure*

In the richness and complexity of his rules of judicial procedure, Bṛihaspati surpasses Manu and Yājñavalkya, and approaches the level of Nārada and Kātyāyana. Bṛihaspati, to begin with, discusses in two contexts[4] Nārada's list of the four modes of decision, namely those according to *dharma*, *vyavahāra*, *chāritra*, and *rājājñā* (for Nārada's *rājaśāsana*). But his twofold exposition of this dictum, given in two different quotations, differs not only from the explanation of Nārada, but from each other. According to the quotation in the *Smṛitichandrikā, vyavahāra* means a decision based on the *śāstra* alone, *chāritra* means a decision given in accordance with local usage, with inference and with the opinions of merchants, while *rājājñā* refers to the king's decision in disregard of usage. It will be observed that while Nārada takes *vyavahāra* and *charitra* to refer to judicial processes based on two distinct kinds of evidence, Bṛihaspati understands them in the sense of processes of law founded on two distinct classes of authorities. Both Nārada and Bṛihaspati, however, agree in declaring the king's voice (*rājaśāsana* or *rājājñā*) to be the final authority in legal decisions.

Completely different from the above is Bṛihaspati's explanation of the dictum according to the quotation in the *Vīramitrodaya*. Here Bṛihaspati divides each of the four modes into two kinds. Decision by *dharma*, according to him, takes place when the matter in dispute has been decided after due deliberation, according to equity and after tendering oaths. Again, it arises when the defendant admits the claim (or charge), or else his innocence is proved by means of ordeals. When the judgment was passed after examination of the evidence and, again, when the defendant told a lie or made no answer, it is known as decision by *vyavahāra*. When the judgment was based upon inference and, again, when it was passed according to usage, it is known as judgment by *charitra*. Finally, judgment by the king's edict takes place when the evidence is equally balanced and, again, when the law-books and the *sabhyas* are at variance. The above classification, it will be observed, simply refers to different methods of deciding a suit—by equity, by oaths, by confession of the accused, by proof, by inference, and finally (in case of conflict of evidence or of authorities) by the king's order.

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[1] I. 1. 76.
[2] I. 1. 75, *Ibid* 93-94.
[3] I. 1. 92.
[4] I. 1. 18 f and I. 9. 1 f.

In so far as the decision by *vyavahāra* is concerned, Bṛihaspati enumerates a category of its four 'feet' (*i.e.* stages), which may be compared with a similar list in Nārada. According to Bṛihaspati[1] *vyavahāra* comprises four parts, namely, *pūrvapaksha* (plaint) *uttara* (answer), *kriyā* (adducing of proof), and *nirṇaya* (judgment). A variant of this list is found in 1. 2. 1, where the four 'feet' of *vyavahāra* are said to consist of *bhāshā* (declaration), *uttara* (answer), *kriyā* (adducing of proof) and *pratyākalita* (deliberation as to burden of proof).

3. *Evidence*

Bṛihaspati's rules relating to various kinds of evidence are ampler than those of Nārada. Bṛihaspati expands Nārada's eleven kinds of witnesses into twelve by adding *lekhita* (one caused to be written) to his list. What is more, Bṛihaspati describes, for the first time, the characteristics of these classes. 'A subscribing witness', according to him, is one who enters in a deed his own as well as his father's caste, name, etc. and his place of residence. 'A witness caused to be written' is one whose name has been entered in the deed together with the details of the agreement by the plaintiff when writing the contract. 'A secret witness' is one who, having listened to the speeches of the debtor from concealment, relates them just as they were spoken. 'A family witness' is one who is appointed by both parties as being connected with them to witness a deed of partition, gift or sale. 'A messenger' is a respectable man appointed by both parties who has come near to listen to their speeches. 'A spontaneous witness' is one who declares of his own accord what he has winessed in a transaction under trial. 'An indirect witness' is one who repeats from hearsay previous statements of actual on-lookers. The king, having heard the speeches of both parties, may act as a witness if they contradict each other. The chief judge and the assessors may act as witnesses only when a fresh trial takes place after decision of a suit. The villagers may give evidence on what has been spoiled or damaged on their boundaries.[1]

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[1] I. 1. 17.

However pedantic the above classification may seem, it at any rate shows the variety of ways in which witnesses could be employed in judicial trials. Their importance is also illustrated by the list of 'incompetent witnesses' (including relatives of various degrees, persons morally wrecked and so forth), which Bṛihaspati gives[2] after Nārada. Unlike Nārada who is content with a minimum number of 3 witnesses, Bṛihaspati[3] gives their number as 7, 5, 3 and (in case of *Śrotriyas*) 2. That his rule was not meant to be rigidly followed is proved by Bṛihaspati's declaration that the number in case of 'subscribing' and 'secret' witnesses shall be 2 of each sort and in case of 'spontaneous', 'family' and 'indirect' witnesses it shall be 3, 4 or 5 of each class.[4] Again, a single witness is permissible if he is a king or a chief judge (*adhyaksha*) and so forth.[5] Bṛihaspati agrees with Yājñavalkya in imposing a drastic penalty upon recalcitrant witnesses. A witness not attending court without the excuse of illness, he says, is to repay the debt and pay a fine after the lapse of a fortnight.[6] Bṛihaspati, moreover, seems to provide for the first time for the examination, cross-examination and re-examination of witnesses. It is valid testimony, he observes,[7] when the contents of a plaint have been fully corroborated by witnesses. Again, he says,[8] the faults in a witness as in a document must be exposed at the time of the trial but not afterwards. Finally, he declares[9] that he whose documents or witnesses are objected to in a suit cannot gain his cause till he has removed those objections.

Bṛihaspati gives[10] a systematic account of documents such as is unknown even to Nārada. Amplifying Nārada's classification quoted above, he observes[11] that documents are of three kinds, namely, those written by the king, those written in a particular place (*scil.* by professional scribes), and those written by a man with his own hand. Bṛihaspati describes[1] three classes of king's writings, namely, 'royal edict' which records in sufficiently complete form the king's grants of land and the like, 'writing embodying the king's favour' which records grant of provinces etc. by the king to a favourite, and 'document of victory' (*jayapatra*) which contains the record of the whole proceedings of a trial and is sealed with the royal seal. Bṛihaspati also describes[2] seven classes of private documents, namely, deeds of partition, gift, purchase, mortgage, agreement, bondage and debt. This list is sufficient to illustrate the preponderance of written documents in the legal system of Bṛihaspati. As a logical corollary of the above, we find Bṛihaspati conveying a warning against forged documents as well as defining the characteristics of valid and invalid documents.[3] Bṛihaspati takes great pains in emphasising the need of giving publicity to documents. A document, he says,[4] should be shown, read out and retold to *kulas, śreṇīs, gaṇas,* etc., in order that its validity might be established. A document, which has neither been seen nor read out for thirty years, loses its validity although the subscribing witnesses be still alive.[5] Other passages point to the supreme importance of presenting documents in court. He who has acquired property shall establish his written title, although his son need establish the fact of possession alone.[6] When a creditor does not produce the bond and asks his debtor to repay the loan after cessation of interest, the bond itself becomes suspect.[7]

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[1] I. 5. 4 f.
[2] I. 5. 39 f.
[3] I. 5. 1.
[4] I. 5. 19.
[5] I. 5. 20.
[6] I. 5. 45.
[7] I. 5. 44.
[8] I. 5. 22.
[9] I. 5. 29.
[10] I. 6. 1 f.
[11] I. 6. 4.

In the spirit of Yājñavalkya and Nārada, Bṛihaspati[8] recommends recourse to ordeal when a doubt arises with regard to a document or statement of witnesses and when inference fails. Bṛihaspati[9] expands Nārada's list of seven ordeals into nine by adding the ordeals by the plough-share and by *dharma.*

4. *Civil and Criminal Law*

While referring to the eighteen titles of law made classical by Manu, Bṛihaspati classifies them for the first time under two broad heads. The fourteen titles of law, he explains,[1] comprising money-lending, deposits, invalid gifts, concerns of partnership, non-payment of wages, non-performance of service, disputes about land, sale without ownership, rescission of sale and purchase, breach of contract, relations between husband and wife, theft and inheritance, as well as gambling, spring out of wealth. On the other hand, the four titles of law comprising the two kinds of insult *(pārushya)*, violence *(sāhasa)* and criminal connection with another's wife spring out of injury to others. This classification is an important landmark in the history of Hindu Law, for it implies the first clear recognition of the division between civil and criminal law.

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[1] I. 6. 20 f.
[2] I. 6. 5 f.
[3] I. 6. 31 f.
[4] I. 6. 49.
[5] I. 6. 47.
[6] I. 6. 39.
[7] I. 6. 48.
[8] I. 4. 17.
[9] I. 8. 3-4.

Dealing with the head 'recovery of debts', Bṛihaspati declares[2] that the creditor shall lend money after securing a pledge (*ādhi*) of adequate value, or a deposit (*bandha*), or a trustworthy security, or a bond written by the debtor himself, or else attested by subscribing witnesses. To Nārada's four kinds of interest (*kālika, kārita, kāyika* and *chakravṛiddhi*), Bṛihaspati adds[3] two others, namely, *śikhāvṛiddhi* ('hair-interest') and *bhogalābha*. ('interest by enjoyment'). The former is so called because it grows constantly like hair and does not cease till the cutting-off of the head (*i.e.* payment of the principal), while the latter is based upon the use of a mortgaged house or the produce of a field. 'Hair-interest', 'corporal interest' and 'interest by enjoyment' are to be taken so long as the principal remains unpaid, but the use of pledge after twice the amount of the principal has been realised from it, as well as compound interest and the exaction of principal and interest (together as principal) is reprehensible.[4]

Dealing with the law of partition and inheritance, Bṛihaspati says[5] that the father and the sons have equal shares in the property acquired by the grandfather, but the sons cannot claim a share of the father's own property without his consent. This dictum, like that of Yājñavalkya quoted above, became in later times the corner-stone of the view of the *Mitāksharā* school on the subject.

Passing to the penal law in Bṛihaspati, the plea of first provocation is forcibly illustrated in the striking rule[6] that a man who

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1. I. 1. 11 f.
2. I. 10. 5.
3. I. 10. 9 f.
4. I. 10, 16, 21.
5. I. 26, 10.
6. I. 21, 19.

having been abused returns the abuse, or having been struck returns the blow, or having been attacked kills his assailant, commits no offence. Compensation to the aggrieved party is provided by the clause[1] that he who injures a limb or divides or cuts it off must pay the expense of curing the wound, and that he who forcibly carries away property in a quarrel must restore it to the owner. An interesting clause[2] provides that in case a number of persons joined in beating a man to death, he who struck the fatal blow shall receive the prescribed punishment, while the first aggressor and his associates shall receive half the punishment. In Bṛihaspati, even more than in Nārada, punishment for theft or violence is proportioned to the gravity of the offence without reference to the caste of the offender.

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[1] 1. 21. 15.
[2] I. 23. 14-15.

CHAPTER XIX

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Freedom of religious speculation, of which we get the first fruits in the earlier Upanishads, was the special characteristic of the period under review. It was the main pre-occupation of men who belonged to the last two *āśramas* or stages of life formulated in the Brahmanical scriptures.[1] This class of wandering ascetics, freed from the obligations of prevailing religious ideas and practices, thought out anew the fundamental problems of life. Their number increased in this period, and their constant movements brought them into frequent associations with one another. The result was a vigorous reorientation of religious life. The Vedic religion lost credit and a twofold reaction ensued,—an atheistic movement which frankly denied the necessity, if not also the reality, of the Vedic gods together with the pre-eminence of the Brāhmaṇas in spiritual matters, and a monotheistic movement which accepted devotion *(bhakti)* as the only way of pleasing a personal God.

We thus find in the sixth century B.C. an upheaval of new ideas leading to the rise of new philosophical tenets and religious sects,[2] often of a revolutionary character, such as India has never seen before or since. Many of these philosophical dogmas or religious sects had a merely temporary vogue, and gradually faded away. A few, however, came to stay, and left a permanent impress. A review of the religious condition of the period must, therefore, first take note of the new religious sects and philosophical doctrines which profoundly modified the outlook of the future, before considering the further progress of the Vedic religion, or the multiplicity of other religious beliefs and practices which had little in common with Vedic rituals.

Of the new religious sects four alone played an important part in subsequent history. These are Jainism, Buddhism, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. The first three were founded by the Kshatriyas, and had their origin in the eastern and western parts of India which were outside the pale of Madhyadeśa, the homeland of orthodox Vedic culture. Śaivism had also a non-Vedic, probably a pre-Vedic, origin and developed as a sectarian religion in Western India. All of them had as their common ground the repudiation, explicit or implied, of the Brahmanical claim that the Vedas were the infallible source of spiritual truth, and the rituals prescribed therein the sole means of salvation or emancipation.

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[1] See above, Vol. I, pp. 493-94.

[2] A long list of these, given in *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and other Buddhist texts, is given on p. 462.

But there was a fundamental difference between them. While the last two were theistic and centred round two Vedic deities—Vishṇu and Śiva—the first two had no veneration for Vedic gods, or for the matter of that, any god at all. They laid emphasis on a rigorous system of discipline based on a code of moral and spiritual behaviour, and a loving faith in the founders of the religion took the place of devotion to particular gods like Vishṇu or Śiva. They were also averse to the iniquities of the caste system, especially to the high pretensions of the Brāhmaṇas.

Although, therefore, all the four religious sects mark considerable departure from the Vedic cult, Buddhism and Jainism alone are looked upon as heterodox, while Vaishṇavism and Śaivism are, by contrast, regarded merely as reforms of the orthodox religion. Hence the religious doctrines of these two sects form the subject-matter of Brahmanical works such as the Epics, the later Upanishads and the Purāṇas, while the Buddhists and Jains have altogether separate canons of their own.

The common essential elements in the two theistic religions, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, are *bhakti* and *prasāda*. The former means intense love and devotion of the worshipper to his beloved god, even to the extent of complete self-surrender. The latter means the grace of God which brings salvation to the devotee. The followers of Śiva and Vishṇu formed two rival sects with many points of contact between them. We hear of claims and counter-claims on behalf of the one or the other god, and of combats and other tests to prove their relative strength. Legends grew round the gods, and they became incorporated in the great Epic poems. The followers of one god would naturally shower the highest praise on their deity; and this, as a matter of course, would be called to question by their rivals. But it must be said at the same time that there were also, even in Vedic times, some thinkers who realized that though God was called by different names, Śiva and Vishṇu were only aspects of the one.[1]

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[1] See the Creation Hymn, *Ṛigveda* X. 129: "God is One, though men speak of Him by many names."

Buddhism and Jainism had also many elements in common. Philosophically they both started from the same fundamental principle that the world is full of misery, and the object of religion is to find means of deliverance from the endless cycle of births and deaths which bring men again and again into this world. As *Karma*, or the individual's actions, is the root-cause of rebirth, emphasis is laid upon conduct and the practice of austerities in varying degrees of severity as the chief means of salvation, rather than sacrifices or prayers to a personal god. Both believe that complete emancipation from rebirth is only attainable by the homeless ascetic, but both regard the life of the layman as an initial and preparatory stage in the process. The community of monks (*Saṅgha*) and of laymen form in both the chief objects of disciplinary regulations, but different moral and spiritual codes are prescribed for each.

These resemblances are so close that it was held at one time that Jainism was a branch of Buddhism. But this is certainly erroneous, as we can now trace the different historic origins of the two, and detect fundamental differences in their philosophic conceptions and essential practices. Their ideas on the subject of the soul, for example, differ considerably. Besides, Buddhists did not favour the extreme forms of asceticism and abstention from taking life advocated by the Jains, or some of their practices like going naked. Buddhism advocates the golden mean in all these matters. The common elements are easily explained by the fact that both arose in the same region and at about the same time, and drew upon many of the views, ideas and practices which were more or less common property.

Jainism and Buddhism both imply a system of philosophy and a social organization, with a code of morality and cult of their own, which together gave to their followers a sense of religious solidarity. They both possess a common background of Aryan culture, and are inspired by the ascetic ideals and the philosophy of the Upanishads, though in varying degrees. Both of them owed their origin to kindred forces, whether intellectual, spiritual or social, and may be viewed either as a revolt against the Brahmanical religion, or as an outcome and modification of it by overstressing the ascetic side, such as renunciation of the world, self-denial and *ahiṁsā*. In both we may also detect the influence of a pre-Aryan culture in eastern India which, though gradually submerged, probably preserved some latent traces which germinated at a later date. It has been noted above,[1]

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1. See Vol. I, Ch. VIII.

how the eastern part of India, even when Aryanised, preserved considerable differences from the midlands in point of language, ethnic elements and culture, and this undoubtedly explains the origin of the two heterodox sects in this very region. The Śākya clan had probably a Mongolian strain in their blood.

In the field of philosophical ideas the heterodox religions show a number of points suggestive of either a borrowing from, or a survival of, the thought-currents of primitive peoples. Jacobi has shown how, in spite of divergent growths in later days, there are some essential features common to Jainism, Buddhism and the Sāṅkhya-Yoga philosophy, which go back to the 'primitive currents of religious and philosophical speculation'.[1] All three share a kind of pessimism, a conviction that human life is full of misery, no trace of which is to be found in the optimistic attitude of the Vedic Aryans. The doctrine of transmigration, unknown to the early Brāhmaṇas, suddenly emerges in the Upanishads and forms an essential element in these three systems. What is more important is the fact that this doctrine assumes its peculiarly Indian form by its association with the doctrine of *Karman*, and we know that the most primitive ideas of *Karman* are found in Jain metaphysics. An atheistic attitude and a kind of dualism between spirit and matter characterise all the three systems of thought.

To the same primitive influence must also be attributed another important feature in the development of religions during this period, *viz.* the introduction of the practice of image-worship. The glyptic and other antiquarian remains of the pre-historic sites of the Sindhu valley seem to suggest that it was in vogue among the earliest inhabitants of this region.[2] As noted above,[3] the Sindhu valley folk have been regarded by most scholars as pre-Vedic and quite distinct from the Aryan immigrants. The question whether this form of religious worship was known to the latter has long been debated, and different scholars have held quite contrary views on it. Some suggest that the Vedic Aryans did not make visible representations of their gods and goddesses as, in the particular form of sacrificial religion which was practised by them, divine images had no part to play. Others, however, hold that these people made icons of various divinities such as Indra, Rudra, Vāyu, Varuṇa and others, and these, if not actually worshipped, were used for ritualistic purposes. They principally rely on the anthropomorphic descriptions of these deities in the Vedic hymns. In assessing the truth of these views, it should be borne in mind that Vedic literature is almost exclusively concerned with the beliefs and practices of the Aryan invaders. The Dasyus or aboriginal inhabitants are scornfully referred to as worshippers of the phallic emblem later associated with Śiva. There is therefore very little justification for the supposition that the higher classes were iconic; the anthropomorphism of the Vedic gods and goddesses was vague and variable and does not seem to rest on any concrete basis.

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[1] *ERE*, VII, 465.
[2] See Vol. I, p. 187.
[3] See Vol. I, pp. 158, 194, 203.

One unanswerable argument in support of this view is the fact that in most of the earlier and more authoritative Brāhmaṇas, which lay down in meticulous detail the rituals of the various sacrifices, there is no reference to images, which would certainly have been explicitly mentioned had they been regarded as necessary. In the subsequent period, when image-worship had come to play a definite part in Indian religion, detailed descriptions of these are never lacking. But the cult of symbols and images seems to have been current among a large section of the population, who continued the traditional religious practices of the pre-Aryan settlers of India, some of whose cultural remains were unearthed in the Sindhu valley region. Reference may be made in this connection to the images of Yakshas and Nāgas, one of whom, the Maṇibhadra Yaksha from Pawāyā, is actually called Bhagavān.

The early Buddhist convention of representing the Buddha by means of various symbols such as foot-prints, the Bodhi-tree with Vajrāsana beneath it, a parasol, a *stūpa,* etc. and the subsequent introduction of his figure in the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra led many European scholars to suggest that the Indians learnt the art of making images from the idolatrous Greeks. But this theory no longer holds the field. It is now generally held that the practice of making images of the Buddha grew up independently at Mathurā at the time when, with the development of the Mahāyāna doctrine under the Kushāṇas, Gautama was no longer regarded as a dead teacher but a Saviour God. Contact with the West might have given an impetus to the development of iconographic art in India, but it was certainly not its origin. It was already there as a social undercurrent dating from pre-Vedic times, and it became an almost general practice when different sectarian religions such as Vaishṇavism (Bhāgavatism), Śaivism, Mahāyāna Buddhism, Jainism, etc. were formulated. It was developed principally owing to the spiritual needs of the various sectaries, who wanted images of their respective gods and goddesses to whom they could offer single-minded devotion (*ekātmikā bhakti*) through the medium of these concrete symbols, as will be noted later.

B. BUDDHISM

Since very ancient times every convert to Buddhism has been solemnly invoked to take refuge in the *Triratna* (the three jewels), *viz.* the Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha. This emphasis on the three aspects of the religion, *viz.* the Founder, his principles, and the monastic order, forms an essential characteristic of the sect. We may also adopt this broad classification in the delineation of Buddhism.

I. THE BUDDHA

We possess no authentic accounts of the life of Gautama, the founder of Buddhism. Two poems in the *Sutta Nipāta* and a few early *Suttas* supply us with some data, but we have to rely for details mainly upon comparatively later works, which appear to have preserved older traditions handed down in some form of ballad poetry. The following short sketch of the life of the Master is reconstructed on the basis of these different sources.

1. *Early Life*

Gautama, *alias* Siddhārtha, was born at Lumbinivana[1] in *c.* 563 B.C.[2] in a lonely corner of India on the border of Nepāl. His father Śuddhodana was the chief of the Śākya clan, which had its capital at Kapilavastu.[3] His mother Māyā died seven days after his birth, and he was brought up by his mother's sister Mahāprajāpati Gotamī. Many miraculous events are said to have heralded his advent. An ascetic called Asita, who lived in the Himālayas, came to the royal palace to pay his respects to the new-born babe. He lamented the fact that he would not live to listen to his teachings, and so he enjoined his disciple Nālaka (later known as Mahākachchāyana) to become a follower of the new Teacher.[4]

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[1] This site is marked by the Rummindei Pillar inscription of Aśoka. The ruins of Rummindei (Lumbini) lie 4 miles inside the Nepalese border (85° 11′ N. Lat. 25° 58′ E. Long.) near Padara.

[2] For this date cf. p. 36.

[3] For the Ṣākyas, see p. 16 above. According to tradition, the forefathers of the Śākyas hailed from Sāketa and settled in a forest near the hermitage of Rishi Kapila (*Mahāvastu*, I. pp. 351-2).

[4] *Sutta-Nipāta*, Nālakasutta.

In the earlier sources there is no mention of his early education or training. The *Lalitavistara* gives a legendary account of his schooling and of his extraordinary proficiency in archery and other princely attainments. As was the wont with the sons of the nobility, Gautama lived a life of ease and luxury, and ultimately settled down as a householder after marrying Bhaddakachchānā (=Yaśodharā),[1] daughter of the Śākyan Suppabuddha and sister of Devadatta. A son was born of the marriage and he was called Rāhula.

The idea of renunciation, according to the later texts, came into his mind from seeing four persons in four different stages,—an old man, a cripple, an ascetic and a corpse. His disgust for worldly pleasures was aroused by the sight of dancing girls sleeping in ugly postures. In the early texts like the *Sutta Nipāta* or the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* there is no reference to the above-mentioned causes for retirement. It is simply stated that Siddhārtha realised that home life was full of hindrances and impurities and that the life of a recluse was free and open, and so he decided to retire from the world and refrain from committing wrong in thought, word or deed. At the age of twenty-nine he left the palace secretly at night on his horse Kaṇṭhaka, doffed his princely robes, and embraced the life of a wandering hermit.

He traversed a number of villages, till at last he reached the city of Vaiśālī, on the outskirts of which lived the teacher Ārāḍa Kālāma. He stayed at his hermitage for some time and realised the seventh stage of meditation (*ākiñchanyāyatana*=sphere of desirelessness or nothingness). It is only from the *Buddhacharita* that we learn that Ārāḍa Kālāma espoused the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy.[2] It is very likely that Siddhārtha, hailing as he did from Kapilavastu, had some knowledge of the Sāṅkhya doctrine, and that he became a disciple of Ārāḍa Kālāma to improve his knowledge of it. Evidently he was not satisfied with the teachings of the Sāṅkhya school and left the hermitage of Ārāḍa to become a disciple of another teacher, Rudraka Rāmaputra, who was then living in the outskirts of Rājagṛiha.

It was on his way to this teacher that he met, at the Pāṇḍava hill, king Bimbisāra who tried to dissuade him from giving up his princely life. Politely declining king Bimbisāra's request, he proceeded to the hermitage of Rudraka and became his disciple. He found that the stage reached by this teacher was that of the highest meditation but did not lead to final liberation. He accordingly left him, and had recourse to rigorous practices along with five other Brāhmaṇa ascetics. One day he was almost on the point of death, when he decided to take food just sufficient to sustain his body for the strain of extreme mental exertion. On account of this he was deserted by his five Brāhmaṇa companions.

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[1] In the *Lalitavistara*, the name given is Gopā, daughter of the Śākyan Daṇḍapāṇi.

[2] *Buddhacharita*, XII, 17-65.

He then took his seat under a pipal tree at Uruvelā, when he was offered milk by a milkmaid named Sujātā, who took him to be the tree spirit (*vṛikshaka*). After accepting this nourishment, he sat cross-legged in meditation, with the resolve not to rise from his seat until he had attained Enlightenment (*Bodhi*). With full confidence in his powers of resistance, he remained unmoved by fear of temptation (personified as Māra). In the autobiographical *Ariyapariyesana-sutta,*[1] there is no reference to Sujātā's offering or his experiments in asceticism, though the latter is mentioned in other *suttas* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. In the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, it is stated that Gautama, after leaving Rudraka's hermitage, went to Uruvilva where he found a charming spot with river water almost overflowing the banks and within easy reach of villages. Seated at this spot, after intense exertion, he finally realised the Truth. He thus became the Buddha (the Enlightened One). He attained both insight and knowledge, and knew for certain that he had achieved full emancipation and would not be reborn. For seven weeks, it is said, he remained in blissful contemplation of his newly-acquired knowledge.

The Truth realised by him was so deep and subtle that at first he thought that it would not be worth his while to try to expound it to the world at large. Then, we are told, at the intervention of the god Brahmā himself, he agreed to preach at least for the benefit of those who were spiritually advanced. At first he thought of his two teachers, Ārāḍa Kālāma and Rudraka Rāmaputra, but found that they were no more. He then turned his attention to his five Brāhmaṇa comrades who were then residing at Ṛishipattana (Sārnāth) near Banaras and made up his mind to enlighten them. He proceeded there and delivered before them his first sermon, which is metaphorically represented in Buddhist literature as "turning the Wheel of the Law".[2]

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1. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 164 f.
2. Most of the biographies end their account with the discourses delivered to the five Brāhmaṇas. There is no connected account of Buddha's career after the

2. *Missionary life*

Buddha thus began his career as teacher at Ṛishipattana, where he converted the five Brāhmaṇa ascetics. With them he went to Banaras and converted Yasa, a rich *seṭṭhi's* son, and a number of his friends, among whom were the distinguished monks Puṇṇaji and Gavampati.

From Banaras, Buddha went to Rājagṛiha where he passed the second, third and fourth *vassās* (retreats). At that time there were in Magadha many Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical teachers (*titthiyas*) and wandering monks (*parivrājakas*), and much of Buddha's time and energy was spent in refuting their doctrines and convincing them of the excellence of his teaching. He succeeded in making a large number of converts, including a few distinguished householders as lay-devotees (*upāsakas*). The notable among the converts were Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, who were formerly disciples of Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta; the Brahmanical ascetics, the Jaṭilas; Upāli *gahapati* and Abhayarājakumāra, staunch followers of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta; the rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍika of fabulous wealth; kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, and later, king Muṇḍa. Besides Rājagṛiha, Buddha visited Gayā, Uruvilva, Nālandā, and Pāṭaliputra.

Though the foundation of the religion was laid in Magadha, its full development took place in Kosala (Sāvatthi) where Buddha spent the last twenty-one *vassās*, delivered the largest number of discourses, and framed the greater part of the disciplinary code. Brahmanism was strong in Kosala, and it was with the help and munificence of Anāthapiṇḍika that Buddha was enabled to gain a footing there. His favourite resort was the famous Jetavana monastery, which was purchased for him by Anāthapiṇḍika at a fabulous price. King Prasenajit (Pasenadi) became a devout listener of Buddha's discourses, while his queen Mallikā and his two sisters Somā and Sakulā became lay-devotees. Another influential supporter was Visākhā, who built the Pubbārāma monastery for him and who was particularly interested in the welfare of the nuns.

Buddha once visited Kapilavastu while he was staying at Rājagṛiha and converted the members of his family, including his son Rāhula and foster-mother Mahāprajāpati Gotamī. The Śākyas,

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attainment of Bodhi. There is, however, ample material in the *Nikāyas*, the *Vinaya* and the introductory portions of the *Jātakas* for compiling an authentic account of Buddha's peregrinations. The commentaries furnish us with a list of the places where Buddha spent his *vassās* or rainy season retreats.

it is said, were not at first very well disposed towards Buddha, but after an exhibition of his miraculous power they showed him due respect and invited him to consecrate their newly built assembly hall (*santhāgāra*).

Buddha spent the fifth *vassā* at Vaiśālī. Ambapālī, the famous courtezan of Vaiśālī, became a convert, and offered her mango grove to the *Saṅgha*. While staying at Vaiśālī Buddha gave his consent to the formation of an order of nuns at the importunities of Ānanda and Mahāprajāpati Gotamī. The latter came there all the way on foot from Kapilavastu in the fullness of her grief at the demise of king Śuddhodana.

The Mallas were not in favour of the new Teacher. Once they issued a mandate that any person welcoming him would be fined 500 *kahāpanas*. In spite of this order a few Mallas became converts.

Buddha spent the ninth *vassā* at Kauśāmbī. King Udayana did not look upon the new Teacher with favour but queen Sāmāvatī became a devotee of Buddha. His other queen Māgandiyā took advantage of the king's antipathy towards Buddha to bring about the ruin of Sāmāvatī. Her machinations were, however, discovered; the king became repentant and ultimately appreciated the teachings of Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, a noted disciple.

The westernmost country visited by Buddha was Verañjā (near Mathurā) where he spent the twelfth *vassā*. Once he was invited by king Pradyota of Avanti, but he declined to go to his city and deputed Mahākachchāyana, a native of the place, to impart his teachings. Mahākachchāyana made only a few converts in Avanti. Buddha did not pass any *vassā* in Aṅga though he dwelt at times at Champā, Āpana, Assapura and Kajaṅgala.

In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* we have not only a graphic account of Buddha's last journey to Kusinārā, the capital of Mallas, and his fatal illness, but also a detailed description of his cremation and the divison of his relics. This *sutta* is particularly important for a summary of his teaching, as also for the list of countries where the largest number of devotees existed,[1] and the names of claimants to the relics.[2] From the account of Buddha's peregrinations given above, the names of places mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, and the local habitations of the claimants of the relics, we may conclude that during the lifetime of the Master, the religion spread all over the central belt of India from Kajaṅgala and Champā on the east to Verañjā and Avanti on the west, and from Rājagṛiha and Vārāṇasī to Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī and Sāketa on the north, as also to the various tribes inhabiting the Himālayan foothills.

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[1] The list is as follows:—Champā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosāmbi and Vāranasī.

[2] The claimants were Lichchhavis of Vesāli, Śākyas of Kapilavatthu, Bulis of Allakappa, Koliyas of Rāmagāma, Brāhmaṇas of Vethadipa, Mallas of Kusinārā, Doṇa Brāhmaṇa, and Moriyas of Pipphalivana (See Ch. I).

II. DHAMMA

The earliest available source for our knowledge of Buddha's teaching is the Pāli *Sutta Piṭaka* consisting of the five *Nikāyas, viz. Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṁyutta, Aṅguttara* and *Khuddaka*, as also the few fragments of their Sanskrit versions discovered in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestān. The *Sutta Piṭaka* which has come down to us contains many additions and alterations made by succeeding generations of disciples, for which Mrs. Rhys Davids states that the teachings embodied in the *Sutta Piṭaka* should be attributed not only to Gautama but also to his immediate disciples whom she would designate as the "co-Founders" of Buddhism. It is not a homogeneous work containing, as it does, statements which are not always consistent and are capable of being differently interpreted. In view of this lack of homogeneity it is not possible to state definitely what were actually the original teachings of Buddha, and so we shall have to satisfy ourselves with what can be elicited from the *Pāli Piṭaka* as it now stands.

Buddha's repeated instruction to his followers was to pursue practical methods in order to arrive at the Truth, and not to distract themselves with academic speculations about the Beyond, the Ultimate. What is most needed is the removal of ignorance, thirst, attachment, etc. by the comprehensions of the four *Āryasatyas* (Noble Truths), *viz.* (1) that worldly existence is full of misery (*duḥkha*), (2) that thirst, attachment, etc. are the causes of worldly existence (*samudaya*), (3) that worldly existence can be ended (*nirodha*) by the destruction of thirst, etc. and (4) that there is a Path (*mārga*) for the destruction of thirst, etc. The Path is the well-known Eightfold Way, *viz.* right speech, right action, and right means of livelihood, then right exertion, right-mindedness, right meditation, and lastly right resolution and right point of view. The first three practices lead to physical control (*śīlā*), the second three to mental control (*chitta*), and the last two to intellectual development (*prajñā*).[1]

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[1] Cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, II. p. 123:—
Sīlaṁ samādhi paññā cha vimutti cha anuttarā
Anubuddhā ime dhammā Gotamena yasassinā.

There is nothing particularly Buddhistic in seven of the eight practices. It is the eighth practice which contains the Buddhist dogma, for all views about the ultimate except those of the Buddhists are wrong (*mithyā*). By observance of *śīlą* (moral rules codified in the *Vinaya*) the adept becomes a perfect *brahmachārī,* by that of *chitta* (meditational practices detailed in the *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma Piṭakas*) the adept attains full mental concentration, and by that of *prajñā* (intellectual culture provided in *Suttu Piṭaka*) the adept realises Truth or Reality, which may be summed up as follows:

The phenomenal world has no real existence; to the unenlightened certain causes and conditions (*hetu-pratyaya*) make a thing appear to exist, like waves on the sea. As waves are not different from the sea, yet the common man differentiates them, so there are no individuals though, to the unenlightened, different individuals appear to exist on account of certain causes and conditions (*pratītya-samutpāda).* It is only the spiritually advanced who can comprehend this truth.

Still more difficult and subtle is the conception of Nirvāṇa. This is incommunicable,, for the Infinite cannot be described by finite words. The utmost that we can do is to throw some light on it by recourse to negative terms. Nirvāṇa (Nibbāna) is the final result of the extinction of the desire or thirst for rebirth. In the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta,* it is described as not subject to decay (*ajara*), disease (*avyādhi*) or death (*amṛita*); it is free from grief (*aśoka*), and impurity (*asaṁklishṭa*); it is the incomparable (*anuttara*) and highest goal (*yogakshema*). It is the relinquishment of all worldly ties, cessation of the effects of past actions, end of all things, removal of desire, severance of attachment, quietude. In the Nikāyas generally any definition of Nirvāṇa has been avoided as far as possible with the remark that it is indeterminate (*avyākṛita*), but here and there are stray passages which describe it as the blissful reward of a long course of exertion—a haven of peace and rest. Buddha purposely discouraged questions about the reabsorption of the individual soul, as being of no practical value in the quest for salvation.

The exposition of the Eightfold Path forms the theme of the *Dharma-chakra-pravartana Sūtra*, which is said to be the Buddha's first discourse. It is also widely known as the Middle Path (*madhyamā pratipat*) as it keeps clear of the two extreme ways of life, one being that of ease and luxury and the other of rigorous ascerticism. This path allowed a monk to live a life of moderate comfort, with the bare requirements of food, clothing and residence, but with the mind intent on achieving the goal.

The second discourse said to have been delivered by Buddha strikes the keynote of his teachings, *viz.*, that the five constituents which make a being are without a self (*anātma*), impermanent (*anitya*) and are not desirable (*duḥkha*). He who realizes the absence of soul or substance in the constituents knows that he does not exist as an individual, and as such there can be no relationship between himself and the objects around him. There is nothing in this world to make him happy or sad and so he is free (*vimukta*), he is an arhat—perfect.[1]

Such, in brief, is the doctrine of Buddhism as finally developed in the Tripiṭaka. There are, however, good grounds to believe that Buddhism, like Jainism, was originally a moral code, rather than a metaphysical or religious system in the western sense of the term. In its earlier phase this moral code was marked by an underlying note of pessimism. There is so much evil and suffering in the world that life cannot be considered a blessing. It has been said that if the tears shed in sorrow since the beginning of the world could be collected together, their volume would far exceed the waters of all the seas put together.

This suffering, however, can be escaped by a correct life and correct thinking. But when you talk of thinking, you must also say what it is that one should think of. To Buddha, it was, in brief, the contemplation of the impermanence of the world we live in. Ignorance of this produces desire: desire leads to action (*karma*): action (*karma*) to the impulse to be born again and again in order to satisfy desire. This chain of transmigration leads to further actions, which in their turn lengthen the chain of rebirth. But this chain can be snapped once the seeker realizes the truth that the world of things is impermanent, that there is not even a permanent soul. The universe is a ceaseless flow of events and the soul is not identical with itself and is not a unity. It is merely a flux of experiences and desires. This perpetual flux is caused by action (*karma*) and ended by knowledge (*jñāna*). There is no personal deity (Ātman), hence the attainment of Nirvāṇa does not depend upon prayers or sacrifices. In his dying words Buddha exhorted his disciples to be "lamps unto themselves", as there is no other light. Salvation can only be won by the extinction of *karma* by right living and thinking.[1]

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[1] There are four stages of sanctification in the Buddhist code. The first is *Srotāpanna, i.e.* one who is in the stream leading to Nirvāṇa. The second is *Sakṛidāgāmi, i.e.* one who will be reborn once more in this mortal world to reach the goal. The third is *Anāgāmi, i.e.* one who will not come to the world of men but will be reborn among the gods to attain Nirvāṇa. The fourth is *Arhat, i.e.* one who has destroyed all impurities and attained Nirvāṇa and will have no more rebirth.

It will appear from the above account that the metaphysical element, properly so called, did not play a prominent part in the earlier phases of Buddhism. But a philosophical background gradually became necessary not only for its propagation but for its very existence. There is a parallel to this phenomenon in the history of Christianity. In the beginning, Christianity like Buddhism was a creed intended to bring to mankind a message of hope and solace in its sufferings. But when the simple faith of Jesus planted itself in Hellenic soil, it could not take root until an alliance had been effected with the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Similarly Buddhism also had to adopt a policy of give and take with the acute Brahmanical thinkers of the day in order to save itself from their assaults and to compete with them.

The first sign of this development and adaptation appears in the schism between what has been called *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* (or the small vehicle and the large vehicle). The first school looked upon the salvation of the individual as the goal, whereas the other school took the salvation of all beings as its aim. The first was thus a lower (*hīna*) aim than the second. The first kept to Prakrit as the language of its exposition, while the second soon betook itself to Sanskrit, the language of learning. This development will be treated in a later section.

In conclusion it must be pointed out that, while the fundamental teachings of the main Upanishads were tacitly accepted by the early Buddhists, their attitude towards Brahmanism was one of undisguised hostility. The Vedas have been repeatedly referred to in the Nikāyas as compositions of certain *ṛishis* (sages), but the Vedic belief of union with Brahmā by means of good works or performance of sacrifices was rejected as misleading and baseless. On the other hand some Buddhist *suttas* preached that one can attain rebirth in Brahmaloka by practising the four excellent practices (*brahmavihāras*), viz. *maitrī* (love), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (elation at others' success), and *upekshā* (equanimity) towards all beings of the four corners of the world. There are also bitter criticisms of the belief that merit or happiness can be obtained by means of animal sacrifices such as the Aśvamedha, Purushamedha or Vājapeya. The Brahmanic claim of superiority in caste was challenged, but the caste system was tacitly admitted with the proviso that Kshatriyas were a superior caste to Brāhamṇas.

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[1] This view is strongly contested by Mrs. Rhys Davids. See *What is the original Doctrine of Buddhism?* (1938).

Without admitting the existence of the soul, the early Buddhists accepted the Upanishadic theory of *karma;* in other words, the inevitability of the effects of deeds in regulating future births, and that of the existence of heavens and hells. The theories that the worldly existence is full of misery, and that the cessation of worldly existences must be sought for, were also inherited by the Buddhists from the previous thinkers.

III. SAṄGHA

In the earlier stages, Buddha's disciples led a wandering life, residing in caves and forests, living on alms, and dressing themselves in rags collected from dust-heaps. They assumed the title of *bhikkhu* or beggar. Buddha, as already stated, was not in favour of extreme austerity; he permitted his disciples to live in monasteries specially built for them, accept food and robes offered by the faithful, and take medicines prescribed by the physicians. To prevent novices from abusing their privileges, he framed a number of rules for their guidance. These were codified in the *Pātimokkha.* In course of time there were many additions to the rules made by the Teacher himself and his disciples. These supplementary rules have been incorporated in the other parts of the *Vinaya Piṭaka.* The rules may be classified under seven heads, *viz.* ordination; monastery; dress; food and medicine; the fortnightly assembly; the rainy season retreat and its closing ceremonies; special rules for nuns; the ecclesiastical constitution.

1. Ordination

Buddha at the beginning personally ordained his disciples by uttering the words: *"Ehi bhikkhu"* (Come, O monk). He then delegated his power of ordination to his disciples, after laying down certain rules for their guidance. A person seeking first or lower ordination must obtain the consent of his parents, attain the age of at least 15, and must be free from certain disabilities. He is then to shave his hair and moustache, put on yellow robes and choose a teacher who will present him before a panel of at least ten monks. If none of the monks dissent, he is given the lower ordination (*pravrajyā*). He becomes a *Śramaṇa* (novice) and is asked to observe the ten precepts.[1] On his attaining the age of 20, if he is found fit, he is given the higher ordination (*upasampadā*) and is enjoined to abide by the rules of the *Pātimokkha*.

2. *The Monastery*

There are detailed rules for the selection of the site of a monastery and also about the size of the rooms. Large monasteries were usually provided with dwelling rooms, a service-hall, storehouse, cloister, well, bath-room, and rooms for walking exercises. The ownership of the monastery vested in the *Saṅgha* of the Four Quarters. The monasteries were allowed to be furnished with certain articles of furniture.

3. *Dress, Food and Medicine*

Three garments (*chīvara*) *viz.* an upper robe, a lower one, and a sort of cloak worn over these two were allowed to the monks. These garments had to be made out of pieces of cloth cut and dyed yellow. For food and alms, begging was the usual rule. but the monks were allowed to accept invitations to meals or offerings sent to the monastery by the faithful; they were prohibited from expressing their wish for any particular kind of food. Regarding medicine, there was practically no restriction and the monks were allowed to benefit fully by medical science. They were, however, repeatedly warned that in the name of medicine or under the plea of illness they must not drift to excess.

4. *The Uposatha or Fortnightly Assembly*

Every fortnight all the monks living within a parish, which had a defined boundary, had to attend the assembly, the sick attending by proxy. After the election of the president (*Saṅghatthera* or *Saṅghapariṇāyaka*), two speakers, one on *Dhamma* and the other on *Vinaya*, were selected. Then the rules of the *Pātimokkha* were recited, and every monk was asked whether he had committed any breach of the rules in the preceding fortnight. If the offence was of a light nature, absolution was given on his confessing it in public; if it was serious, the offender was ordered to leave the assembly hall and appear before a panel of monks on a subsequent day for reprimand. After finishing the business of the assembly, religious discourses were delivered for the benefit of the monks and the laity, if any, present.

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[1] The ten precepts are: Abstention from (i) killing, (ii) stealing, (iii) adultery, (iv) speaking falsehoods, (v) drinking intoxicating liquor, (vi) afternoon meals, (vii) witnessing dances, music, etc., (viii) the use of garlands, unguents, etc., (ix) the use of high beds, and (x) the acceptance of gold and silver.

5. *The Vassāvāsa or Rainy Season Retreat*

During the three months of the rains, commencing from the day next to the full moon of *Āshāḍha* (June-July) or *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August), the monks were required to take up a fixed abode and depend for their subsistence on the neighbouring householders. At the close of the Retreatment, the monks met together to confess their offences, if any, committed during the three months. This ceremony is called Pavāraṇā. At the end of the ceremony they accepted gifts from the laity.

6. *Special Rules for Nuns*

There is a special code of rules for the nuns entitled *Bhikkhuṇi-Pātimokkha.* It contains certain extra restrictions, which generally relate to movements and residence, and a general supervision of the nuns by the monks.

7. *Constitution*

Buddhism is the only Indian religion to have departed from the ancient practice of the Teacher nominating a disciple to take his place after his death. Buddha did not nominate a successor, and enjoined that the monks living within a defined boundary (*sīmā*) were to elect their chief who would be the *Saṅghatthera* or *Saṅgha-pariṇāyaka.* Besides the election of the *Saṅghatthera*, there were also the systems of formal moving of resolutions (*jñāpti*), ballot voting by means of wooden sticks (*śalākā*), formation of sub-committees, and so forth.[1] For the different kinds of ecclesiastical acts like inflicting of punishment for an offence, restoration of the privileges of a monk, admission or readmission of a monk into the *Saṅgha,* the minimum number of members required to form the panels was fixed, and any reduction in the number made the ecclesiastical act invalid. In certain cases even the absence of a single member made an act invalid, and the resolution had to be passed unanimously. In every *Saṅgha,* office-bearers were elected, and that by unanimous consent, for carrying on its various functions, *e.g.* distribution of food and dress, provision of beds, erection of monasteries, etc.

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[1] See above, pp. 332 ff.

Monastic institutions were the most remarkable contribution of Buddhism to Indian culture. Their original object was to give suitable accommodation to the monks for carrying on their studies and meditation. These gradually developed into academic centres for producing the right type of men, well grounded in religion and philosophy, to propagate the teachings of Buddhism. The ruins of the monasteries so far unearthed in the various parts of India give us some idea of the magnificence of these educational institutions and of the liberal gifts of the lay-devotees to further the cause of religion. These institutions grew up not merely as organisations for training missionaries, but also as great centres of culture, to which teachers and students flocked from far and near.

IV. HISTORY OF BUDDHISM

Having described the essential features of Buddhism we may now briefly trace its growth and development as a powerful factor in the culture not only of India but also of a large part of Asia. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the four General Councils mark the first four stages in the history of the Buddhist religion and literature, and it will therefore be convenient to begin with them.

1. *First Council—Close of the First Stage*

The first Buddhist Council, which closes the first stage of the history of Buddhism, was held soon after Buddha's death under the auspices of king Ajātaśatru.[1] An account of this Council appears in all the Vinaya texts of different sects and runs as follows:—Mahākassapa, a distinguished disciple of Buddha, convened a Council of Elders, who were all *arhats*, to put together the scattered sayings of the Teacher relating to Dhamma and Vinaya. While Mahākassapa took the chair, Ānanda recited the discourses delivered by the Teacher on Dhamma, and Upāli recited those on disciplinary matters. The monks present committed them to memory, and thus a beginning was made of the two Piṭakas, Sutta and Vinaya. It is not possible to determine which portions of the two Piṭakas were compiled in the Council, but in view of the close agreement that exists in certain texts and passages between the Pāli and Sanskrit versions, it may be assumed that the texts and passages common to the two versions, as also the passages which are repeated in the Suttas, formed the nucleus of the Piṭakas as rehearsed in the Council.

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[1] See above, p. 28.

Many scholars have expressed their doubts about the authenticity of the account of the Council, but the latest opinion is in favour of the view that the Council was an enlarged Pātimokkha assembly. This view is supported by the story that Ānanda was made to confess before the assembly certain minor offences committed by him while acting as the servitor of Buddha. In the fortnightly assemblies, as already stated, a president is elected as also two expositors, one of Dhamma and the other of Vinaya. Hence, this Council complies with all the conditions of a Pātimokkha assembly, and we can therefore take the account of the Council as fairly authentic, except that portion which deals with the recitation of the complete Piṭakas.

It is not possible to determine how much of the Buddhist religion and philosophy and monastic organisation developed during Buddha's lifetime *i.e.*, before the First Council. The details given in the preceding pages have been collected from the Pāli Piṭakas, a large portion of which must have been composed after the First Council. It will not be wide of the mark if we attribute all the developments detailed above to the century that elapsed after Buddha's death. During this period the *Saṅgha* remained intact, and whatever differences occurred among the monks were either settled by persuasion or by application of the rules laid down in the *Pātimokkha*. There are statements in the *Nikāyas* and *Vinaya* hinting at the possibility of dissensions in the *Saṅgha,* and Devadatta actually made an attempt to create a dissension, but probably without much success.

2. *Second Stage*

It is in the account of the Second Council, held about a century after Buddha's death under the auspices of king Kālāśoka or Kākavarṇin at Vaiśālī, that we come to know for the first time that a sharp division took place between the two groups of monks described as easterners and westerners. The former lived mostly at Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra, and the latter at Kauśāmbī, Pāṭheyya and Avanti. According to the tradition recorded in the *Vinaya Piṭaka,* the difference arose in connection with the ten rules of discipline which the easterners adopted against the protest of the westerners. The ten rules are as follows:—(i) storing of salt for use when needed, (ii) taking food after mid-day, (iii) over-eating by taking a second forenoon meal in a neighbouring village, (iv) observance of *uposatha* in different places within the same parish (*sīmā*), (v) taking sanction for an act from the *Saṅgha* after it has been done, (vi) use of precedents as authority for an act, (vii) drinking whey after meals, (viii) the use of a seat without a border, (ix) drinking of unfermented palm juice, and (x) the acceptance of gold and silver. The westerners came in a body to dissuade the easterners from adopting these rules, but failed to do so. A sub-committee was then formed with four members from each of the two groups. This sub-committee of eight, composed mostly of senior and learned monks, discussed the rules and declared them unorthodox in open assembly. The easterners, who were known as the Vajjiputtakas, did not abide by the decision, convened another Council which they called *Mahāsaṅgīti,* and adopted all the rules as valid.

In a few late texts on the history of Buddhist sects, the difference between the two groups is attributed to the five doctrines of Mahādeva, four of which assign certain imperfections to an *arhat,* who is regarded by the westerners as perfect and fully emancipated. It is very likely that there were differences between the two groups both in doctrines and disciplinary rules, and the former is not mentioned in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* as these were outside its scope.

The *Dīpavaṁsa* adds that the seceding monks made certain changes in the texts of the *Tripiṭaka* and excluded the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* from the sayings of Buddha. The easterners came to be known as the Mahāsaṅghikas and, in contrast to the designation of the westerners as Theravāda, they were known as Āchariyavāda.

Once the dissension in the *Saṅgha* started, it began to multiply. The Theravāda became gradually divided into eleven sects, and the Āchariyavāda into seven. All the eighteen sects were fundamentally Hīnayānists; a few sub-sects of the Āchariyavāda group later on introduced new doctrines which paved the way for Mahāyānism. Besides the eighteen there came into being a few more sects at a later period. As it is not possible to speak here of the doctrines of all the sub-sects, we shall touch only the principal doctrines of some of the major sects.

The oldest and the most orthodox sect was the Theravāda (=Sans. Sthaviravāda) which, according to the Tibetan tradition, claimed Mahākachchāyana, a native of Ujjayinī (Avanti), as its founder. This sect had its centre at Kauśāmbī and Ujjayinī and adopted Pāli as the language of its Piṭaka. It was propagated in Ceylon by Aśoka's son Mahendra or Mahinda, who carried with him the Pāli Piṭaka to Ceylon. There were two very large monasteries in Ceylon, known as Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri. The former became the repository of the Pāli Piṭaka and a favourite rendezvous of the Theravādins, while the latter (Abhayagiri) became the seat of the less orthodox sects.[1] The doctrines found in the Pāli Piṭaka and dealt with above are really those of the Theravāda sect and need not therefore be reiterated here.

The most important branch of the Theravāda was the Sarvāstivāda. According to the Tibetan tradition, the founder of this sect was Rāhulabhadra, and the language of its Piṭaka was Sanskrit. Its early centre was at Mathurā; later it moved to Gandhāra and then to Kāshmir. It became very popular all over northern India, and weilded great influence from the time of Aśoka to that of Kanishka, who was its staunch supporter. During the Kushāṇa period it made its way to Central Asia and thence to China. Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing carried to their country the Piṭakas of this sect, and the Hīnayāna texts at present existing in China are mainly translations of the Sarvāstivāda Piṭaka. Of the manuscripts and their fragments discovered in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestān, several belong to it. In doctrine and disciplinary rules there is a general agreement between this sect and the Theravāda. The vital difference between the two is that the Sarvāstivādins held that a being is composed of five *dharmas*, sub-divided into seventy-five elements. These elements persist in an individual through all his existences, the present complex being the result of the past, and potential of the future. This sect contended that when Buddha spoke of impermanence (*anitya*), he meant the composite of the elements and not the elements themselves. In short, it maintained the permanence of the elements like the atoms of the Nyāya-Vaiśeshikas. This sect became later known as the Vaibhāshikas on account of the fact that it attached more importance to the *Vibhāshās* (commentaries) than to the *Sūtras* (original sayings); it is referred to in the Brahmanical philosophical literature by this alternative name.

Several other sects, such as the Mahiśāsaka, Sāṁmitīya or Vāsīputrīya and Sautrāntika differed from the Theravāda only in minor points.

The Mahāsaṅghika sect, as already stated, originated at the time of the Second Council. It claimed Mahākassapa as its founder. At its early stage it had its centre at Vaiśālī and was scattered all over northern India. Later, it became located in the Andhra country, having its principal centre at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The alternative name of this sect and its sub-sects was the Andhaka, evidently on account of its popularity in the Andhra country. From the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions it is apparent that this sect had a complete *Sutta Piṭaka,* divided into five *Nikāyas,* and a *Vinaya Piṭaka,* which is now available in Chinese translation. It adopted Prakrit as the language of its Tripiṭaka. Philosophically there was not much difference between this sect and the Theravāda. The main deviation made by this sect was to deify the Buddha, and to assert that he was supramundane (*lokottara*), so that what passed as Buddha in this world was an apparition. Along with this deviation, it maintained that the *arhathood* was not the highest or the fully emancipated state, and that every individual should aspire for Buddhahood, and not *arhathood,* as had so long been preached by the Theravādins.

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[1] See above, p. 240 f.

Among the sects that branched off from the Mahāsaṇghikas, the most popular and influential were the Pūrvaśailas, Aparaśailas, Uttaraśailas and Chaityakas. These are mentioned in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Amarāvatī inscriptions. Their Piṭaka was the same as that of the Mahāsaṅghikas, and their views about Buddha and *arhathood* were identical with those of the Mahāsaṅghikas. They add that even the Bodhisattvas are not average beings, as they also are possessed of supramundane qualities. The mind, they state, is pure in its origin and becomes impure only by contact with impurities.

The deification of the Buddha, the introduction of the Bodhisattva conception, the change of the ideal from *arhathood* to Buddhahood and, lastly, the conception of mind (*vijñāna*) as pure in its origin prove distinctly that they were the precursors of Mahāyānism, particularly Vijñānavāda or Yogāchāra.

There were a few other sub-sects of this group. They did not attain much prominence except the Vaitulyakas (=Pāli Vetullavāda) who had stronger pro-Mahāyānic views and probably made their centre in Ceylon at the Abhayagiri monastery.[1]

3. *Third Stage*

From the above survey of the Buddhist sects, it is apparent that the history of Buddhism of the second century after Gautama's death was no longer the history of a single monastic organisation, but of quite a larger number growing independently of one another in different parts of India. The more influential of them compiled their own sets of *Piṭakas* and claimed these to be the original sayings of the Teacher. There was no supreme head of the Buddhist Church either to co-ordinate the divergent views or to settle the rival claims about the authenticity of the Buddha's sayings.

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[1] See above, p. 241.

A Buddhist monk could reside in any monastery irrespective of his adherence to a particular sect. This is also implied in the direction that a monastery belonged to the *Chātuddisasaṅgha* (monks of the four quarters). In some inscriptions, however, the donor has particularly named a sect to which he dedicated his monastery, though this was against the general monastic rule. When members of different sects resided in one monastery, difficulties arose in the observance of the fortnightly *Uposatha* ceremony, for one of the preliminary conditions of such a ceremony was that all the resident monks taking part in the ceremony must declare at the outset that they had not committed any breach of the disciplinary rules during the preceding fortnight. As the disciplinary rules and regulations of the sects differed from one another, a member of a sect complying with the rules of his own sect might not be accepted as guiltless by another sect. A member, *e.g.* of the Mahāsaṅghika sect, would be regarded as pure by the Mahāsaṅghikas even though he took a meal after midday, but he would be regarded as impure by the Theravāda sect, and the latter would not allow him to take part in ceremonies unless he confessed his offence.

It was very likely due to differences of this nature that the fortnightly assemblies could not be held in the Aśokārāma at Pātaliputra for seven years. The tradition goes that Aśoka wished that the assembly for *Uposatha* ceremony should be held at his monastery, and deputed a minister to see that his wishes were carried out. The minister, it is said, went too far in enforcing the king's command, and actually beheaded those monks who refused to comply with the king's wishes. Aśoka was stricken with deep remorse for the brutal measures taken by his subordinate and sought the advice of the most learned monk of the time, Moggaliputta Tissa, who was then residing in a neighbouring forest. On his advice, the story goes, Aśoka dismissed from the *Saṅgha* all those monks who did not avow themselves as Vibhajjavādins (=Theravādins). A Council was then held by the Vibhajjavādins under the chairmanship of Moggaliputta Tissa. who made an attempt to refute the views of some of the non-Theravādins in order to establish his own as the original teaching of Buddha. The refutations were compiled under the title of *Kathāvatthu*, which was made the fifth book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of the Theravādins. It is doubtful if the efforts of Moggaliputta had the desired effect, but history shows that some of the minor sects ceased to exist or coalesced with other sects.[1]

The authenticity of the account of the Third Council has been questioned by many scholars on the following grounds: (i) that it is not to be found in the Sanskrit traditions nor in records of the Chinese travellers, (ii) that the edicts issued by Aśoka towards the end of his reign do not mention it, and (iii) that Aśoka could not have lent his support to any particular Buddhist sects to the exclusion of others. The grounds are plausible, though they are only of a negative character. Regarding the authenticity of the account, it may be conceded that the Council was a sectarian one meant for the Theravādins, and that Aśoka or his minister had nothing to do with it. After the conclusion of this Council, it is said, missionaries were despatched to various countries, evidently for the propagation of the Theravāda doctrines.

It would appear from the list of such countries[2] that Buddhism spread over the major part of India and, if Suvaṇṇabhūmi denotes Burma, even beyond its frontier. This is not at all unlikely, for we know from Aśoka's inscriptions that he sent Buddhist missions to the Greek kingdoms in western Asia, North Africa and eastern Europe[3]. The amount of success achieved by these missions cannot be determined, but it seems possible that Buddhism ultimately gained a footing in some of these regions, as will be related in Chapter XXIV

4. *Fourth Stage*

Perhaps as a reaction to the zeal of Asoka for the Buddhist faith, his successors were not very favourably disposed towards Buddhism. With the exception of Mahinda, the apostle of Ceylon, none of the sons or grandsons of Aśoka is known to have embraced Buddhism. In Pushyamitra, who overthrew the Mauryas, the reaction against Buddhism reached its climax. The immediate effect of this antipathy upon the spread of Buddhism cannot be precisely determined, but there is no doubt that for a time it enjoyed wide popularity. The architectural remains especially of *stūpas* and monasteries, and the large number of inscriptions in Mathurā, Sānchī, Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā and other important centres, to which reference will be made later, leave no doubt about its phenomenal development by the beginning of the Christian era.

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[1] The doctrines of the following sects are discussed in the *Kathāvatthu*:— Sarvāstivādins, Sāṁmitīyas (Vātsīputrīyas), Mahāsaṅghikas, Śailas (=Andhakas), Mahiśāsaka, Uttarāpathaka, Hetuvāda, and Vetulyaka; also Bhadrayānika and Gokulika. In the inscriptions of the post-Christian eras appear the names of the following sects: Sarvāstivādins, Mahāsaṅghikas, Sāṁmitīyas, Chaityakas, the Śailas (=Andhakas), Bahuśrutīyas and Mahiśāsakas. (See *JRAS*, 1892, p. 597).

[2] See above, p. 84.

[3] See above, p. 84.

Another important factor was its patronage by foreign rulers. The famous treatise *Milinda-pañha* or Questions of King Milinda (or Menander) and the Shinkot (Bajaur) inscription of his reign prove that he espoused the Buddhist creed and helped its propagation even in the hilly region between the Hindu Kush and the Sindhu. There are evidences that other Greek rulers followed his example. The Kushāṇa rulers, particularly Kanishka, were also great patrons of Buddhism.

Hiuen Tsang records that Kanishka was at first unsympathetic towards Buddhism but later embraced it.[1] Being perplexed by the variant interpretations, given by the different teachers, of the sayings of Buddha, he decided to convene a Council in Kāshmir[2] with the help of Pārśva and invited the monks of all countries to take part in the deliberations of the Council.[3] Vasumitra was elected its chairman. A thorough discussion took place about the sense of the difficult passages of the scriptures and these discussions were compiled in the form of commentaries known as the *Vibhāshā-śāstras.*

Paramārtha[4] gives a slightly different account of the Council. He also locates the session of the Council in Kāshmir, but gives the credit of convening it to Kātyāyanīputra, author of the *Jñānaprasthāna-sūtra*, the principal treatise of the *Abhidharma Piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins. It contains eight sections and was put into literary form by Aśvaghosha. Then the commentaries (*Vibhāshā-śāstras*) were compiled and it took twelve years to complete them.

The Tibetan historian Tāranātha also gives an account of the Council. He writes that the Council admitted the claims of the eighteen sects as giving a correct interpretation of Buddha's sayings, evidently from a sectarian point of view.

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[1] *HTW*, I, p. 203.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 270-1.

[3] See above, p. 147.

[4] Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu*, translated by Takakusu in *T'oung Pao*, 1904, p. 269 f.

From all these accounts it is apparent that the Council was held in the stronghold of the Sarvāstivādins, and that the leading monks of the Council belonged to this sect. Hence the Council might have listened to the different interpretations of the teachers of the different sects, but ultimately gave preference to the exposition of the Sarvāstivādins. It is doubtful if Kanishka had any hand in the Council, though it might have been held under his auspices. The session of this Council is ignored in the Pāli traditions. Apparently it was also a sectarian affair of the Sarvāstivādins, as the Third Council was of the Theravādins.

5. *The Rise of Mahāyānism*

The session of the Fourth Council synchronises with the emergence of Mahāyānism, which marks the first great split in the Buddhist church and its fundamental doctrines. As is usual with all such movements, its beginnings may be traced to a much earlier period, although it did not assume any definite shape until about the beginning of the Christian era

Buddhism retained its pristine originality during the first century of its existence, but in the second century we notice a change in the outlook and the inauguration of a new movement towards a more liberal interpretation of the disciplinary rules. The emphasis was still on the monastic life, though in the doctrines of the Śaila schools was incorporated the new Bodhisattva ideal, which implied that anyone, be he a householder or recluse, was entitled to perform certain meritorious acts (*pāramitās*) in order ultimately to attain Buddhahood. Aśoka's edicts reveal that he wanted good citizens and not recluses. He laid emphasis on a heavenly life hereafter, and not on Nirvāṇa; in other words, he gave preference to the ideal which the early Buddhists held out to their lay-devotees (*upāsakas* and *upāsikās*). It is therefore not improbable that, under the aegis of Aśoka, the Buddhist monks changed their angle of vision and devised ways and means for providing a place in the religion for the laity.

The laity was allowed to take the Triśaraṇa, observe temporarily eight of the ten moral precepts, and offer gifts to the *Saṅgha*, but there was no provision for organized worship or ritual. For the first time we find in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* directions for erecting *stūpas* and *chaityas* (burial mounds and shrines), and an account of the contest for relics to deposit in them. The same *sutta* further enjoins the laity not only to worship at the *stūpas* with garlands and unguents, but to make pilgrimages to the four places sanctified by the Buddha's birth, his attainment of *Bodhi*, his first promulgation of the *Dhamma*, and his entry into Nirvāṇa (*mahāparinirvāṇa*). The merits accruing were believed to be immense, and assured the rebirth of the performer in heaven. These directions given to the laity were undoubtedly interpolations of a later date, which may be assigned to the Aśokan period.

In the *Nikāyas* there is neither reference to the Bodhisattva ideal nor to meritorious acts—the six *pāramitās*—of the Śaila schools. In the post-Aśokan period, however, the Bhārhut and Sānchī sculptures testify to the popularity of the *Jātakas* and *Avadānas*, the main theme of which is the fulfilment of *pāramitā*. It must therefore be some time in the third or second century B.C. that the doctrine of *pāramitā* was evolved and, by way of illustration, story after story was composed, resulting in the accumulation of the huge Jātaka and Avadāna literature.

By *Pāramitā* is meant the highest acquisition of a particular virtue. There were at first six of them, and then the number was increased to ten. These are as follows:—liberality (*dāna*); righteousness (*śīla*); forbearance or endurance (*kshānti*); mental strength (*vīrya*); mental concentration (*dhyāna*); realisation of the truth (*prajñā*); skilfulness in expedients (*upāyakauśalya*); vow or resolution (*praṇidhāna*); attainment of certain powers (*bala*); and knowledge (*jñāna*).

A Bodhisattva, whether as a householder or a recluse, or even as a non-human being, is required to acquire all the six or ten virtues in order to qualify himself for the attainment of Buddhahood. Gautama and all other Buddhas had to do the same in their several existences. The early (Pāli) Buddhists included the *Jātakas* in their *Khuddaka Nikāya*, indicating their tacit approval of the new cult. The Sarvāstivādins laid special stress on this literature and extolled the cult in the *Lalita Vistara*. These sects, however, still adhered to their old belief that this cult was meant for exceedingly rare beings, perhaps one in a *kalpa*, who, like Śākya Gautama or Dīpaṅkara, would ultimately become a Buddha. Hence the credit for first popularising it among the masses goes to the Mahāsaṇghikas and their offshoots, who preached that every being should aspire to Buddhahood and therefore aim at becoming a Bodhisattva by acquiring the appropriate virtues.

Along with this doctrine, the Mahāsaṅghikas deified the Buddha, and so gave an opportunity to the masses to satisfy their religious emotions. During the centuries preceding the Christian era devotees had to content themselves with making and worshipping symbols. In the centuries after the Christian era the erection and worship of Buddha-images came into vogue, and devotees at last found a means for expressing their devotion. They covered India with temples and monasteries filled with such images in the belief that merit accrued both to the donors and to the artists. Pristine Buddhism could no longer withstand the surge of religious enthusiasm and had to yield to popular feeling. This paved the way for the advent of Mahāyānism.

It is difficult to assign any particular date to the rise of the Mahāyāna sect. Even in the Pāli *Nikāyas* there are passages which inculcate Mahāyāna doctrines. The crucial test for designating a particular form of Buddhism or a particular text as Mahāyāna is to ascertain whether it (i) teaches *dharmaśūnyatā* (non-reality of phenomenal objects) besides *pudgalaśūnyatā* (absence of any substance such as soul); (ii) incorporates the conception of countless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; (iii) advocates the worship of gods and goddesses; and (iv) recommends the use of *mantras* for attaining emancipation. The earliest text to contain the above-mentioned doctrines is the *Prajñāpāramitā*. The first Chinese translation of the text was made in A.D. 148 by Lokarakshā, and so we can assume that the original was in existence by the first century A.D.[1] There are several Prajñāpāramitā texts of different dates; of these the oldest is *Ashṭasāhasrikā*.

Now let us examine the traditional evidence regarding the time of the emergence of Mahāyāna. It would appear from the account of Kanishka's Council, as given by Paramārtha and Tāranātha, that Mahāyānism was already a living force. Tāranātha also tells us that, during the reign of Kanishka's son, the teaching of Mahāyāna had greatly advanced and that various Mahāyāna texts were composed by the younger monks without any dispute with the older brethren.[2] In the *Ashṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* we come across an interesting statement to the effect that the Mahāyāna teaching will originate in Dakshiṇāpatha (southern India), pass to eastern countries (*vartanyāṁ*), and prosper in the north. There is also the Tibetan tradition that the Śaila schools (Mahāsaṅghika group) had a *Prajñāpāramitā* in Prakrit. Tāranātha describes Arhat Nanda, a native of Aṅga, as a great expounder of Mahāyāna doctrines.

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[1] According to the Sautrāntikas, Tāranātha states, the *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* was composed after the time of Mahāpadma Nanda.

[2] Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 63.

Putting all these pieces of evidence together, we may conclude that Mahāyāna Buddhism originated about the first century B.C. in the Andhra country where the Mahāsaṅghikas had their centre; it became a recognised form of Buddhism at the time of Kanishka; and then it spread all over northern India in the first or second century A.D. to blossom into its full glory under the care of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.

Though Mahāyānism had its beginning in the pre-Christian era when the first *Prajñāpāramitā* was composed, it took time to attain popularity against the opposition of the well-established Hīnayānism, the name applied, by way of contrast, to the primitive religion. The main argument put forward by the Hīnayānists against Mahāyānism was that it was not expounded by Buddha, and that its ideal of Buddhahood as attainable by every being was not practical. In most of the Mahāyāna texts attempts have been made to refute these charges.

Mahāyānism, it seems, could not make much headway till the advent of the two savants Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, whose masterly expositions put into shade the Hīnayāna teachings and made a strong appeal to the intelligentsia. The common belief that Aśvaghosha, the contemporary of Kanishka, was the earliest exponent of Mahāyāna philosophy is based on the confusion made between the author of the *Buddhacharita* and other Kāvyas and dramas[1] and that of the *Śraddhotpāda-sūtra* containing a brief exposition of the Yogāchāra views. There can, however, be hardly any doubt that the two were different persons and the latter flourished much later than the poet Aśvaghosha.[2]

The earliest writer, therefore, on Mahāyāna philosophy was Nāgārjuna, about whom the traditions are still more confusing than those about Aśvaghosha. The accounts furnished by the Chinese and Tibetan writers were all derived from an Indian source, which had mixed up the famous alchemist and the Tantric teacher Nāgārjuna, the contemporary of a Sātavāhana king,[3] with the philosopher Nāgārjuna, the propounder of the Mādhyamika philosophy. The information given in Tāranātha's and Buston's history appears mostly to relate to the Tantric teacher and not to the philosopher Nāgārjuna. Kumārajīva's biography (in Chinese, A.D. 405) does not furnish us with any detailed reliable information. All the traditions state that Nāgārjuna wrote the commentary on the *Pañchaviṁśatisāhasrikā-Prajñāpārimitā*,[1] which is still available in Chinese[2] and reveals the master mind of Nāgārjuna. It is the gist of this *śāstra* that we find in his *Madhyamaka-kārikā*, in which he clearly establishes his doctrine of Śūnyatā or Tathatā (=the absolute). Several Buddhist texts[3] contain the prophecy of Buddha that Nāgārjuna would be born 400 years after his demise. If Buddha's death took place in 483 B.C., the period of activities of the philosopher Nāgārjuna should be placed about the first century A.D. Out of the confusing traditions we may elicit the following information about the philosopher's life:

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[1] See above, pp. 258 f, 266 f.

[2] B. C. Law, *Aśvaghosha*, in RASB Monograph Series, No. 1.

[3] See *Suhṛillekha* in *JPTS*. 1886. For details about the alchemist Nāgārjuna see Sylvain Lévi in *BSOS*, VI pp. 417-29.

Nāgārjuna was born at Vidarbha (Berār) in a Brāhmaṇa family and was well versed in the Brahmanic śāstras. He became an authoritative exponent of the doctrine of existence and non-existence, *i.e. Śūnyatā* or *Tathatā*. Although a Mahāyānist, he was solicitous of the welfare of the Hīnayānists. He was a staunch disciplinarian, and it is said that he expelled from the *Saṅgha* a large number of monks who showed laxity in the observance of the Vinaya rules. He became the head of the *Saṅgha* at Nālandā, the fame of which put into shade the glories of Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gayā), hitherto one of the principal centres of Hīnayānists.

While he was the chief abbot of Nālandā,[4] it is said, there was a division among his followers, leading to the origin of the Yogāchāra school of philosophy. The earliest and greatest exponent of this school was Asaṅga. He also came of a Brāhmaṇa family of Peshāwar. He was at first a Sarvāstivādin, and later in his life became a Mahāyānist (Yogāchāra). His brother was Vasubandhu,[5] the famous exponent of *Sarvāstivāda-abhidharma* as also the Yogāchāra philosophy.

The growth of Mahāyāna contributed to the further development of Buddhism as a popular cult all over India and even far beyond his frontiers. The epigraphic evidence furnishes the most eloquent testimony to its prevalence in different parts of India from the remote N.-W. Frontier Province to the extreme south. Of more than a thousand epigraphic records belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era that have so far come to light, by far the great majority belongs to Buddhism.

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[1] Edited by the present writer in the Calcutta Oriental Series.

[2] There is a French Tr. by Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra*) Louvain, 1940.

[3] *Laṅkāvatāra* (p. 286), *Mahāmeghasūtra* (Le Muséon, 1910, p. 274), *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (p. 616), *Mahāmāyāsūtra* (Przyluski, *Légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, p. 183).

[4] He was succeeded by his disciple Āryadeva.

[5] He is said to have been a contemporary of Chandra-gupta I, but opinions differ widely on this point; cf. *NHIP*, VI, 155 fn. 2.

The monumental remains tell the same tale. Apart from the important centres mentioned above, we have many others located in south-east India, notably at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The famous relic-tower at Peshāwar, built by Kanishka, was a veritable wonder for centuries. Even the inaccessible hilly regions beyond the Sindhu have preserved numerous relics of a flourishing state of Buddhism. In addition to the Kushāṇas, other ruling dynasties, such as the Western Satraps, Sātavāhanas and Ikshvākus, were great patrons of Buddhism.

It should not be supposed, however, that all this wide popularity was monopolised by Mahāyānism. The large number of inscriptions at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa reveal that a few Hīnayāna sects, mostly of the Mahāsaṅghika group, were popular in this region in the early centuries of the Christian era. Of particular importance for the history of Buddhism is the inscription recording the dedication of a monastery to the Theriyas (*i.e* Theravāda monks of Ceylon) to whom credit has been given for the introduction of Buddhism into Kāshmir-Gandhāra, Chīna, Chilāta, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, the Yona countries, Damila, Polura and Tambapaṇṇi. The inscriptions seem to prove that Buddhism (Mahāsaṅghika) flourished in this area in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the Mahāchaitya erected at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa became a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists all over India

The first three centuries of the Christian era also witnessed a wide spread of Buddhism in a large part of Asia as far as China. The first impetus to it was given by the missionary activity of Aśoka,[1] but its further progress was accelerated by the patronage of foreign rulers like the Greeks, Parthians, Śakas and the Kushāṇas who had intimate association with western and central Asia. Through these regions Buddhism gradually penetrated into China, Burma and other parts of eastern and south-eastern Asia. This phenomenon is of particular importance inasmuch as Buddhism still prevails in many of these countries, though it has practically lost hold over the land of its origin. The history of this outward movement of Buddhism will be related in a subsequent chapter.

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[1] See above, p. 84.

V. BUDDHA IMAGES AND BUDDHIST SCULPTURE

The early Buddhist monuments of Sānchī, Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā, Amarāvatī and other places of the Śuṅga and post-Śuṅga periods will be described in detail in Chapter XX. These were mostly *stūpas* or funerary structures which were encircled by railings (*vedikā*) with gateways (*toraṇas*) attached to them. Different sections of these railings and gateways were covered with carvings, some of which are intimately associated with episodes in the various lives lived by the Buddha, which have been described as Jātakas. The word Jātaka meant 'birth-stories' or stories having a bearing on the *jāti* (birth) of the Buddha. The *jāti* again not only meant his present or last birth, but also the countless previous ones as bird, beast and man, in which he was continually qualifying himself for the attainment of the final goal (*Nirvāṇa*). In the early Buddhist texts, *Nidānakathā*, or a collection of tales connected with this chain of divine births, has been principally divided into two sections, *viz.* *dure nidāna* (remote section) and *avidure nidāna* (not-far-remote section), the former dealing with his previous existence and the latter with the last one. Of the latter, again, those incidents that occurred after his victory over the arch-tempter Māra come under the *santike nidāna* (near-at-hand section). Other stories narrated in early Buddhist literature dealt with the lives of the former Buddhas, a belief in whom was already well current in Maurya times, and with the history of the order after the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of Buddha. All these were illustrated in the carvings of the monuments mentioned above.

One very interesting peculiarity of these early bas-reliefs is that neither the present Buddha Śākya-muni nor his predecessors are represented in iconic form. The extant Amarāvatī reliefs, which mostly belong to the second century A.D. and later periods, combine the earlier aniconic tradition along with the later iconic one, for some of them show Buddha anthropomorphically represented. Buddha's presence in most of the early sculptures is invariably indicated by means of various symbols, such as the Bodhi tree with the Vajrāsana beneath it, the garlanded wheel (*Dharmachakra*), the concrete representation of the Buddha's walk (*Chaṅkrama*) and the *stūpa* of the present or past Buddhas. From the strict uniformity with which this practice is followed it appears that there was puritanical convention against the anthropomorphic representation of the Master, observed by the artists of central India. This was probably due to the fact that, to the earlier Buddhists, the Master was a Teacher, not a Saviour God, and they were anxious to avoid any form of worship except reverence to his relics. This convention, however, was shortly to disappear and iconographic types of the Buddha made their appearance apparently simultaneously in the Hellenistic school of Gandhāra and in the Indian school of Mathurā.[1] Both the Gandhāra and Mathurā Buddha types, however, were basically derived from the Indian conception of a great man (*Mahāpurusha*) who had some destinctive marks on his body (*Mahāpurushalakshaṇas*). Early Indian literature, belonging to different Indian creeds, is full of references to these characteristic signs of great men, and some Buddhist texts of the pre-Christian period (*Mahāpadāna-* and *Lakkhana-suttāntas* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*) went so far as to enumerate them as thirty-two major ones to which eighty minor ones were subsequently added (*dvātriṁśanmahāpurushalakshaṇāni* and *aśītyanuvyañjanāni*). The texts glibly inform us that the person who bears these marks on his body will be a sovereign king (*rājachakravartī*) if he remains at home (*āgāri*, really living a worldly life), but if he renounces the worldly life (or becomes *anāgāri*) he will be a Buddha. Now, the Hellenistic artists of Gandhāra as well as the indigenous artists of Mathurā utilised in their respective manner whichever of these canonical signs could be represented in art. Iconographic and iconometric texts of a much later date, such as the *Sambuddhabhāshita-Pratimālakshaṇa,* delineating the various signs and bodily measurements of the ideal figure of Buddha, contained relevant references to them.

The Buddha figures in general can be classified under three main types, *viz. sthānaka* (standing), *āsana* (seated), and *śayana* (recumbent). Each of these, when it was a part of a composite relief, especially the first two, with the hands shown in particular poses (*mudrā*), was intended to illustrate different incidents in the life-history of the Master; a number of accessory figures clustering round the central one were sometimes used as aids in this respect. The recumbent form was only utilised to represent the scene of the great decease (*mahāparinirvāṇa*) at Kusinagara. In this scene Buddha is shown lying sideways on a couch, his head resting on one

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1. The relation of these two schools, specially in respect of the Buddha image, has been discussed in Ch. XX.

of his hands, the chief accessory objects, almost invariably present in the composition, being the two Śāla trees indicating the *Śāla* grove of Kusinagara in which he breathed his last, the sorrowing Vajrapāṇi and Ānanda, the monk Subhadra seated in *dhyāna* pose who is said to have been converted by Buddha in his death-bed, and Kāśyapa with his monk's garb and staff standing near the feet of the dying Buddha. This composition, which we frequently find among the extant Gandhāra sculptures, came to be the recognised mode of representing the Mahāparinirvāṇa scene though, in later sculptures, the number of accessories was much curtailed.

In the Gandhāra standing types, Buddha is usually shown with his right hand raised in the *abhaya mudrā*[1] and the left hanging down by his side slightly projecting out of the garment. This is the normal mode, its variants being rarely found. A favourite theme of the Gandhāra sculptors is to show eight figures standing side by side with halos behind their heads, the first seven clad in monk's garments, the eighth wearing secular dress and holding a nectar flask in its hand. The former are the seven past Buddhas including Śākyamuni, whose symbolical representation in central Indian Buddhist art has already been alluded to. It should be noted that the arrangement of the monk's dress in the several figures is almost invariably the same, though the position of the hands slightly differs in individual specimens. But what is of particular importance here is the presence of Maitreya, the future Buddha, with a nectar flask as his special cognisance, which is undoubtedly a new feature. The treatment of drapery of these Buddhas of the extreme north-west of India is almost entirely Hellenistic.[2]

The earlier Gandhāra Buddhas again show heads covered with waving tresses, but the locks are certainly not intended to conceal 'the disfigurement caused by the *ushṇīsha* (a bump on the top of the head regarded as a bump of intelligence)' as was supposed by Grünwedel and other scholars. The plastic treatment of hair gathered in a top-knot created what came to be mistaken later as a bump, and this motif must have been at the root of the later illusion that the *ushṇīsha* was a sign of greatness. The peculiar device adopted by the early artists of Gandhāra, Mathurā and Sārnāth for protecting the fingers was similarly responsible for the rise of the concept of another sign of greatness (*mahāpurusha-lakshaṇa*), *viz.* the webbed fingers (*jālāṅgulihastapādatalatā*).

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[1] Attitude of Protection.

[2] Cf. Ch. XX.

In some sculptures from Gandhāra, Mathurā and Sārnāth, the hair on Buddha's head is shown well-arranged in curls turning from left to right, which meant to represent another auspicious sign, the *dakshiṇāvartamūrdhaja* (curls turning from left to right). But the treatment of hair in the early Buddha images of Mathurā widely differed from the usual Gandhāra convention; it is indicated by a raised plane above the forehead and a thick single spiral coil on the top centre turned from left to right. This fashion was misunderstood by scholars, some of whom maintained that the head of this type of Mathurā Buddha was partially shaven with the *ushṇīsha* shown spirally on the top.

The *mudrās* or the hand-poses of the seated Buddhas of Gandhāra are usually very few in number, the commonest among them being the *abhaya* (protection), the *dhyāna* (meditation) and, comparatively rarely, the *bhūsparśa* (touching the earth) and the *Dharmachakramudrā* (turning the wheel of law).

In addition to Buddha images we get also those of Bodhisattva, *i.e.* 'a being who is in process of obtaining but has not yet obtained Buddhahood', such as Gautama or Siddhārtha before his attainment of *nirvāṇa.* He was not represented in early relief-sculptures in human form, his presence being indicated by means of symbols like a caparisoned horse without a rider, with a parasol held above, and the Bodhi tree with the *vajrāsana* beneath it.

The indigenous artists of Mathurā and the Hellenistic sculptors of Gandhāra between them introduced the figure of the Bodhisattva Gautama in art. The inscribed standing and seated images of Mathurā, representing Gautama dressed as a monk, are sometimes described in their pedestal inscriptions either as Bodhisattva or as Buddha, and it seems that the local artists did not attach any great significance to the difference in meaning between the two terms. But the Gandhāra artists, who illustrated in detail the various incidents in the present life of the Master, depicted him in several ways as the particular occasions in the narratives demanded. The grown-up Gautama was usually shown as a prince dressed in secular garments. But many of the royal figures, adorned with jewelled head-dresses and other elaborate ornaments, and holding either a lotus flower or a nectar flask in their hands, undoubtedly stands for Bodhisattvas other than Siddhārtha. The future Buddha Maitreya, characterised by a peculiar mode of arranging the hair in a double loop on the head, as noted above, is not only shown in the company of the seven past Buddhas but is also very often depicted as one of the two principal acolytes by the side of Gautama. The latter composition usually shows Buddha seated in the middle, with Maitreya to his left, and another well-dressed figure to his right who either holds a lotus flower in his right hand or bears a lotus mark on it. The latter undoubtedly stands for Padmapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara, one of the most important Bodhisattvas of the developed Mahāyāna pantheon. It should be noted that Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara belonged to different categories. The former like Siddhārtha was to become a Buddha in future, while the latter would always remain in the Bodhisattva stage.

The most important characteristic of these divine beings is compassionateness, which is strikingly illustrated by a remarkable Hellenistic composition recovered from Loriyan Tangai and now in the collection of the Indiaǹ Museum, Calcutta. The relief shows Buddha sitting in *Padmāsana* on a lotus having two seated Bodhisattva figures, one on either side; both are depicted in a sorrowful pose, indicated by the heads resting aslant on one of their hands, the right hand of the figure on the proper right holding a manuscript, and the left hand of the one on the other side a bunch of lotus flowers. The attendant on the left is Padmapāṇi-Avalokiteśvara, "the all-pitying one", while the one on the proper right can be identified, on the basis of the manuscript in his hand, as Mañjuśrī, personifying knowledge and wisdom. Thus, it is possible for us to recognise three different Bodhisattvas in Gandhāran art from their individual iconographic features, the first of them, Maitreya, belonging to one category, and the next two, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, to another. Such Bodhisattva figures are, however, extremely rare among the ruins at Mathurā of the Śaka-Kushāṇa period, only a few figures of Maitreya and Vajrapāṇi being recognisable from their respective cognisances such as an *amṛitaghaṭa* or a *vajra* in their hands.

Another distinct iconographic type in Gandhāra, a thunderbolt-bearing figure almost invariably accompanying Buddha in the numerous genre representations of the life-story of the Master, from the time of the Great Renunciation to that of the Great Decease, was variously identified by scholars as Devadatta, Māra, Śakra, and Dharma; but it was correctly identified by Foucher as Yaksha Vajrapāṇi, who is described in many authoritative Buddhist texts as one of the principal ministerial angels of the Buddha from the time of his *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* to his *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. This Yaksha Vajrapāṇi was the prototype of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, one of the important Dhyānī-Boddhisattvas of the developed Mahāyāna, about whom more will be said later on.

VI. THE PALI CANON

It has been stated above that the canon of the sacred literature of the Buddhists was composed in Pāli, Māgadhī, and other dialects. Of these the Pāli version alone has survived in its entirety. Of the rest, only very small fragments have so far come to light and these need not be surveyed in detail.

The Pāli canon consists of three *piṭakas* (baskets) and is therefore known as the Tipiṭaka (Tripiṭaka in Sanskrit). These are Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma Piṭakas. The first deals with the rules of the monastic order. The second, as noted above, deals with the ethical principles of Buddha's teaching. The third or Abhidhamma Piṭaka expounds the metaphysical principles underlying the doctrine.

There is yet another division of the canon into nine *aṅgas* (limbs) mentioned in several places in the Tipiṭaka. They are: sermons in prose only (*sutta*), sermons in prose and verse (*geyya*), explanations (*veyyākaraṇa*), stanzas (*gāthā*), epigrams (*udāna*), short saying beginning with "Thus spoke the Buddha" (*itivuttaka*), stories of previous incarnations (*jātaka*), miracles (*abbhutadhamma*), and teachings in the form of question and answer (*vedalla*). This list of the *aṅgas* is a classification of the various texts comprising the canon according to their form and contents. It clearly shows that all these diverse types of Buddhist literature were already in existence when the canon was compiled in its present form.

1. *Vinaya Piṭaka*

The *Vinaya Piṭaka*, which has been placed at the head of the canon by the Buddhists themselves, comprises the following texts: Pātimokkha, Sutta Vibhaṅga, Khandhakās, and Parivāra.

(i) *Pātimokkha*. The nucleus of the Vinaya is the *Pātimokkha*, which, as noted above,[1] gives a list of rules of discipline together with atonements for transgressing them. An oft-repeated phrase says that the life of a good monk is checked by the restraints of the *Pātimokkha*. It originally contained only 152 rules, which were later extended to 227, divided into ten sections, as we now find in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

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[1] See p. 374 ff.

(ii) *Sutta Vibhaṅga, i.e.* explanations of Suttas (of the *Pātimokkha*), tells in a sort of historical introduction how, when, and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. The words of the rule are given in full, followed by a very ancient word-for-word commentary, which in its turn is succeeded by further explanations and discussions of doubtful points. The *Sutta Vibhaṅga* comprises (1) Mahā-vibhaṅga which has eight chapters dealing with eight classes of transgressions against discipline, and (2) Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, a much shorter work, being a commentary on the code for the nuns compiled on the lines of Pātimokkha for the monks. The offences have been divided into those which were punishable with expulsion from the Order (*pārājikās*) and those punishable with expiation (*pāchittiyās*).

(iii) The *Khandhakās* (sections) comprise two divisions, *Mahāvagga* and *Chullavagga*, and form a sort of continuation and supplement to the *Sutta Vibhaṅga*.

The *Mahāvagga* (great section) in its ten sections furnishes us with the story of the formation of the *Saṅgha*, and lays down rules for admission to the Order, observance of the Uposatha ceremony, and the mode of life during the monsoon. There are also rules for the wearing of shoes, and for seats, conveyances, dress and medicine of the monks, and for the regulation of legal proceedings and restoration of order in the *Saṅgha*. There are some serious narratives which embody the purest Buddhist morals in their simplest form. The incidental notices in the *Mahāvagga* are valuable as they throw considerable light on the everyday life of ancient India. The sections dealing with thefts, sexual offences, crimes, etc. have a special interest as they present a cross-section of the society of those days.

The *Chullavagga* (smaller section) in its twelve sections contains a number of edifying anecdotes connected with the life of Buddha and the history of the Order. The first nine sections contain rules for the Bhikkhus while the tenth section describes the duties of nuns. The former deal with disciplinary proceedings and methods of settling disputes among monks; various offences, expiations and penances; the daily life of the Bhikkhus; their residence, furniture, etc. The tenth section prescribes the eight conditions precedent to the entry of a woman into the Order, and rules for the guidance of the Bhikkhunī *saṅgha* (the order of nuns). The last two sections.

containing an account of the first two councils at Rājagṛiha and Vaiśālī, are regarded as later additions, and form rather an appendix of the *Chullavagga*.

(iv) *Parivāra*, the last book of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, gives in the form of questions and answers an abstract of the other parts, and appears to be a later production, being probably the work of a Ceylonese monk. It consists of nineteen sections, catechisms, indices, appendices, lists, etc., reminiscent of the *anukramaṇīs* and *pariśishṭas* of the Vedic texts.

2. *Sutta Piṭaka*

The *Sutta Piṭaka* incorporates the greatest literary works of Buddhism in prose and verse. It comprises the following five collections called Nikāyas: (1) Dīgha, (2) Majjhima, (3) Saṁyutta, (4) Aṅguttara and (5) Khuddaka. The first four consists of *suttas* or discourses which are either sermons of the Buddha (occasionally by a disciple), preceded by a short introduction relating the place and occasion of the discourse; or dialogues in prose, occasionally mixed with verse. These four are cognate and homogeneous in character with a number of *suttas* recurring in two or more collections.

(1) The *Dīgha Nikāya* (or Dīghāgama or Dīghasaṅgha) is a collection of long sermons containing 34 *suttas*, each dealing fully with one or several points of the doctrine. There is no connection between the *suttas*. Each is complete in itself and capable of being regarded as an independent work. The *Dīgha* is divided into three books, diverse in contents and character, and containing earlier and later strata: *Sīlakkhandha, Mahāvagga* and *Pātikavagga*. The earliest stratum is found in the first book, which mostly deals with ethical questions, while the third book constitutes the later stratum, the second comprising the longest *suttas*, grown in bulk owing to interpolations. The origin of the universe, rebirth, self-control, asceticism, way to union with God, miracles, *nirvāṇa*, heretical doctrines, artificiality of the caste system, etc., are some of the topics dealt with in these books.

Each *sutta* has a short preface explaining the occasion when Buddha delivered it. Some *suttas* are dialogues between Gautama and an unbeliever. The initial *sutta* of the *Dīgha*, Brahmajālasutta (the discourse on the Brāhmaṇa net), is important for the history, not only of Buddhism but of the entire religious life and thought of ancient India. This is followed by Sāmaññaphala-sutta (discourse on the reward of asceticism), which is a valuable piece of evidence for the life and thought at the time of Buddha, as it speaks of the views of prominent non-Buddhist teachers and founders of sects. Essentially different in form and contents from the other suttas, the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (No. 16) is neither a dialogue nor a discourse on one or more chief points of the doctrine. It is a detailed and interesting account of the later part of Buddha's life, his last speeches and sayings, and his death and funeral ceremonies.

(2) The *Majjhima Nikāya* (collection of medium suttas), with its three books of 50 suttas (*pannāsas*) each, deals with practically all points of the Buddhist religion, and throws considerable light on the life of Buddhist monks, as also on Brahmanical sacrifices, various forms of asceticism, the relation of Buddha to the Jains and other systems of the day, the superstitions and the socio-political conditions of the time. There is a long enumeration of offences—burglary, robbery, adultery, etc.—and the consequent punishments, which incidentally reveal the penal laws of the day. Besides dialogues and sermons, some *suttas* are pure narratives like the Aṅgulimāla. In one of the dialogues Buddha characteristically tells an enquirer, seeking information concerning subtle metaphysical problems, that answering these questions would leave no time for finding the way to salvation (sutta 63).

With regard to the dialogues in the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima*, Rhys Davids rightly observes: "In depth of philosophic insight, in the method of Socratic questioning often adopted, in the earnest and elevated tone of the whole, in the evidence they afford of the most cultured thought of the day, these dialogues constantly remind the reader of the dialogues of Plato. But not in style. They have indeed a style of their own; always dignified and occasionally rising into eloquence."[1]

(3) The *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (book of kindred sayings) has 56 groups (*śaṁyuttas*) each dealing with various points of the doctrine in connection with a certain name or object. The *suttas* have been grouped on at least three principles: (1) those that deal with one of the chief points or principal branches of the Buddhist doctrine; (2) those that refer to classes of gods, men or demons; and (3) those that have some prominent personality as hero or speaker. The

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1. *EB*, 11th Ed., IV, p. 746a.

Saṁyutta is a compilation of suttas mainly bearing on psycho-ethical and philosophical problems.

Yet another division of the *Saṁyutta* is into the following five *vaggas* (divisions): Sagātha, Nidāna, Khandha, Saḷāyatana and Mahā. Ethics and the Buddhist ideal of life dominate the first *vagga* and epistemology and metaphysics the other *vaggas*. There are *suttas* in this collection in which the Buddha and Dhamma are already objects of veneration, while some deal with the life of the Master and a few with the discipline of the Order (*vinaya*). Though there is monotonous repetition and tedious multiplication of *suttas*, which was due probably to sound practical reasons in their use for religious exercises, there are many things that are noteworthy from a purely literary point of view. The first *vagga* especially abounds in real poetry. Many riddles and aphorisms in the form of questions and answers are found in the Devatā Saṁyutta and, like Yudhishṭhira who correctly answers the puzzles of a Yaksha, Buddha satisfies a Yaksha by wisely answering his questions.[1] The Māra Saṁyutta and the Bhikkhunī Saṁyutta, which are ballads in mixed prose and verse, are of great poetical merit. Winternitz considers such poems as "sacred ballads, counterparts of those *ākhyānas* with which the epic poetry of the Indians originated."[2] The sayings and episodes in this Nikāya impress one successively with Buddha's great good sense, readiness to adapt his teaching to the individual enquirer, keen intuition, ready humour and smiling irony, courage and dignity, and catholic and tender compassion for all creatures.

(4) *Aṅguttara* (or *Ekuttara*) *Nikāya* is a numerical grouping of sermons arranged serially in an ascending order. It consists of eleven sections (*nipātas*), each of which is further split into several divisions (*vaggas*). Though similar in many cases to the grouping or enumerations of doctrines or principles in the *Saṁyutta*, the bearing of the *Aṅguttara* is on the whole practical. Its purpose is sufficiently to emphasise certain doctrinal points by repeatedly dinning them into the ears of the audience.

The style of the *Aṅguttara* is characterised by sobriety and perspicuity. Though following a purely prosaic and mechanical scheme, the *Aṅguttara* presents certain matters which are full of interest. Variety of contents may be said to be its special feature.

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[1] *Saṁyutta*, X. 12.

[2] *HIL*, II, p. 59.

A large number of *suttas* deal with women, mostly in an uncomplimentary way. The *Aṅguttara* also throws a flood of light on brutal methods of punishment and on the criminal law of the day.

(5) The *Khuddaka Nikāya* (collection of smaller pieces), though usually taken as the fifth Nikāya of the *Sutta Piṭaka,* is sometimes classed with the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. It may better be called "a collection of miscellanea" as, besides several short works, it includes also a few of the most extensive of the Pāli canonical books. It was added as a supplementary Nikāya after the Nikāyas had been closed. The *Khuddaka* is composed for the most part in verse and contains the most important Buddhist works in poetry. In contents and character the various texts comprising this collection differ very widely. It would appear from a very remarkable *sutta*, recurring several times, that the claim of poetical pieces to be regarded as sacred texts was recognised only at a later time.[1] The works included in the *Khuddaka* originated at different periods and were not intended to be incorporated in one collection.

The *Khuddaka* comprises the following texts: Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Sutta Nipāta, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Jātakas, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Apadāna, Buddhavaṁsa and Chariyāpiṭaka.

The *Khuddakapāṭha* (lesser readings) with its nine short texts is a little tract, a first lesson book for the young neophytes when they joined the Order. The texts were used as a kind of *mantra* or prayer in the Buddhist cult. It is interesting to note that seven of these texts are still used at the Buddhist "*Parittā*" ceremony (exorcism spells).

The *Dhammapada*, the best known of the Buddhist canonical texts, is an anthology of 423 sayings of Buddha in verse divided into 26 *vaggas* or chapters, the stanzas being arranged by subjects. These stanzas are mostly taken from the other books of the Pāli canon, and embody the spirit of Buddha's teaching, if not the very words of the Master. The *Dhammapada* is a fine exposition of the sublime ethical teachings of the Buddha and was a very popular text all over the Buddhist world.

The *Udāna* (ecstatic utterances of the Buddha), containing stanzas and narratives, is divided into eight *vaggas* or sections of ten *suttas* each. Each *sutta* contains the utterances and the narratives, the former being older than the latter into which they were inserted. The style is simple. The outbursts of the Buddha are very terse and enigmatic. Each *sutta* is concluded by an Udāna (ecstatic utterance) of the Buddha.

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[1] *Saṁyutta,* XX. 7; *Aṅguttara,* IV. 160; Winternitz, *HIL,* II. p. 77.

The *Itivuttaka* ("Thus spake the Buddha") is a book of quotations in prose and verse of the authoritative sayings of Buddha. It is divided into five *vaggas* comprising 120 short pieces beginning with *"Vuttaṁ hetaṁ Bhagavatā vuttam-arahatā ti me sutam"* (Thus was it said by the Blessed One, the Exalted One—Thus have I heard), and ending with *"Ayam-pi attho vutto Bhagavatā iti me sutan-ti"* (This meaning was told by the Blessed One—Thus have I heard). It expounds the ethical teachings of the Buddha on a variety of subjects. There is no excessive verbosity, and occasional similes and beautiful metaphors give a pleasing touch to the style. The language is simple and natural. At times we come across figures of speech drawn from nature, animals, etc.

The *Sūtta Nipāta* (the section of discourses) is a collection of poetic *suttas* in five *vaggas* (chapters): Uraga, Chūla, Mahā, Aṭṭhaka, and Pārāyaṇa. It is the most frequently quoted text in the works of Buddhism next to the *Dhammapada*. There are many references or allusions to Brahmanical ideas. The Sela-sutta (III. 7) relating to the conversion of the Brāhmaṇa Sela contains passages reminiscent of the verses of the *Bhagavadgītā* and *Anugītā*. On the whole the Buddhist ideal is contrasted with the Brahmanical and shown as the higher one. The Vāseṭṭha-sutta (III. 9) beautifully elaborates the idea found in old portions of the *Mahābhārata* that true Brāhmaṇahood consists not in birth but in good conduct.

The old dialogue form is occasionally combined with the old riddle poetry already found in the Veda and the Epic. The Yaksha appears as a questioner as in the *Mahābhārata*, and a sage answers the queries by presenting the ethical doctrines of Buddhism. The Nālaka-sutta, the Pabbajjā-sutta and the Padhāna-sutta are of special importance, being the precious remnants of the sacred ballad poetry which gave rise to the later epic version of the life of Buddha in the same way as the *ākhyānas* later grew into heroic poetry. The *Sutta Nipāta* preserves many fragments of the oldest Buddhist poetry. Some of the prose narratives forming the framework for the poems are, however, later additions, though Fausböll's view that all prose passages were written later cannot be accepted.[1] The *Sutta Nipāta* is a valuable aid for studying Buddhism as an ethical religion and contains information about the social, economic, and religious conditions of India in the Buddhist age. It refers to the six heretical teachers and the Samanas and Brāhmaṇas.

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[1] Preface, p. vii, *Editio Princeps* of the text; cf. Winternitz, *HIL*, II. p. 98.

The *Vimānavatthu* (stories of divine palaces) and *Petavatthu* (ghost stories) are short treatises, probably belonging to the latest stratum of literature collected in the Pāli canon. The *Vimānavatthu* describes certain celestial abodes enjoyed by gods as the result of their meritorious deeds while on earth, whereas the *Petavatthu* refers to sufferings after death as the result of evil deeds on earth. The *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu* are among the dullest productions of monkish poetry, metrical form being their only claim for being ranked among poetical works. The profound doctrine of *Karman,* so beautifully expressed in Brahmanical and Buddhist texts, is explained most clumsily in these stories.

The *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā* are collections of poems, being respectively the work of monks and nuns. There are differences in idiom, tone and sentiments in these two works. The *Theragāthā* concerns itself more with inner experience, while the *Therīgāthā* deals more with external experiences. With regard to their poetical excellence, Dr. Winternitz is justified in ranking these collections, in point of force and beauty, with the best productions of Indian lyric poetry from the Ṛigvedic hymns to the lyrics of Kālidāsa and Amaru.[1]

The refrain and the repetition of typical phrases are the distinguishing features of these collections. The semi-dramatic dialogue appears to be very popular.

Beautiful descriptions of nature in the *Theragāthā* are largely responsible in transforming many of these religious poems into real gems of Indian lyric poetry. The love of nature finds expression also in many charming similes. Despite his supposed indifference to pleasure the saint does not refrain from describing the spring in glowing terms.

The *Therīgāthā* more frequently strikes a personal note which is not found in the *Theragāthā*. Descriptions of nature predominate in the *Theragāthā*, whereas pictures of life preponderate in the other collection. From the *Therīgāthā* we know that women were attracted to the Order owing to the loss of their children. There are also stories of former courtesans becoming nuns which artistically portray the contrast between the life and conduct of the two. The contrast between extravagant festive joy and the peace of *Nirvāṇa* is also effectively brought out. There is an elaborate collection of similes in the *Therīgāthā,* reminiscent of the embellishments of ornate poetry. Occasionally we come across very artificial word-plays.

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[1] *HIL,* II, p. 100.

These collections are very important on account of the pictures of life they portray, which give us a valuable insight into the social conditions, especially the position of women, of those days. Like the other collections in the Pāli canon, there is a combination of old and new material in these *gāthās,* so that each portion is to be dated separately on its own merits.

The *Jātakas* (stories of the former lives of the Buddha), which were the chief vehicle of Buddhist propaganda, afford an insight into popular Buddhism. As we possess merely a commentary and not the original canonical Jātaka, it is difficult to say how much of the present Jātaka book belongs to the canon. Each story (or Jātaka) in this commentary consists of the following parts: (1) *pachchuppannavatthu* (the story of the present), relating the occasion of Buddha's telling the story; (2) *atītavatthu* (story of the past), a prose narrative, telling of one of the former births of Buddha; (3) *gāthās* (stanzas) which generally belong to the "story of the past" but very often also to the "story of the present"; (4) *veyyākarana* (short commentary) which explains the *gāthās* word for word; and (5) *samodhāna* (connection) in which the Buddha generally identifies the personages of the story of the present with those of the past. The *gāthās* appear generally to have belonged to the canon and the prose portions appear to have been added later.

The *Jātakas,* more than 500 in number, are very varied in their character. Some are fables aiming at teaching *nīti* (worldly wisdom). Only a few have a directly moral aim and not many can be classed as definitely Buddhistic. Others are fairy stories, pure and simple. Most of the moral narratives, sayings and pious legends are the common property of Indian didactic poetry, and are only partly of Buddhist origin. About the short anecdotes, humorous tales, and jokes in the Jātakas, there is nothing specifically Buddhist. The *Jātakas* also include romances, adventures and narratives. The only touch of Buddhism in these is the hero, who is always the Bodhisattva. On the whole, more than a half of *Jātakas* are of non-Buddhistic origin.

The *Jātakas* present practically all forms and types of composition. Prose narratives are interspersed with poetry. The prose and verse are artistically joined and together present a finished whole. There are also collections of sayings on different subjects and epic fragments. As in the case of the ballads, the prose in these is redundant, late and insipid.

There are stories bringing out the contrast between grateful animals and ungrateful men. The story of the jackal "All-tooth" (Sabbadātha) in Jātaka 241 has a touch of delightful humour. Many deal with the perpetual and inexhaustible subject of the wickedness of woman. A whole collection of stories and sayings on the same subject is grouped in Jātaka 536 (Kuṇāla Jātaka), and Nos. 61-66 are such a cycle. A long moral in the form of a ballad is presented in Jātaka 527, which is so extremely dramatic as to appear like a short drama. To the Western reader, the stories of female demons (Yakshinīs) who lure the shipwrecked mariners in order to kill and devour them call to mind the sirens and other beings like Circe and Calypso in the *Odyssey* of Homer.[1] There are also consolatory stories, a kind of moral narrative whose purpose is to comfort those grieving for the departed. The picaresque and other narratives in which robbers, vagabonds, dice-players and courtesans figure as the chief characters, though historically interesting, have not much that is characteristically Buddhist in them. It is interesting to note that the Bodhisattva actually figures twice as a highwayman. The anecdote of the woman who decides in ıavour of her brother in perference to her son or husband (*Jātaka* 67) is particularly interesting on account of its relation to a similar story in Herodotus. Scholars hold divergent views as regards the origin of the motif and Winternitz strikes the correct note in stating that it is difficult to determine its actual home.[2]

The view that the *Jātakas* furnish valuable material not only for literature and art, but for the study of economic conditions and social manners and customs of Buddha's time, is true in the case of only some poems and a few prose narratives which go back to his time. The major part of the verses is not perhaps earlier than the third century B.C., whereas much of the prose is later than the Christian era. In point of age the *Jātakas* bear a close resemblance to the *Mahābhārata* in that every single *gāthā* requires to be tested independently with regard to its chronology. The *Jātakas* give particulars about the life of people of all classes, about some of whom there is scarcely any other information in Indian literature.

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[1] Cf. Winternitz, *HIL*, II, p. 131.

[2] *HIL*, II, p. 135.

The *Niddesa* (exposition) contains detailed explanations by Sāriputta of 33 *Suttas* from the last two *vaggas* of the *Sutta Nipāta,* and is divided into two sections: Mahā-niddesa, and Chulla-niddesa. From its inclusion in the canon, it is evident that the *Niddesa* was the oldest of the Pāli commentaries. This commentary explains important technical expressions, frequently quoting from canonical texts. It gives a long list of synonyms to explain a word, the list being repeated every time the same word occurs.

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (Path to analysis): Each of its three large sections (Mahā-vagga, Yuganandha-vagga, Paññā-vagga) contains ten chapters on some important topics of the Buddhist doctrine. It treats all subjects in the form of questions and answers in the manner of the Abhidhamma texts, and is among the latest of the canonical books. It was included in the *Sutta Piṭaka* because its form is that of the Suttas, and the traditional opening *"evam me sutam"* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* is found fairly frequently.

The *Apadāna* (Sanskrit Avadāna, heroic or glorious deeds, and then, glorious deeds of self-sacrifice and piety) is an anthology of legends describing the heroic and pious works of the Buddhist saints. It is entirely in verse and contains biographies of 550 male and 40 female members of the Buddhist Order. The *Apadānas,* like the *Jātakas,* have a story of the present and a story of the past, but the stories in the *Apadānas* relate to the previous existence of a saint, an *arhat,* not of the Buddha as the *Jātaka. Apadāna* is more closely allied to the Sanskrit *Avadānas* than to the remaining works of the Pāli canon, and is one of the latest works of the Khuddaka.

The *Buddhavaṁsa* contains poetical legends of 24 Buddhas supposed to have been the predecessors of Gautama in the last twelve *kalpas.* Gautama is the narrator. In the case of each individual Buddha, it is related somewhat dryly how he set the wheel of religion in motion and the principal events in Gautama's life find their counterparts in the life of one of his predecessors (former Buddhas).

The *Chariyāpiṭaka,* a collection of Jātakas in verse, is a post-Aśokan work. It illustrates the modes in which Bodhisattva practised the conduct (*chariyā*) and shows how he had attained the ten perfections (*pāramitās*) in his previous existence.

3. *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*

Contrary to the indications given by its name (*Abhidhamma*, higher religion or metaphysics), there is very little of metaphysics in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (basket of transcendental doctrine). It deals with the same subjects as the *Sutta Piṭaka*, but in a more scholastic way. It is written mostly in the form of questions and answers like a catechism. The subject-matter of the *Abhidhamma* is chiefly derived from the *Sutta Piṭaka* in which are found the beginnings of the *Abhidhamma* and the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. The *Abhidhamma* may be said to be merely the extension of the *mātikās* or lists mentioned in the *Vinaya*. The *Abhidhamma* comprises seven books commonly known as Sattapakaraṇa, *viz.* Dhammasaṅgaṇi, Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna. All these books are later in date containing a more elaborate and classified exposition of the Dhamma than given in the Nikāyas. There is hardly any originality or profundity in the Abhidhamma books. There is no trace of any scientific reasoning or research in the definitions and classifications; mere dogmatism appears to have formed their basis.

The *Kathāvatthu* (points of controversy) or the *Vijñānapada*, ascribed to Moggaliputta Tissa, President of the Third Council, is the only canonical work claiming definite authorship. Oldenberg, Rhys Davids, Geiger and others accept the historicity of the tradition, but Barth, Keith, Minayeff and Walleser reject it. According to Winternitz the *Kathāvatthu* in its present form cannot be regarded as a work of the third century B.C.[1] It is later than the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta* and the first two books of the *Abhidhamma* to which it refers. It is valuable for the light it throws on the development of Buddhist dogmatics during the later centuries.

4. *Chronology of Canonical Pāli Literature*

Canonical Pāli literature can be roughly placed between two well-defined chronological limits. The death of Buddha, after which the formal collection of his teachings was made according to unanimous Buddhist traditions, affords the upper limit, while the lower limit is supplied by the reign of king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi of Ceylon during whose reign the canon is said to have finally closed. Thus the Pāli canonical literature was produced some time between the fifth century B.C. and the last quarter of the first century B.C., but the date of some of the canonical texts may be fixed within narrower limits.

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[1] *HIL*, II, p. 170.

It is now generally agreed that the canon is not as old as the First or even the Second Council; but quotations from scriptures in Aśokan edicts, references to persons well versed in sacred texts in inscriptions of the second century B.C. and scriptures, reliefs and inscriptions on the railings and gateways at Bhārhut and Sānchī suggest that the works on Dharma and Vinaya were current before the rise of the Maurya and Śuṅga dynasties. The *Milinda-pañha* is the earliest evidence of the existence of the three Piṭakas and five Nikāyas.

As regards the chronology of the different texts constituting the canon, the *Mahāvagga* and *Chullavagga* are evidently anterior to the period of Aśoka, as they are silent about the Third Council. The *Sutta Vibhaṅga* and the five Nikāyas which are referred to in the *Chullavagga* are certainly much older. There is no reference to the *Abhidhamma*, which is the latest of the Piṭakas. The *Kathāvatthu*, ascribed to Tissa, presupposes the Vinaya, Sutta and the other books of the Abhidhamma. This work was probably not written till the compilation of the canon by Tissa, and was appended to the canon by the Council. The *Parivārapāṭha*, the last treatise in the Vinaya, which is said to have been written by Dīpa in Ceylon, is assigned to the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, and it refers to the five Nikāyas, the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma and all older texts of the Vinaya as made known to Ceylon by Mahinda after the Third Council. As the Nikāyas know no place in the east, south of Kaliṅga, and no place in the west, south of the Godāvarī, the geography of the Nikāyas points to their age being much earlier than Aśoka. Roughly, therefore, we may say that the bulk of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the first four Nikāyas of the *Sutta Piṭaka* were compiled before 350 B.C.

After discussing the chronology of the Pāli canonical texts from different points, Dr. Law places them in the following groups in their chronological order:[1]

"1. The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found in identical words in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books;

2. Episodes found in identical words in two or more of the existing books;

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[1] *History of Pāli Literature* I, 42.

3. The Sīlas, the Pārāyaṇa group of sixteen poems without the prologue, the Aṭṭhaka group of four or sixteen poems, the Sikkhāpadas;
4. Dīgha Vol. I, Majjhima, Saṁyutta, Aṅguttara and earlier Pātimokkha with 152 rules;
5. Dīgha Vols. II, III, Thera-Therī-gāthā, 500 Jātakas, Suttavibhaṅga, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Puggalapaññatti and Vibhaṅga;
6. Mahāvagga, Chullavagga, Pātimokkha with 227 rules. Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Dhammapada, Kathāvatthu;
7. Chulla- and Mahā-niddesa, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Sutta Nipāta, Dhātukathā, Yamaka, Paṭṭhāna;
8. Buddhavaṁsa, Chariyāpiṭaka, Apadāna;
9. Parivārapāṭha;
10. Khuddakapāṭha."

5. *Non-canonical Pāli Literature*

A vast exegetical literature arose out of the necessity of explaining canonical texts, especially as these travelled to distant lands. The major part of the non-canonical Pāli literature comprises these commentaries. This commentarial literature not only explained the texts by adding critical notes, but classified the subject-matter and added legends. The activity of the commentators began in India after the compilation of the texts, and already during Aśoka's time, his son Mahendra had taken to Ceylon an Aṭṭhakathā along with the canon. The great bulk of non-canonical Pāli literature, however, is the product of the Ceylonese monks. The period of the great commentators of the Pāli canon comes after the fourth century and properly belongs to the next volume. The only Indian non-canonical works that pertain to our period are the *Milinda-pañha*, *Nettipakaraṇa* and *Peṭakopadesa*.

The *Milinda-pañha* originated in north-west India about the beginning of the Christian era and was written probably in Sanskrit or some north-Indian Prakrit. The original text is lost, and the present work is merely a Pāli translation of the original made at a very early date in Ceylon. The work is a conversation between the Greek king Milinda of Sāgala and *Thera* Nāgasena on a number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism. In the arguments, the Buddhist doctrine of the impermanence of the Ego is expounded and Milinda is converted. King Milinda is certainly the Greek ruler

Menander,[1] who was a scholar as well as a soldier. Nāgasena cannot be identified with certainty.

The problems discussed in the *Milinda-pañha* find their counterpart in those that play a prominent part in the *Kathāvatthu.* The style of the *Milinda-pañha* shows an advance over the speeches of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, while some of the dialogues of the *Milinda-pañha* stand comparison with the dialogues of Plato. The language is elegant, and there are various eloquent passages.

The *Milinda-pañha* at present comprises seven books; but it originally consisted of only a small portion of the first, and the whole of the second and third books. The work is complete with Book III, which forms a fitting conclusion to it, and there is a fresh introduction to Book IV. That Books IV-VII have been interpolated would be evident from their absence from the Chinese translation which may be dated between A.D. 317-420. They differ, again, from Book I in character. Mrs. Davids, however, thinks the book is the work of a single author, who first edited the conversations (which actually took place according to her), then wrote dialogues on the dilemmas after about ten years, and, still later, composed the book of the similes.[2]

In the first book there is a whole series of parables which seeks to explain why man is responsible for his actions, though according to the Buddhist doctrines there is no permanent ego. In contrast to the next two books which deal with the most important topics of Buddhist ethics and psychology, of interest even to laymen, there is a system of apologetics in Book IV which would interest only the well-read students of canonical texts. There are a number of quotations from the canon in Books IV-VII, which also contain frequent allusions to traditions divergent from the canonical texts and pertaining to a later period.

Contemporaneous with the *Milinda-pañha* are the *Nettipakaraṇa* and *Peṭakopadesa,* ascribed to Mahākachchāna, a disciple of Buddha, proclaimed as the best expounder of the word of the Master even in the *Majjhima Nikāya.* The *Nettipakaraṇa* (book of guidance) is a treatise on textual and exegetical methodology. It is to the Pāli canon what Yāska's *Nirukta* is to the Vedas. It is the earliest work giving a systematic treatment of all the teachings of Buddha. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids the Netti is earlier than the last two books of the Abhidhamma.[1] A commentary on the Netti was written by Dhammapāla in c. fifth century A.D.

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[1] See above, p. 112 ff.

[2] *The Milinda Questions* (London, 1930), pp. 6 ff. 23, 105 ff. 149 ff etc.

Mahākachchāna is said to have composed also the *Peṭakopadesa* (Instructions to students of Piṭakas), which is a continuation of the Netti and is but a different manipulation of the same subject. It throws some new light on the points left obscure in the Netti. It speaks of the four Ariya truths to be the central theme or essence of Buddhism—a point which was emphasised in the literature of the Sarvāstivādins.

C. JAINISM

1. *Pārśva and Mahāvīra*

Jain tradition speaks of twenty-four Tīrthakaras or "ford-makers across the stream of existence", each of whom preached the doctrine to his own age. Of these, however, the first twenty-two seem to be completely mythical and have no historical foundation.

The case, however, is different with the last two prophets, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. All that Jain tradition reports of them is quite probable. The contemporaries of Mahāvīra were well-known and the Buddhist canon supplies us with incontrovertible proof of their historicity.

We know very few facts of Pārśva's life. He is said to have been a son of Aśvasena, king of Banaras, and his wife Vāmā. He lived for 30 years as a householder, then became an ascetic and, after performing penance for 84 days, received enlightenment. He lived for a full hundred years and died on Mount Sammeta in Bengal, some 250 years before Mahāvīra. He must have been of a genial nature as he is always given the epithet *purisādāṇīya* 'beloved of men.'

We know, however, something of his teachings. We are told that he believed in the eternity of matter as did Mahāvīra after him. The followers of Pārśva preached that self-control (*saṁyama*) results in the cessation of *Karma* (*aṇhaga*), and penance leads to its annihilation. With this Mahāvīra agreed as well as with the four vows enunciated by Pārśva, *viz.* that life should not be taken, no falsehood spoken, nothing should be received which is not freely given, and non-attachment should be practised (*bahiddhādāṇāo veramaṇam*). This last may have reference to celibacy and not to the vow of non-possession as made out by later tradition.[1] Finally there was this outward difference between the two sects, that Pārśva allowed the use of a white garment by the monks, while Mahāvīra forbade even this. Hence the two Jain sects are entitled Śvetāmbara (white-clad) and Digambara (sky-clad or naked).

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[1] *JRAS,* 1925, p. 111 ff.

The belief in the historicity of Pārśva is confirmed by the canon, which not only gives us some idea of his doctrines but preserves anecdotes about his followers. The account of Kesi, one of his disciples, in the canonical books is quite realistic. Another of his disciples holds a disputation with Goyama, the chief disciple of Mahāvīra, while a third follower of Pārśva expresses his desire to exchange the religion of the four vows for the one with five vows of Mahāvīra. Even the parents of Mahāvīra belonged to the lay following of Pārśva. Moreover, Jacobi has put forward a strong argument to prove his historical existence.[2] A Buddhist Sūtra mistakenly attributes to Mahāvīra the religion of the four vows, which really belonged to Pārśva, and such a mistake could only have occurred if Pārśva actually had followers existing at the time.

It is thus highly probable that some kind of Jain faith existed before Mahāvīra, and his teachings were based on it. The conversation between Kesi and Goyama in the *Uttarādhyayana*[3] testifies to their friendly relations and points out that, in spite of some minor differences, the two were essentially the same. By the very nature of the case, tradition has preserved only those points of Pārśva's teachings which differed from the religion of Mahāvīra, while all other common points are ignored. The few differences that are known make Mahāvīra definitely a reformer of an existing faith, and the addition of a vow, the importance of nudity and a more systematic arrangement of its philosophical tenets may be credited to his reforming zeal.

Thus, unlike Buddha, Mahāvīra was more a reformer of an existing religion and possibly of a church, than the founder of a new faith. This fact is well brought out by the differences in their traditional lives. We are told that Buddha, at the beginning of his spiritual career, lived with some teachers, with whose teachings he became dissatisfied and finally found out the truth for himself. The Jain tradition makes no such claim for Mahāvīra. He is represented as following a well-established creed, most probably that of Pārśva.

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[1] Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p. 25.
[2] SBE, *Jaina Sūtras*. II. XLV. xx-xxii.
[3] Chapter xxiii.

Equally significant is Buddha's insistence that his followers should remember well his first sermon, suggestive of its novelty. Above all, the Pāli canon shows that it regarded Mahāvīra not as a founder of a new sect, but merely as a leader of a religious community already in existence.

Some authentic facts of Mahāvīra's life can be collected from the Ardha-Māgadhī canon.[1] He was born in a suburb of Vaiśālī, called Kuṇḍagrāma,, now known as Basukuṇḍa. He belonged to the Nāya clan known as *Nāta* (or Ñāta) in Pāli and *Jñātṛi* in Sanskrit. His parents were Siddhārtha, a wealthy nobleman, and Triśalā, sister of Cheṭaka, an eminent Lichchhavi prince of Vaiśālī. Tradition emphasises the importance of Mahāvīra's noble birth and tells of the transference of his embryo from the womb of the Brāhmaṇa lady Devānandā, wife of Ṛishabha, to that of Triśalā. It is difficult to ascertain how old this belief is, but the canon makes Mahāvīra speak of Devānandā as his mother and the rôle of Hariṇegamesi in the transference of the embryo. A sculpture from Mathurā also represents this scene. The original name of the prophet was Vardhamāna, while his more popular name Mahāvīra is said to have been bestowed on him by the gods. The canon also gives him a number of suggestive epithets like *Nāyaputta* 'a scion of the Nāya clan', *Kāsava* on account of his *gotra, Vesāliya* after his place of birth, and *Vedehadinna* after his native country. He is most frequently referred to as "the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra".

At the normal age Mahāvīra married Yaśodā and had a daughter called Aṇojjā or Priyadarśanā. She was married to a son of his sister, Jamāli, whose name is not found in older sources but only in the Āvaśyaka tradition. The suppression of his name in early books of the canon may be due to the ignominious rôle he plays in church-history as the originator of the first schism.

Not to grieve his parents, Mahāvīra became a monk only after their death and with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana. He was at that time 30 years old. He left his home at the beginning of winter, which shows his inclination towards severe asceticism. Thirteen months after, also in winter, he abandoned his clothing and began to wander abroad as a naked monk. This was probably the first important step in the reformation of the church of Pārśva, which allowed clothing. The fine ballad in the *Āchārāṅga* gives us a beautiful picture of the way in which he performed his meditation and spent his days in austerities, and also of the treatment he received from the unfriendly people of the neighbouring countries. In this period his thought matured. He attributed life (*jīva*) not only to animals and plants, but to material objects like earth and water, assumed the real cause of worldly misery to be *Karma*, engendered by indulgence in sensual pleasure, and the essential misery of life to be due to the endless cycle of birth and death. His own behaviour furnished an example to be followed by the monks in their religious life. The ballad also suggests that, after a period of two years and two months, he decided on a wandering mode of existence, which lasted for 12 years. Jain tradition tells us that Mahāvīra was born with the three types of knowledge, acquired the fourth at the beginning of his monkhood, and achieved omniscience under a Śāla tree at the end of 12 years of austerity, on the bank of the river Ṛijupālikā not far from the village Jṛimbhikagrāma. Henceforth he entered on his career as a religious teacher.

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[1] *Āchārāṅga* (Uvahāṇasuya, Bhāvaṇāo). *Kalpasūtra, Bhagavatī.*

One important event in this period of Mahāvīra's life was his meeting with Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, the head of the Ājīvika sect. From the one-sided account of *Bhagavatī*[1] we know that Gosāla became a pupil of Mahāvīra in the second year of his monkhood and remained with him for six years. Then came a breach between the two on the point of rejuvenation and, maybe, also on other points, and Gosāla went his own way. He soon proclaimed himself a *jina* and lived in Śrāvastī. The two met again sixteen years later and again quarrelled. Gosāla died soon after, some 16 years before Mahāvīra.

We have some information about the doctrines of Gosāla, from the Buddhist writings, independent of the Jain sources, and there are some parallelisms between them and the Jain doctrines. Though it will be going too far to regard Mahāvīra as a pupil of Gosāla, and assume many points in the Jain creed as borrowed from the Ājīvika sect, it is quite probable that the rules about diet current among the Jain monks may have come from the code of the Ājīvikas, and some significance must be attached to the coincidence of Mahāvīra giving up his garment in the year of his meeting with Gosāla.

The acquisition of perfect knowledge entailed the continuation of a wandering mode of life and constant preaching of his doctrines to all kinds of men. He wandered for eight months of the year and spent the four months of the rainy season in some famous towns of eastern India. The Jain tradition gives the names of such places as Champā, Vaiśālī, Rājagṛiha, Mithilā and Śrāvastī, where he spent one or more seasons. They give us a fair idea of the country over which he wandered propagating his faith, but we must bear in mind that the list is neither exhaustive nor chronological, though covering broadly the 42 years of his itineracy. With the spread of his fame, he was now better received by the people, and famous kings came to hear him preach. At the age of 72 Mahāvīra died in a place called Majjhimā Pāvā (which may mean that, contrary to his usual practice, he resided inside the town on account of his illness) in the house of a ruler of the name of Hastipāla (Hatthivāla). This place is said to be the modern Pāvāpurī in the Patna District. We are told that on the night of his death the kings of the two clans, the Mallas and the Lichchhavis, celebrated the lamp festival in his honour.

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[1] *Saya*, xv. Cf. Hoernle, *ERE*. I. 259.

As noted above, Gosāla, the head of the Ājīvika sect, appears to have had very close ties with Jainism. This would explain to some extent why the Jain canon makes frequent attempts at refuting his doctrines in strong terms, while it takes practically no notice of Gautama Buddha, the famous contemporary of Mahāvīra. On the other hand, the Pāli canon often attempts to refute the teachings of Mahāvīra, whom it knows by the name of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, along with Gosāla and other Titthiyas, all of whom were elder contemporaries of the Buddha. Neither of the sources mentions any meeting between Mahāvīra and the Buddha, but the Pāli Suttas suggest that Mahāvīra died some time before him, if we are correct in accepting that Pāvā, where Mahāvīra died, is the very place later visited by Buddha.

Like Buddhism, Jainism also received royal patronage from the very beginning. Śreṇika, the king of Magadha, was devoted to Mahāvīra, and was related to the prophet on his mother's side. The Jain attempt to explain away the parricidal act of his son Ajātaśatru or Kūṇika would indicate that he was more inclined to Jainism than to other religions. Later Jain tradition, without much historical support, however, brings nearly all the kings of north India in those days in relation to Mahāvīra by describing their queens as daughters of Cheṭaka, the maternal uncle of Mahāvīra.

2. *Jainism after Mahāvīra*

For a few centuries after the death of Mahāvīra, the history of Jainism means little more than the history of the Jain church. We have a regular account, mostly a farrago of myth and historical reminiscence, of the Jain patriarchs, with a reference, now and then, to some ruling king favourably disposed towards the faith. This history, as recorded in the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra,* reaches up to Vajra and Āryarakshita, while agreement between the two major sects covers only a few immediate successors of Mahāvīra and comes hardly up to Bhadrabāhu, some 170 years after his death. This period is characterised by a constant tendency towards the rise of dissension. The church organisation grows more complex. There is also a gradual shift of the centre of gravity of the community, which slowly spreads to the west and south of its original home. The religious dogmas show a development, however slight, and a vigorous literary activity results in the formation of the present-day canon of the Śvetāmbaras and the pro-canonical books of the Digambaras.

Even in the lifetime of Mahāvīra, the tendency to form a dissenting opinion was prevalent, and we know of Gosāla's doctrine of fatalism, formulated before the omniscience of Mahāvīra, and that of Jamāli after it, which is regarded as the first schism in a list of seven.[1] Most of them pertain to minor points in the doctrine and have left no permanent mark on the Jain community.

In contrast with these earlier attempts at breaking the unity of the Jain community, the last schism[2] in the two sects of the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras was more successful and resulted in a sharp division of the church, each section claiming greater authenticity than the other. At present, after the division has become well established, the points of difference between the two pertain to matters of dogma like the number of movable and immovable beings, the possibility of women attaining liberation, and the food partaken by the omniscient teachers; to mythological events like the transference of Mahāvīra's embryo, his marriage, the sex of Mallī, one of the prophets, and to practices like the wearing of clothes and going naked. The traditional accounts of the origin of this split are puerile and the outcome of sectarian hatred. They, however, agree in assigning it to the end of the first century A.D., which is quite likely. The evidence of the literary writings of the Śvetāmbaras and early sculptures goes to show that most of the differences between the two sects were of slow growth and did not arise all at one time.

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[1] Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus,* 346-349.

[2] Guérinot, *La Religion Djaina.* 48-62; Schubring, *op. cit.,* 38-39.

Attempts to explain the origin of this split are mainly based upon only one divergent practice, that of wearing a white robe or going naked, which has given the two sects their names. The split is sometimes traced to differences between the practices of Mahāvīra and his predecessor Pārśva, or the more austere life of his pupil Gosāla, or to the events caused by the great famine in Magadha which occurred at the time of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta, causing the migration of a section of the community to the south. In all probability, Gosāla's teaching has nothing to do with this later division and is firmly repudiated by both sects. The teachings of Mahāvīra and Pārśva on the use of clothes and the practice of nudity were somehow reconciled in the lifetime of Mahāvīra. Orthodox teaching allowed option, producing two modes of behaviour known as Jinakalpa and Sthavirakalpa, but some sections of the community may have preferred the one to the other, and isolated groups insisting on the harder course of life may have well existed from the very beginning.

When the first council was held at Pāṭaliputra to compile the canon, a group, given to a more severe mode of life, appears to have repudiated it, perhaps due to the migration 'to the coast' caused by the famine. Along with such a group there must have also existed others holding views which combined the opinions of both the sects in various ways. With their disappearance, in course of time, the two sects found themselves in sharp contrast and finally fell apart. By the very nature of the case, no precise date can be assigned to this process.

The spread of Jainism was more a case of successive migrations than of continuous expansion. In spite of the mechanical scheme visible in the traditional account of the different migrations, said to be caused by a famine of 12 years' duration, we find them confirmed by other evidence, and the tradition agrees with all the historical facts of the spread of this religion. The wanderings of Mahāvīra give us a fair idea of the original extent of Jainism. This included the kingdoms of Kosala, Videha, Magadha and Aṅga. One of the *Chhedasūtras*[1] preserves the memory of the earlier extent of the faith in the rule which allows Jain monks to wander as far as Aṅga-Magadha to the east... Kauśāmbī to the south, Sthūṇā to the west and Kuṇālā to the north. The additional remark that a monk may also go to a country where the faith has taken roots shows that the new faith was already spreading in the adjoining countries.

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[1] *Kappasutta*, I. 51-52.

One early migration led the community to the south-east, the country of Kaliṅga, as can be seen from the famous inscription of Khāravela.[1] Evidence of it may be found in the Śvetāmbara tradition, according to which a dreadful famine in Magadha drove the monks as far as 'the sea-coast'. Here the faith took firm root and flourished for a long period. Khāravela, the Chedi king of Orissa, though adopting the usual eclectic attitude assumed by Indian monarchs, did show a decided inclination towards Jainism, as can easily be seen from his own record and the inscription of his chief queen dedicating a cave for the use of Jain monks. The numerous caves on the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills testify to the continued existence of the Jain faith in this part of the country.

A similar extension or migration of the Jain community to the west must have early brought it to Mathurā.[2] We have here the ruins of a Jain shrine dating back to the pre-Christian period and a large number of small dedicatory inscriptions, engraved on the images of the Jinas, votive tablets, and arches, dating from the first two centuries of the Christian era. Their references to the teachers of the donors, their *gotra, kula, śākhā,* etc. offer welcome confirmation of similar information found in the *Sthavirāvalī* and suggest a flourishing condition of the religion in that region.

Further south, the country round Ujjayinī was also a stronghold of Jainism. The evidence for this centre of Jain culture is mostly found in later traditions. If we believe in the story of Aśoka's grandson king Samprati[3] and his conversion to Jainism by Suhastin, this spread to Mālwā must be placed as early as the second century B.C. We are further told that Samprati imitated his grandfather in sending religious missionaries to the countries of Andhras and Dramilas to propagate the religion. The famous story of Kālakāchārya,[4] the Jain sage, implies the spread of Jainism in Mālwā in the first century B.C.

The Junāgarh inscription of the grandson of Jayadāman (either Dāmaysada or Rudrasiṁha I), belonging to the second century A.D., makes mention of men who had attained perfect knowledge (*kevali-*

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[1] See above, pp. 213 ff.

[2] Bühler, *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*, Appendix A; V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura:* J. Ph. Vogel. *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, 41-3, 66-82.

[3] See above, pp. 89 f.

[4] Brown, *The Story of Kālaka.* See above, p. 155.

jñāna) and were free from old age and death (*jarāmaraṇa)*, words distinctly suggestive of Jain dogma. The inscription is found in a cave, one of a group near the town, which appears to have been used by Jain monks, as is indicated by the peculiar Jain symbols like the *Svastika Bhadrāsana, Mīnayugala* and others. Of nearly the same date may be the caves found at Dhank, in which the sculptures of the Jain prophets like Ṛishabha, Pārśva, Mahāvīra and others have been definitely identified. It may incidentally be mentioned that the Junāgarh inscription, referred to above, contains the earliest reference to Jain monks claiming the attainment of perfect knowledge.

The extension of Jainism to South India is associated with the migration of the Digambaras to this locality. The problem is complicated by the nature of the evidence, which is insufficient to lead to any definite conclusion. Scholars[1] of South Indian history have mostly accepted the late Digambara tradition and have reconstructed the history to the effect that the great famine of Magadha caused Bhadrabāhu to seek shelter in the south, along with his royal disciple Maurya Chandragupta and a large following, resulting in the establishment of the Digambara community in the Mysore territory, with Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa as its centre. The Śvetāmbara tradition, however, makes the migration proceed from Ujjayinī in Mālwā, which is also corroborated by the early Digambara tradition. A close scrutiny of the evidence, however, raises grave doubts whether the migration to the south had anything to do with the famous patriarch Bhadrabāhu or the Mauryan king Chandragupta. The view that a second Bhadrabāhu forecast the famine and, though he remained behind, sent his followers to the south under the guidance of one Viśākhāchārya or even Prabhāchandra, remains a mere possibility. Among the different sects of the south, the Senagaṇa of the Mūlasaṅgha appears to show some intimate connection with the story of migration and may have formed the first migrating group. The route of this migration is suggested to be along the western coast, from Gujarāt, through Mahārāshṭra, to Karnātak, and thence to the countries of the extreme south, which is quite probable.

3. *Jain Doctrines*

The growth of Jain doctrines was not very rapid, and not easy to follow. For one thing, the writings in which these dogmas and teachings are preserved have suffered many vicissitudes, and it is often difficult to separate the old from the new in the Jain canon. Secondly, the starting point of the dogmatic system remains vague. We do not know exactly what the preaching of Mahāvira was, to which additions were made in later days. Lastly, as compared to the growth of Buddhist and Brahmanic philosophy, Jain thought has remained remarkably conservative and has not developed into new and fundamentally divergent streams. Jacobi[1] has convincingly demonstrated how all the references to both Jain philosophical tenets and religious practices in the Pāli texts fully agree with the teaching of the Jain canon and present-day practices of the community, which means that little change has taken place in the Jain religion in the course of centuries.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions;* Narasimhacharya, *EC*, II.

As a reformer of an existing religion, Mahāvīra added a few doctrines to those of his predecessor. While Pārśva taught only four vows, Mahāvīra taught five, in all probability making chastity a separate vow. The constant use of the phrase *'sapachchakkāṇa'* in describing his religion of the five vows makes it highly probable that confession of sin was an innovation of his. Apart from these reforms in ethical teaching, it is difficult to ascertain what additions Mahāvīra made to the ontological and psychological system of his predecessor. Most of the features of Jainism suggestive of its primitiveness may be regarded as received by Mahāvīra as they already existed. What he did was, in all likelihood, the codification of an unsystematic mass of beliefs into a set of rigid rules of conduct for monks and laymen. A decided inclination towards enumeration and classification may be attributed to him.

No fundamental change in the Jain system is visible in later days. The different schisms pertain to minor details, and even the dogmatic differences causing the last schism, which broke the community into two, are equally insignificant. The full implication of this remarkably conservative spirit can be best appreciated by recalling to mind the ramifications in the history of Buddhist thought and the rise of various philosophical systems in the Brahmanic religion of the corresponding period. In spite of it, some minor changes did occur in Jainism. The drawing up of the list of sub-divisions of *Karma*, the systematic arrangement of the teaching in the rubric of the seven principles of soul, non-soul, influx, bondage, cessation, expurgation, and liberation; the elaboration of the doctrine of the five or seven *Nayas* and *Saptabhaṅgī* and the formulation of the rules of church-discipline and similar matters must have been evolved between Mahāvīra and Umāsvāti who wrote his compendium of Jainism in the first or second century A.D.

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[1] *SBE*, XLV. xv

4. *The Jain Canon*

If the teachings of Mahāvīra have remained substantially unchanged, their literary expression in the form of the sacred writings called the Āgama has suffered many violent alterations. The canon of the undivided community is not available, and the one preserved and claimed by the Śvetāmbaras was finally settled in its present form a thousand years after the death of Mahāvīra[1] in a Council held at Valabhī in the fifth century A.D. But indications are not altogether lacking that even in this canon we possess something of the ancient books, though necessarily in a modified form, under a different arrangement and modernised language. From the fact that both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras postulate the original canon to consist of the 12 *Aṅgas,* including the 14 *Pūrvas* as a part of the last *Aṅga,* we may naturally be inclined to accept that to be its original extent. But a constantly recurring phrase in the Śvetāmbara canon itself makes the *Sāmāyika* the beginning and the *Bindusāra* the end of the canonical writings. This means that the earliest canonical writings contained something less than the 12 *Aṅgas* and included at least some works which did not strictly belong to the *Aṅga* type.

We are ignorant of the contents of these works. Particularly in case of the *Aṅgas,* we do not know to what extent the present-day works of the same name retain their original contents. The older parts of the *Āchārāṅga* and *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* may well claim to preserve much original matter, and the same may be true to some extent of the *Bhagavatī-sūtra.* The *Sāmāyika* prayers, like the Buddhist formulae of confession, obviously formed the very beginning of the sacred writings, but unfortunately we do not have them in their authentic form. We know even less of the *Pūrva* works. The name is often misunderstood to mean the 'earlier books', and it is supposed that they formed the oldest canon. This is, however, not correct. The traditional scheme places all the *Pūrvas* in the 12th *Aṅga,* and another old tradition tells us that the immediate disciples of Mahāvīra composed the *Aṅgas* after receiving the ideas from the prophet himself. Moreover, all the later works, which are said to be derived from the *Pūrvas,* form part of the *Aṅgabāhira* group. From the name '*pavāya*' applied to most of them, we may conclude that they contained matter of a controversial nature, probably stating the views of the opponents and their refutations. Some of the schismatic views are said to be drawn from them. Their place in the *Dṛishṭivāda* suggests similar contents.

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[1] Schubring, *Wrote Mahāvīras;* Winternitz, *HIL,* II. pp. 294 ff.

The further growth of the Jain canon is intimately connected with the work of the First Council of Elders at Pāṭaliputra. It marked the second stage. According to tradition, a famine of 12 years' duration, at the time of the patriarch Sthūlabhadra, rendered the existence of the canon precarious. At the end of the period, the Saṁgha found it necessary to come together to rescue the sacred writings as much as possible. Sthūlabhadra learnt from Bhadrabāhu all the fourteen *Pūrvas,* but was not allowed to teach the last four to his successors. These were consequently lost to posterity. Thus it is not possible to know the exact nature of the canon, as settled by this Council.

Fortunately, however, some later books like *Nandī* supply us with a classification and list of canonical books which must be due to the First Council, as it is at variance with the present-day plan of the canon. The canon, at that time, consisted of the 12 *Aṅgas* giving the chief doctrines of Jainism, and standing in opposition to the remaining works, collectively called *Aṅgabāhira.* Though not so old as the *Aṅgas,* works dealing with the discipline of the monks in their corporate life must have come into existence early. The basis of such works was the *Āvassayas,* and the name points to their importance. All other works were put under the category of *Āvassayavairitta.* They, in turn, comprised works called *Kālika,* to be learned at a fixed period of study, and *Utkālika* which carried no such restriction.

Many books of this canon are now lost and the names of others remain obscure to us. That later additions were made to the canon formulated in the First Council is obvious from the fact that a few books are attributed to later writers like Śāmārya, Āryarakshita, Vīrabhadra and others. As some of them were lost and additions were made to others, the older classification could not be maintained for long, but it may be admitted that a substantial part of the canon goes back to those days. The philosophical outlook of the canon, which makes little mention of the Buddhist schools like Śūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda, is suggestive of a period earlier than the third century A.D. Even the latest parts of the canon make mention of only such works as are earlier than the Gupta era. Further, the canon shows the stronghold of the religion to be yet in the country of its origin, Magadha.

According to statements of the canonical books themselves and later tradition, Mahāvīra preached his religion in Ardha-Māgadhī, which is said to be the language of the canon. The language of the available canon, however, shows a close approximation to the standard Prakrits called Māhārāshṭrī and Jain Māhārāshṭrī, with only two features (like the Nom. sg. in *e* and the change of *r* to *l* in a few words) in common with the Māgadhī of the Prakrit grammarians.

According to the Digambara tradition, not only the *Dṛishṭivāda* but also the eleven *Aṅgas* were lost by degrees in course of time, and thus no part of the canon is now available to them. They do not know of other works grouped as *Upāṅgas, Chhedasūtras,* etc., which are found in the present canon of the Śvetāmbaras. We must, however, bear in mind that the basic works like the *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, incorporated in the huge commentaries called *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā,* are said to be based on the *Dṛishṭivāda.*[1] A few citations from the Aṅga works are also given by them. Systematic treatises by later famous scholars like Umāsvāti, Kundakunda, Vaṭṭakera, Yativṛishabha and others now serve the community as authorities in place of the canon.

The need of explaining parts of the canon must have been felt by the Jain community. In the early stages the explanations were mostly oral, and mnemonic verses summarised some discussions as a help to the teacher's memory. A collection of such metrical comments gave rise to the *Niryuktis,* ten of which are often enumerated and traditionally attributed to Bhadrabāhu. Leumann has, however, shown that internal indications from the texts make it most probable that they were composed in the first or second century A.D. In addition, only the *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* of Umāsvātī can be confidently assigned to the pre-Gupta age.

5. *Jain Philosophy*

As noted above, Jainism shows a close affinity with Sāṁkhya system.[2] It also developed a kind of logic which cut at the root of all stable knowledge. It was technically called Syādvāda.

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[1] Hiralal, Introduction to *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama,* I. II.

[2] Schubring, *op. cit.* 10-12.

According to this logic (*Syādvāda,* or the theory of 'May be'), as many as seven modes of predication are possible in any given case. No definite or absolute statement, therefore, can be made about any question. If the question is: 'Is there a soul?', this logic of the Jains would admit of seven answers to it, *viz:* (i) is, (ii) is not, (iii) is and is not, (iv) is unpredicable, (v) is and is unpredicable, (vi) is not and is unpredicable and (vii) is, is not and is unpredicable. There is a sense in which there is a soul and there is also a sense in which no soul exists; and a third sense is not inconceivable in which we must admit that we cannot describe it; and so on. This is equivalent to saying that knowledge is only probable.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that it only implies agnosticism or metaphysical nihilism. The negative result of such a theory of knowledge is apparently agnosticism, but even out of this the Jains constructed a philosophy. They had a theory of reality also. Their logic was a subtle and disguised protest against the dogmatism of the Vedas, and not intended to deny all reality. The world according to them was not altogether unknowable; only, one must not be cocksure about one's assertions. The world consisted of two eternal, uncreated, co-existing but independent categories, *viz.* the conscious (*jīva*) and the unconscious (*ajīva*).

The conscious being or *jīva* corresponds to what we call the soul. It knows and feels. It acts and is acted upon. It suffers by its contact with matter and is born again and again, only to suffer; and its highest endeavour is to free itself from this bondage. And this salvation could be attained by higher knowledge and meditation upon the great truth.

According to some, the term '*jīva*' should be taken to mean 'life'. We know that modern thought draws a distinction between life and consciousness. In Jainism, and for the matter of that in ancient Indian thought, this distinction is not always present and is never emphasised. The '*jīva*' could inhabit a plant, an animal or a human body. That makes it equivalent to life. And the '*jīva*' is supposed to vary in size and shape according to the body it lives in. That also makes it equivalent to life. But when we talk of the salvation of the *jīva,* we definitely imply a soul. Life or soul, there was a plurality of *jīvas* in the universe, and each one of them was subject to the law of *karma* and rebirth, and could be saved by knowledge and meditation.

The *'ajīva'* or the unconscious was not exactly what we call 'matter', for it was equivalent to the universe *minus* the *jīvas*. It included matter, which was given the name *'pudgala'*, but it also included such things as space and time, virtue and vice, etc.

There is no God or Creator, and man's emancipation from suffering does not depend upon the mercy of any such being. Man is the architect of his own destiny. By living an austere life of purity and virtue, he can escape the ills of life. The best life was the life of renunciation. It was thus the shortest way to salvation.

Jainism is thus a moral code rather than a religion in the modern western sense of the term. It recognized no Supreme Being, but there was a whole galaxy of deified men who had been spiritually great. Every soul possessed the potentiality of becoming as great as they. And, if the necessity arose, Jainism was not unwilling to admit a god of popular Hinduism to this galaxy. Besides, it was also not opposed to the theory of caste. It was thus very much less hostile and more accommodating to Hinduism than the other heterodox systems. It must also be remembered that Jainism did not dogmatise. According to its fundamental logic, no absolute affirmation or denial was possible. When all knowledge is only probable and relative, your opponent's view is as likely to be true as yours. The result of this spirit of accommodation was that Jainism has survived in India till today, whereas Buddhism, its twin sister, had to look for habitation elsewhere.

6. *Jain Icons*

Although they denied the existence of a Supreme Being the Jains regard the practice of worshipping images of their Tīrthakaras as co-eval with the foundation of their creed. The authenticity of this tradition may be doubted, but the custom of icon-worship among the Jains certainly may be traced back to the Maurya-Śuṅga period. One of the earliest stone images in the round discovered in India is associated with Jainism. It is the torso of a nude figure unearthed from Lohanipur in Patna whose high polish enables us to date it in the Maurya or early Śuṅga period.[1] Its nudity, the stiff straight pose of its arms hanging down by its sides indicative of the *Kāyotsarga* attitude characteristic of the Jinas, and its general outlook unmistakably prove that it was originally the image of one of the Tīrthakaras. Its upper and lower portions being unfortunately lost, there is no means to ascertain which of the 24 Jinas it represented.

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[1] *JBORS*, XXIII, 130-32 and plates.

Epigraphic evidence also seems to prove that the practice of image-worship was current among the Jains in eastern India even in the pre-Maurya times. There is a possible reference in the Hāthigumphā inscription to the removal of a Jina image from Kaliṅga to Pāṭaliputra by the Magadhan king Nanda at the time of his invasion of Kaliṅga, and its subsequent recovery by the Chedi king Khāravela who invaded Magadha in the first century B.C.[1] That the practice was well-established in parts of northern India in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era is fully proved by a number of well-carved Jain images and several *Āyāgapaṭas* (Jain votive tablets), with Jina figures in their centre and *ashṭamaṅgalas* (eight auspicious marks) on their borders, which have been discovered in Mathura.[2]

In order to understand correctly the meaning of the ancient and mediaeval Jain sculptures, one must obtain a clear idea about the hierarchy of the Jain pantheon in its broad outline. Jain texts like *Āchāra Dinakara*, *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* and *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi* show in their classification of the Jain gods and goddesses that many of the subsidiary divinities were mere adaptations from the Brahmanic pantheon.[3] The principal class of Jain divinities are, however, the 24 Tīrthakaras or Jinas, beginning with Ādinātha or Ṛishabhanātha and ending with the last of the Order, the historical Mahāvīra. Each of these Jinas is characterised by his respective cognisance, which is usually carved in the centre of the pedestal. They have also their individual Upāsakas and Śāsanadevatās, who are sometimes described in the texts as the attendant Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs. The main order of the Jain hierarchy can be shown thus in tabular form:—

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[1] See above, pp. 212, 214. The Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri caves of Orissa, in one of which the inscription is engraved, contain some early Jain reliefs. A continuous frieze of relief carvings on the façade of the Rānī Nur Cave at Udayagiri is supposed by some scholars to illustrate incidents in the life-history of the 23rd Jina Pārśvanātha (see also Ch. XX).

[2] See References under footnote 2 on p. 418.

[3] B. C. Bhattacharya, *Jaina Iconography*, 22-6. These deities are regarded by the Jains 'as devoted adherents of the Tīrthakaras, and thus they consider them to be deities of their system, and accordingly perform certain *pūjās* in honour of them profusely referred to in their ritualistic literature'. This was also the case with many of the subsidiary divinities which figured in early Buddhist art.

Name of the Jina	*Cognisance*	*Upāsaka*	*Śāsanadevatā*
1. Ādinātha	Bull	Gomukha	Chakreśvarī
2. Adinātha	Elephant	Mahāyaksha	Ajitabalā
3. Sambhavanātha	Horse	Trimukha	Duritāri
4. Abhinandanātha	Monkey	Yakshanāyaka	Kālikā
5. Sumatinātha	Krauñcha (a type of bird)	Tumburu	Mahākālī
6. Padmaprabha	Lotus	Kusuma	Śyāmā
7. Supārśvanātha	Svastika (symbol)	Mātaṅga	Śāntā
8. Chandraprabha	Moon	Vijaya	Bhikuṭi
9. Suvidhinātha	Makara	Ajita	Sutārakā
10. Śītalanātha	Śrīvatsa (symbol)	Brahmā	Aśokā
11. Śreyāṁsanātha	Rhinoceros	Yakshet	Mānavī
12. Vāsupūjya	Buffalo	Kumāra	Chaṇḍā
13. Vimalanātha	Boar	Shanmukha	Viditā
14. Anantanātha	Falcon	Pātāla	Aṅkuśā
15. Dharmanātha	Thunderbolt	Kinnara	Kandarpā
16. Śāntinātha	Deer	Garuḍa	Nirvāṇī
17. Kunthunātha	Goat	Gandharva	Balā
18. Aranātha	Nandyāvarta (symbol)	Yakshet	Dhāriṇī
19. Mallinātha	Pitcher	Kubera	Dharaṇapriyā
20. Munisuvrata	Tortoise	Varuṇa	Naradattā
21. Neminātha	Blue lotus	Bhṛikuṭi	Gāndhārī
22. Neminātha	Conchshell	Gomedha	Ambikā
23. Pārśvanātha	Snake	Pārśva	Padmāvatī
24. Mahāvīra	Lion	Mātaṅga	Siddhāyikā

The above table, which is based on such late texts as *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi,* shows that there are some overlappings and repetitions in the nomenclature of the individual Yakshas or Upāsakas,[1] and in one instance the name of a Śāsanadevī occurs also as that of an Upāsaka.[2] Some members of the two subsidiary orders are sometimes differently named by the followers of the two principal Jain sects—the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara. There is no doubt that this elaborate grouping was of gradual growth and, like the Dhyānī Buddhas and the Dhyānī Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon, came to be stereotyped at a later period.

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[1] Cf. Nos. 7 and 24, 11 and 18 in the above list.

[2] Cf. Nos. 8 and 21 above.

The subsidiary divinities in the Jain pantheon have been classified differently in different texts, one of the earlier modes being to group them under four classes, such as Jyotishī, Vimānavāsī, Bhavanapati and Vyantara, based on their natural and individual affiliations. A long list of these is given in Jain literature, in which the names of many Hindu divinities can be recognised. Besides, Śrī-Lakshmī, Gaṇeśa, Kubera, etc. were as much used in the Jain and Buddhist shrines as in the Brahmanical Hindu temples. In studying the early Jain iconography in its broader outline, however, we are principally concerned with the images of the Jinas and the companions, and several other groups of divinities such as the Navagrahas, the Dikpālas, the Śruta or Vidyādevīs, the Mātṛikās, etc.

The images of the Jinas are characterised by their long hanging arms (in the case of standing figures, this pose is known as the *Kāyotsarga*), the *Śrīvatsa* symbol, the suavity of form, the youthful body and nudity; according to the Śvetāmbara canons, the Jina images are partially clad. The Yakshas and the Yakshiṇīs are shown in developed composition in the right and left of their respective Tīrthakaras, sometimes depicted beneath their particular Bodhi-trees; several of the other *pratihāryas* (marks) are occasionally carved on the *prabhāvalī*.[1]

The Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs, when they are separately represented, can be distinguished not only by their individual attributes and emblems, but also by the miniature figures of their respective Jinas either on their crown or on the topmost part of the stele. The iconography of many of these subsidiary divinities also differs according to their affiliation to one or other of the major Jain sects. The Jain *ashṭamaṅgalas* (eight auspicious signs), such as (1) a *Svastika*, (2) a mirror, (3) an urn, (4) a cane seat shaped like an hour-glass, (5-6) two fish (*yugma-mīna*), (7) a flower garland and (8) a manuscript, are sometimes carved on the pedestal or other parts of the back slab.[2] It should be noted, however, that many of these iconographic features came to be developed gradually, and some of the principal distinctive traits are often absent in the earliest extant Jina images of India. Almost all the seated Tīrthakara figures in the Mathurā Museum, which can be dated on the basis of their pedestal inscriptions in the Kushāṇa period, show below their seat a wheel of law (*dharma-chakra*) placed on a pillar in the centre, flanked on either side by numbers of devotees, male and female, with a lion at each end. They remind us of Buddha's *Dharmachakra-pravarttana* scene at Sārnāth in early Buddhist art, but none of them appears to bear on their *pīṭhikā* their individual cognisances, which are invariably present in later Jain reliefs.

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[1] The eight *pratihāryas* are (1) celestial tree, (2) celestial flowers, (3) drum, (4) throne-seat, (5) heavenly music, (6) Yak-tail *chowries*, (7) trilinear umbrella, (8) dazzling aura.

[2] The signs do not seem to have been stereotyped in earlier reliefs. The Āyāgapaṭa of Siha-nādika shows the eight symbols in the following order from the top left (1) two fish, (2) cane-seat, (3) Śrīvatsa, (4) Offering (*naivedya*) (5) *Nandyāvarta*, (6) garland in a leaf cup, (7) manuscript on ornate stand, (8) pitcher (*bhadraghata*). In other Āyāgapaṭas, the number, variety and arrangement seem to differ; V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pls. VII and IX.

An image, entitled Ādi or Ṛishabhanātha in its pedestal inscription dated in the year 84 of the era of Kanishka, has the wheel on a pillar, attended by devotees, on its pedestal, but the miniature figure of a bull, the special *lāñchchhana* of the first Jina, is conspicuous by its absence. The sculptured panel representing the Jain ascetic Kaṇha, dated in the year 95, contains on its top section four Jinas, two on each side of a *stūpa,* seated in *Samādhimudrā,* who can reasonably be identified as the last four Tīrthakaras—Nami, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. The first two and the last are almost similar to one another in every respect, the third, Pārśvanātha, alone differing from the others on account of the snake hood over his head; but none of them has its respective cognisance carved below its seat as we find almost invariably in the medieval images.

The partly broken inscribed pedestal in the Lucknow Museum, the Jina image over which was not recovered, shows, however, that distinctions on the basis of nomenclature and cognisance were occasionally adhered to even in the Kushāṇa period. The sacred symbol in the centre of the pedestal composition is a wheel resting on a *nandipāda* placed on a lotus flower flanked by two fish; the inscription above it, dated in the year 79 (of the Kanishka era), records the setting up of the image of the Arhat Nandyāvarta. Nandyāvarta is the special cognisance of the 18th Jina Aranātha, and it is interesting to note that the name of the distinctive symbol is used to denote the Jina himself, though the mark itself does not stand for a typical *nandyāvarta.*[1] Another composite relief in the same museum, probably to be dated in the early Gupta period on the basis of its extremely fragmentary pedestal inscription, shows Mahāvīra stated in the *dhyāna* pose on his lion throne underneath a tree, surrounded by the miniature figures of the 23 other Tīrthakaras; but it is noteworthy that none of these miniatures, arranged eight on either side of the main figure with seven on its top, bears on its seat its special mark.[1]

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[1] Smith, *op. cit.,* 12-13, pl. VI. Smith's remarks about the great antiquity of the *stūpa* in which the image was set up are not entirely convincing. The symbol in the centre of the pedestal rather resembles a variety of *nandipāda* (foot-mark of Śiva's bull Nandin), than a typical *nandyāvarta* which is defined in some Jain texts as 'a svastika with nine corners', a sort of a geometrical pattern.

That the Jains set a very high value on learning is proved by the importance they ascribed to one class of divinities described by them as Vidyādevīs. They are, according to the Jain tradition, sixteen in number, at whose head is Sarasvatī, the one Śruta-devī, the goddess of learning *par excellence*. They are known by such names as Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajraśṛiṁkhalā, Kālī, Mahākālī, Gaurī, Mānavī and others among which we find the names of many Yakshiṇīs, but the iconography of these two orders is different. As Śrutadevatā, Sarasvatī also presides over the *Śruta* or the preaching of the Tīrthakaras and Kevalins, and is one of the most important objects of worship among the Jains from a very early period.

One of the earliest representations of this goddess, who had also many votaries among the Buddhists and followers of Brahmanical religion, is associated with Jainism. It is a headless image in the collection of the Lucknow Museum. The left hand of the goddess holds a manuscript and the pedestal inscription informs us that Sarasvatī was set up in the year 54 (? or 44, evidently of the Kanishka era).[2] Large numbers of various types of Sarasvatī images are found in many Jain temples of India of different dates, and the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras celebrate a special festival in her honour known as the *Jñāna-pañchamī* or *Śruta-pañchamī*. Two, four, six, eight and sixteen-armed varieties of the goddess are known, and her mount is almost invariably a swan, and very rarely a peacock; of these the four-armed images are quite common.[3] The images of the Vidyādevīs can be recognised among the numerous carvings of such medieval temples as the Dilwāra group, the Khajurāho Jain temples and others.

Most of the other groups of Jain images such as those of the Dikpālas, the Navagrahas, the sixty-four Yoginīs and such divinities as Gaṇeśa, Kshetrapāla, Lakshmī and others have usually the same iconography as in their Brahmanic setting, though occasional re-

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1. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, 52, pl. XCIV.
2. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, 56-7, pl. XCIX.
3. U.P. Shah, 'Iconography of the Jain Goddess Sarasvatī. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, X, 195-218 and plates.

orientation in their delineation is not absent. A very interesting image-type is that of Hariṇegamesi or Naigamesha, one of the generals of Devarāja Indra, who transferred the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā to that of Triśalā, a Kshatriya lady, under the orders of his master. He is depicted with a head of an antelope or a goat and reminds us of the goat-headed Daksha-Prajāpati of the Brahmanic pantheon; his character as the general of the gods is also reminiscent of Kārttikeya, one of whose names were Naigameya.

One of the earliest sculptural representations of this god is to be found in a broken frieze in the collection of the Lucknow Museum, which shows on its obverse the animal-headed deity 'seated in an easy attitude on a low seat, turning his head to the proper right as if addressing another personage whose image has been lost'. He is described *Bhagavā Nemeso* in bold characters of the first century A.D., and is accompanied by one child and three female figures on his left, his companions on the right being broken; traces of letters below the attendants seem to show that the obliterated inscription might have contained their names. The reverse of the ornamental slab represents female dancers and musicians probably rejoicing at Nemesa's successful transference of the foetus.[1]

D. VAISHṆAVISM

1. *The Origin*

Vaishṇavism, as the name implies, means the particular theistic religion of which Vishṇu is the object of worship and devotion as the Supreme God. The germ of Vishṇu's later greatness and of sectarian Vaishṇavism is traceable even in the *Ṛigveda,*[2] and in later Vedic period he is regarded as the greatest god by at least one section of the people.[3] But Vishṇu was usually recognised as an aspect of the Sun in the *Ṛigveda* and associated in the later Vedic texts more with sacrifice than with devotion and grace. We cannot therefore assert, in the present state of our knowledge, that Vaishṇavism as a theistic sectarian religion flourished in the Vedic age.

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[1] V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, 25-6, pl. XVIII. Smith suggests that the scene of the composition is Indra's heaven where Naigamesha had gone after succeeding in his mission.

[2] Of the three *padas* of Vishṇu, whereby the god maintained the *dharmas* or fixed ordinances, the highest is described as known to himself and visible only to the *Sūris,* apparently indicating persons or spirits favoured by Vishṇu. The highest station of Vishṇu is said to be a land beyond ordinary mortal ken in which "god-seeking men delight". The Ṛigvedic poets pray that people may go to this blessed abode of Vishṇu, which is supposed to have been the home of departed spirits, to enjoy felicity. In later times the abode of Vishṇu became the goal of the spiritual aspiration of the devotees of that god and numerous places came to be styled *Vishṇu-pada* (usually at the top of hills).

[3] *Cf. Ait. Br., S.P.Br.* and other texts, and legends referred to in *VS.* p. 34.

It is a moot point whether *Bhakti,* as a religious doctrine, can be traced in the early Vedic texts, but it certainly played no dominant rôle. Bhandarkar thinks that the germ of the *Bhakti* doctrine is to be found in the Upanishadic idea of *Upāsanā* or fervent meditation,[1] which cannot but magnify the thing meditated upon and give it a glorious form so as to excite love and admiration. He also points out to the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* in which the *ātman* (soul) is regarded as dearer than a son, wealth and everything else. This makes the nearest approach to *Bhakti,* with the substitution of the impersonal *ātman* for a personal god.

The earliest reference to devotion to, and worship of, a personal god, out of which Vaishṇavism arose, may be traced to the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (fifth century B.C.) which offers the rule for the formation of the word 'Vāsudevaka' in the sense of "a person whose object of *Bhakti* is Vāsudeva." It is generally agreed that *Bhakti* here probably, though not certainly, is to be taken in the sense of religious adoration.[2] But that Vāsudeva was the object of such devotion, at least as early as the fourth century B.C., is proved by the statement of Megasthenes that the Sourasenoi, *i.e.* the people of the Mathurā region, held Herakles in special honour; for there is no doubt that Herakles was the Greek analogue of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa.

The historical character of Vāsudeva, as the son of Vasudeva of the Vṛishṇi (known also as Sātvata) sect of the famous Yadu or Yādava clan, need not be doubted. The important rôle played by this clan and the great achievements of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, as narrated in the epics and Purāṇas, have been noted above.[3] This hero of the Yādava clan, who became the leader of a religious movement, was deified and styled Bhagavat. This process was completed by the second century B.C. at the latest, for an inscription on a pillar at Besnagar refers to Heliodorus, the Greek ambassador of the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas, as a devotee of Vāsudeva, the 'God of gods.' In the light of Megasthenes's statement referred to above,

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1. Probably borrowed along with other ideas from pre-Aryan religious beliefs.
2. *EHVS* 23-4. It is to be noted, however, that the word is also used in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* in connection with cakes, and the possibility of the meaning 'fondness' is not altogether precluded.
3. Vol. I. p. 297 ff.

we may place the foundation of the Vāsudeva cult in the fourth century B.C., if not much earlier still. A reference to the founder of this sect has been traced in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* which refers to sage Kṛishna, son of Devakī, as a disciple of the *ṛishi* Ghora of the Āṅgirasa family, and some have even found the influence of the latter's teaching upon the *Bhakti* religion founded by the former.

In any case it is interesting to note that while the above passage of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* inculcates *tapas* (asceticism), *dāna* (charity), *ārjava* (simplicity or piety), *ahiṁsā* (non-injury), and *satyavachana* (truthfulness), the same virtues are extolled by Kṛishṇa in the *Gītā*.[1] Further, Ghora deprecates *vidhi-yajña* while the *Gītā* makes little of *dravyamaya-yajña* or material sacrifice. Ghora's doctrine that all the acts of the life of a pious man constitute a sort of sacrifice to the deities and enable him to attain to the God of the gods seems to be essentially the same as the theory of absolute resignation to the Lord, inculcated in the *Gītā*. Kṛishṇa and his teacher were worshippers of the Sun. It has been pointed out that, like Ghora, the *Gītā*, attributed to Kṛishṇa, emphasises the need of meditation "at the last hour" on the "word which knowers of the Veda call Imperishable," and "the Sun-coloured Being beyond the darkness" as the best means of attaining to the Supreme Celestial Being. As both in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* and the *Gītā* essentially the same doctrines are associated with one and the same person called Kṛishṇa-Achyuta, son of Devakī, it is very probable that they were originally learnt by Kṛishṇa from Ghora and were later taught by him to his own disciples. Although the teachings of Ghora Āṅgirasa to Kṛishṇa thus appear to have formed the kernal of the *Gītā*, that work must be regarded as a later product of the followers of Vāsudevism, exhibiting considerable development of the original doctrine.

Thus the Bhāgavata religion, which was propounded by Vāsudeva and was the parent of later Vaishṇavism, was probably the development of Sun-worship. According to the Śāntiparvan, the Sātvata *vidhi,* another name for the Bhāgavata doctrine after the tribe responsible for its introduction, was laid down in old times by the Sun. The *Gītā* also says that the Bhāgavata doctrine was taught by the Lord to the Sun, by the Sun to Manu, and by Manu to Ikshvāku. The doctrine is sometimes referred to as Yoga of the Sātvata style.[2]

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1. XVI. 3.
2. The Tusham inscription of the fourth century speaks of a *Bhagavad-bhakta*

A pastoral character was later attributed to Kṛishṇa, and there are stories in the *Harivaṁśa* (a supplement to the *Mahābhārata*) and the Purāṇas (*e.g. Vāyu, Bhāgavata*, etc.) about his tender babyhood and wanton childhood, and also in some later works, about his youth full of amorous ecstasies. The popularity of the cowherd god is indicated by the name of the Pallava king Vishṇugopa (fourth century). The stories about the early life of the pastoral Kṛishṇa may have partly developed out of the Vedic legends about Vishṇu, called Gopā (protector of cows) in the *Ṛigveda*[1] and Govinda and Dāmodara[2] in the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra*

There was possibly another contributory factor to the development of the mythology of the cowherd Kṛishṇa. The Yamunā region seems to have been famous for its cows as early as the time of the *Ṛigveda*, and a Vārshṇa (*i.e.* one belonging to the Vṛishṇi family) named Gobala (literally "one strong in the wealth of cows") is mentioned as a teacher in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa*. It is therefore not improbable that the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛishṇis of the Mathurā region were as famous for their cows as the Matsyas,[3] their western neighbours, were in epic times. But most of the legends about Kṛishṇa's early life, especially the charming stories about his amours with Rādhā and the Gopīs, appear to have been mainly due to his identification with the local deities of the Ābhīras and other allied tribes.

The age when Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa flourished cannot be determined with certainty. The reference in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* seems to point to a date in the sixth or seventh century B.C. The Jain tradition, making Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa a contemporary of Tīrthakara Arishṭanemi, who preceded Pārśvanātha,[4] supports the date suggested by the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*. His alleged association with the Mahābhārata War appears to be a less reliable datum for fixing his date.

According to Barth and Hopkins, Kṛishṇa was not a human being at all, but a popular divinity whose identification with Vishṇu gave rise to sectarian Vaishṇavism. But while the latter considers Kṛishṇa to be the tribal god of the Pāṇḍavas, supposed to be an

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teacher of the noble Sātvata-yoga (*ārya-sātvata-yogāchārya*). The names Ekāntika and Tanmaya applied to the Bhāgavatas were probably due to this aspect of the doctrine.

[1] Cf. also the description of Vishṇu's highest station as the dwelling of many-horned swiftly moving cows.

[2] One with cord round one's belly, *i.e.* a herdsman.

[3] Cf. the stories about Virāṭa's *Gogṛihas*.

[4] See above, p. 411.

aboriginal people, the former regards him to be a deity of solar origin. As to the theory of Kṛishṇa's solar character, Keith has rightly dismissed it with the remark that "the 'dark sun' requires more explanation than it seems likely to receive." In the opinion of Macnicol and Keith, Kṛishṇa, who is believed to appear in the *Mahābhāshya* in a 'vegetation masque' contending with Kaṁsa for the possession of the Sun, was developed out of one of the vegetation deities that were widely worshipped in all countries of the world. The evidence at our disposal seems to bear testimony to the human character of Kṛishṇa who was later associated with some popular cults and festivals. Kṛishṇa, like Rādhā, was a deified hero or prince. The attempts to make him a solar myth are as unconvincing as the endeavours to prove that Buddha and Christ are imaginary figures.

2. *The Evolution of Vaishṇavism*

The first step in the evolution of Vaishṇavism was the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa[1] with the Vedic deity Vishṇu. This was accomplished by the time the *Bhagavadgītā* was composed, and henceforth the Vāsudeva cult or Bhāgavata religion was known also as Vaishṇava *dharma*. It has been suggested with great plausibility that this identification was prompted by a desire on the part of the Brāhmaṇas to bring this new and powerful religious sect[2] within the pale of orthodox Vedic faith. But whatever may be the motive, the identification undoubtedly served this purpose.

A further step in the same process was the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu with a deified sage (or hero) named Nārāyaṇa. The origin of the conception of Nārāyaṇa is differently given by different authorities. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions a *purusha* named Nārāyaṇa who thrice offered sacrifice at the instance of Prajāpati. But Nārāyaṇa is not identified with Vishṇu or any of the *ādityas*. Elsewhere in the same *Brāhmaṇa,* Purusha Nārāyaṇa is said to have performed a *pañcharātra-satra* (sacrifice continued for five days) and thereby obtained superiority over all beings and "became all beings". Scholars naturally refer the name *Pañcharātra* or *Pāñcharātrika* applied to the Bhāgavatas (or to one of their important branches) to this five-day *satra* of Nārāyaṇa. The earliest evidence regarding the identification of Nārāyaṇa with Vishṇu is probably to be traced in the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra.* The tenth Prapāṭhaka of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* contains the formula: *Nārāyaṇāya vidmahe Vāsudevāya dhīmahi, tan=no Vishṇuḥ prachodayāt*, which regards Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Vishṇu as one and the same deity. Here Nārāyaṇa appears also as Hari and as "the deity eternal, supreme and lord". But this part of the work is admittedly a later addition and may be considerably later than the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra*. Several sections of the *Mahābhārata* support the conception of Nārāyaṇa as found in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.

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[1] As noted above, he was originally deified by his own people and later regarded as the Supreme God by the devotees.

[2] Perhaps it was greatly influenced by pre-Aryan ideas and practices.

Some passages of the *Mahābhārata* call Nārāyaṇa an ancient *ṛishi* who was the son of Dharma and was associated with another *ṛishi* named Nara. They went from the world of men to the world of Brahman and, worshipped by the gods and the Gandharvas, they existed only for the destruction of the Asuras. Indra received the assistance of Nara and Nārāyaṇa in his struggle against the demons. In a passage which apparently exhibits the touch of a Śaivite, Nārāyaṇa, son of Dharma, is said to have undergone austerities in the Himālayas (the exact place is sometimes specified as Badari) and thus became one with Brahman (the All-Soul); he achieved this by propitiating Śiva. From Nārāyaṇa's austerities was born the sage Nara, equal to Nārāyaṇa himself. Nara is identified with Arjuna and Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa. According to the late Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparvan, Nārāyaṇa, the eternal and the universal soul, was born as the son of Dharma in the quadruple form of Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛishṇa.[1] It also refers to the white people of the white island (*śveta-dvīpa*), on the northern shores of the Milk Ocean, worshipping Nārāyaṇa, a thousand-rayed deity who could not be seen by persons not devoting themselves wholly and solely to him, in consequence of his Sun-like brightness.

An earlier generation of scholars believed that the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* pointed to an actual journey undertaken by some Indian Vaishṇavas to Christian countries, and to an attempt in the Indian eclectic fashion to include Christ among the incarnations of the Supreme Spirit Nārāyaṇa.[2] Others, however, have, with much plausibility, taken the story to be a mere flight of fancy. Raychaudhuri points to Nārāyaṇa's solar associations and compares Nārāyaṇa in the Śveta-Dvīpa of the White Islanders with the Ṛigvedic Vishṇu, an aspect of the Sun, in his highest station seen only by the *Sūris*. R. G. Bhandarkar believes that Nārāyaṇa has a cosmic character and is not a historical or mythological individual. He interprets the word *Nārāyaṇa* as the resting place or goal of *Nāra*, or a collection of *Naras* (*i.e.* men). It is, however, more reasonable to take Nārāyaṇa to be an ancient leader of thought born in the family of another sage named Nara,[1] both of whom were probably advocates of solar worship which ultimately led to their identification, especially of the former, with the solar deity Vishṇu. Whether the family of Nārāyaṇa had anything to do with the Yādavas and whether he had Vāsudeva as a second name cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It, however, seems that the worshippers of the deified sage Nārāyaṇa were originally known as Pāñcharātrikas, who were later mixed up with the Bhāgavatas worshipping Vāsudeva according to the *vidhi* of the Sātvata people, and that the Nārāyaṇa cult originated in some part of the Himālayan region or its neighbourhood.

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[1] Cf. the *Chatur-vyūha* of the Pāñcharātrikas.

[2] There seems to be no reasonable ground for this theory, which was first put forward by Weber.

3. *Progress of Vaishṇavism*

Having now considered the evolution of Vaishṇavism, we may attempt to trace its progress as a religious sect. The Buddhist canonical work *Aṅguttara Nikāya* gives a long list of religious sects, but does not mention Vāsudevaka or Bhāgavata. The inscriptions of Aśoka, which speak of Brāhmaṇa, Śramaṇa, Ājīvika and Nirgrantha, do not refer to the followers of Vāsudeva. But a passage occurring in the Buddhist canonical commentaries (*c.* first century B.C.), called the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Chullaniddesa*, mentions the worshippers of Vāsudeva and Baladeva (Saṅkarshaṇa). Although, therefore, the Bhāgavata sect, worshipping Vāsudeva, was known probably to the grammarian Pāṇini of Gandhāra and certainly to Megasthenes, it was apparently not so prominent outside the Mathurā region and the neighbouring land towards the north-west about the third century B.C.

The Bhāgavata religion, which originated with the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛishṇi people of the Mathurā area, appears to have spread to western India and the northern Deccan with the migration of the numerous Yādava tribes. As already observed, Vāsudeva was probably deified, at least partially, and worshipped by his own people as early as the age of Pāṇini, although he may or may not have been regarded as the supreme god. It cannot be ignored that the identification of Vāsudeva with the highest god is not recognised in the earlier parts of the *Mahābhārata*. The reviling scene in the Sabhāparvan shows that Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa's claim to divine honours was sometimes openly challenged. Even in the *Gītā,* Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa laments that the magnanimous person who says "Vāsudeva is All" is rare, and that people scorn him. Vāsudeva is sometimes described as a pious hypocrite, and it is only in late passages that he is represented as a friend of the Brāhmaṇas, the originator of the Vedas, and perfectly identical with Vishṇu. The *Mahābhāshya* refers to the *Kaṁsabhaktas* who were *kālamukha* (dark faced), and to *Vāsudeva-bhaktas* who were *raktamukha* (red faced), although the reference is possibly to the masked stage-players of the Kaṁsa-vadha story.

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[1] Cf. the words Kāṇvāyana, Kātyāyana, etc.

A Besnagar (old Gwālior State) inscription of the last quarter of the second century B.C. refers to a *garuḍa-dhvaja* (column surmounted by the figure of Garuḍa conceived as the emblem or *vāhana* of Vishṇu) raised at Vidiśā in honour of Vāsudeva, the *deva-deva* (the greatest god), by his Yavana or Greek devotee Heliodorus, an inhabitant of Takshaśilā in Gandhāra, who calls himself a Bhāgavata, *i.e.* a worshipper of Bhagavat (Vāsudeva-Vishṇu). Another inscription from Besnagar speaks of the erection of the Garuḍa column of an excellent temple (*prāsādottama*) of the Bhagavat (Vāsudeva).

The Ghosundi (Chitorgarh District, Rājputāna) inscription of the first century B.C. refers to the construction of a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* (a stone enclosure for the place of worship, of better, an enclosure for the sacred stone called Śālagrāma believed to be typical of Vishṇu as the Liṅga is of Śiva), probably styled Nārāyaṇavāṭaka, by a Bhāgavata performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, in honour of Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva who are called *Bhagavat*, *anihata* (unconquered or respected), and *sarveśvara* (supreme lord). The Nānāghāt (Bombay State) inscription of the same age belonging to the queen of a Sātavāhana performer of numerous Vedic sacrifices[1] begins with an adoration to the gods Dharma, Indra, Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva, the Moon and the Sun, and the four *lokapālas*, *viz.* Yama (differentiated from Dharma), Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava (differentiated from Indra).

These epigraphs support what is already known from literary evidence as regards Vāsudeva's association with Garuḍa,[2] and therefore with Vishṇu, with the Vṛishṇi hero Saṅkarshaṇa as well as with Nārāyaṇa, long before the birth of Christ. He is not called Kṛishṇa in the earlier epigraphic literature of India; but the use of Kṛishṇa as another name of Vāsudeva in such works as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* and the *Mahābhāshya* should probably be ascribed to a pre-Christian date.

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[1] See above, p. 199.
[2] Cf. the Ṛigvedic conception of the Sun as a celestial bird.

The spread of the Bhāgavata religion far outside the Mathurā region and the Yādava-Sātvạta-Vṛishṇi people, especially amongst performers of Vedic sacrifices in western India and the northern Deccan, is thus clearly indicated by epigraphic evidence; but the Sātavāhana record at Nānāghāt also shows that some people regarded Vāsudeva, even in the first century B.C., not as the greatest of all gods, but only as an equal of Indra and other gods. That another Sātavāhana king of the second century A.D. claimed to be equal to Rāma (Baladeva or Saṅkarshaṇa) and Keśava (Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa) is also noteworthy. The growing importance of Vāsudevism in South India is, however, indicated by the Chinna (Krishnā District) inscription of the second century A.D., which begins with an adoration to Vāsudeva, and a Prakrit charter of the Pallavas referring to a *devakula* of Bhagavat Nārāyaṇa somewhere in the Guntur District.[1]

The introduction of Bhāgavatism in the far south at a much earlier date is indicated by the relation of the Pāṇḍyas with the Pāṇḍavas and Śūrasenas, alluded to in the confused stories narrated by Megasthenes about Herakles and Pandaia and in the grammatical work of Kātyāyana, and by the name of the Pāṇḍya capital Madurā, adapted from that of Mathurā, the original home of the Vāsudeva cult.

Iconic representations of the god Vishṇu-Vāsudeva cannot be traced much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. A four-armed figure of the deity, with *Chakra* in the upper left hand, is found on the coins of the Pañchāla king Vishṇumitra in evident allusion to the issuer's name. A similar representation of the four-armed Vishṇu, with *Śaṅkha, Chakra, Gadā* and a ring-like object, instead of the lotus, in the hands, appears in a Kushāṇa seal-matrix attributed by Cunningham to Huvishka. It is interesting that the Kushāṇa king is represented as reverentially looking up at the god with his hands in the *añjali* pose. He may have become for some time a worshipper of Vāsudeva. Some of Huvishka's coins bear the figure of the four-armed god *Ooshna* (Vishṇu). The adoption of the name Vāsudeva by Huvishka's successor also points to the fact that the later Kushāṇas, who had an important centre of government at Mathurā, the original centre of the Vāsudeva cult, had Bhāgavata leanings.

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[1] Cf. also the name Vishṇu-gopa among the early Pallava rulers.

Under Pāṇini, IV, 3, 98-99, Patañjali seems to make a distinction between Vāsudeva the *tatrabhavat, i.e.* the specially honoured Vāsudeva and the Kshatriya Vāsudeva. The *Padma-tantra*, a canonical work of the Bhāgavatas, also makes a distinction between the two Vāsudevas. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a story which says that there was, besides Kṛishṇa of the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛishṇi family, another claimant to the status of Vāsudeva in Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva, *i.e.* Vāsudeva, king of the non-Aryan Pauṇḍraka people, probably of north Bengal. Although Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva may have actually been the leader of a rival religious sect, these legends were perhaps the result of an attempt on the part of a section of the Bhāgavatas to absolve their hero from the bad deeds (*e.g.* killing his maternal uncle) attributed to him by rival sects, probably including the followers of an earlier teacher named Nārāyaṇa, by suggesting a different entity for the performer of those deeds. The name Sātvata, applied to the Bhāgavata religion, shows that its founder was not different from the Kshatriya Vāsudeva of the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛishṇi family. The legends about Kṛishṇa's questionable acts appear to have their origin in the *Ṛigveda*, which represents Vishṇu as a *Kuchara* (performer of bad deeds) and as stealing food and butter. In later Vedic literature also Vishṇu is often found to resort to cunning devices in order to help Indra and other friends to defeat the Asuras.

4. *Bhagavadgītā or Gītā*

The earliest and best exposition of the doctrine of the Bhāgavata sect founded by Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa is to be found in the *Bhagavadgītā* (also simply called the *Gītā*), which has been incorporated in the *Mahābhārata*. Although it cannot be definitely dated, it is generally referred to the first or second century before Christ.

The *Bhagavadgītā* holds a unique position in Indian literature. It is a poem which, by virtue of its dialogue-form, takes on a dramatic interest, and imparts lessons in philosophy, religion and ethics without seeming to do so, because the occasion or situation which gives rise to the dialogue is of the nature of a psychological crisis which may occur in the life of any individual. Arjuna, who represents such an individual, comes to the battlefield to fight his kinsmen, the Kauravas. At this crucial moment, a curiously pessimistic mood suddenly overcomes him. The fratricidal combat in which he was about to engage appears to him to be a sinful act and he decides to withdraw from the battlefield. Kṛishṇa, who serves as his charioteer, dissuades him from this cowardly course of action, and his teachings to Arjuna in this connection form the subject-matter of the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is this specific situation involving a moral dilemma which gives a perennial charm and universal appeal to the poem.

As the *Gītā* thus deals with a specific situation, a particular occasion and the course of conduct suited to it, we cannot expect it to discuss the whole of normal philosophy or to present a complete theory of morals. Nevertheless, as practical teaching is the *motif* of the work, its teachings are predominantly ethical. It also discusses metaphysical problems, more or less as a background to its ethics, and contains an exposition of many other doctrines interspersed here and there along with its main one. We shall, therefore, concentrate here on the essential and fundamental part or core of its teaching.

That *Karma-yoga* or activism should be the focal point of its teaching follows naturally from the fact that Arjuna who, in the beginning of the poem, is discovered as overwhelmed by a pseudo-philosophical mood of inaction, resignation and aversion to duty, declares himself at the end ready to fight in that detached frame of mind which behoves the philosopher in action. *Karma-yoga* is application or devotion to *Karman* with that mood of detachment or equanimity in which the desire for, or attachment to, the fruit or result of the *Karman* is absent. *Karman* (or action) should be an end in itself, and not the means to achieve the result, which must follow the *Karman* but should never form the inspiration to activity. *Karman* signifies the whole set of duties, *i.e.* social obligations or *varṇa-dharmas* which, according to the *Gītā* itself, are incumbent on every individual and are laid down by the Śāstra for each of the four *varṇas* (castes) constituting the *Chāturvarṇya* which, Śrī Kṛishṇa says, was formulated by himself for the organisation of human society, by the fourfold classification of men according to their qualities and inclinations (not birth). Yoga is that balance of mind *(samatvam)* which, by banishing desire or self-interest as a motif in the performance of prescribed duty, ensures not only the choice of the right deed or correct action, but also the absence of that over-enthusiasm in the pursuit of duty which the prospect of a tempting reward may induce in a man and make him swerve from the path of rectitude.

The *Gītā* thus steers a middle course between the two ideals of *nivṛtti* and *pravṛitti,* which held the field in those days, by choosing the golden mean. *Nivṛitti, i.e.* withdrawal from all *Karman,* or renunciation, had then become popular among certain types of people, because *Karman* was supposed to involve the doer in the vicious circle of birth and death. The *Gītā* points out that *Karman* by itself does not form a bond. After all, not even the most thorough-going *Sannyāsin* (ascetic) can eschew all action so long as he lives and breathes, because breathing is also a kind of 'action'. It is the attachment to the result or fruit of the action that constitutes the bond. It is therefore possible from this point of view to practise 'renunciation' even in the midst of action! On the other hand, the path of *pravṛitti,* which prescribes the performance of all duties, social obligations and ritualistic activities, is attended with the danger that, though selfishness is held in check by a sense of duty, it may extend its scope to the other world, which is the scene of the realisation of rewards accruing from action in general and ritualistic action in particular. The *Gītā* points out that the rewards, though transferred to the other world, are nevertheless transitory, and constitute a bond all the same, as it involves coming back again to the world after the exhaustion of merit!

The attachment to the fruit of action is, therefore, the root of all evil. The snapping of this bond is true 'renunciation' and not the giving up of all action, which in any case is impossible in one's lifetime as shown above. So *Saṁnyāsa* or detachment in action is the golden mean advocated by the *Gītā.* The debility, despondency, diffidence and doubt which suddenly assail Arjuna on the battlefield can qualify a person neither for activism nor for renunciation.

But motivelessness or detachment may degenerate into indifference or distaste for all activity. Is will without desire possible? The *Gītā* sees this danger and places two motives and two corresponding goals before the *Karma-yogin,* either of which he may follow according as he chooses the path of (i) *Jñāna* (knowledge) or (ii) *Bhakti* (devotion):

(1) The selflessness prescribed for activitism is, in a sense, motivated by self-purification (*ātma-śuddhi*). *Karma-yoga* in thus not disinterested in the sense that it has no goal or motive behind it. The difference is that, instead of a separate motive for each separate act,

it substitutes one single motive for all acts, *viz.* the spiritualisation of all our impulses and not merely the rationalising of them, the ennobling of our spiritual nature—in other words, subjective purification (*ātma-śuddhi*). The 'selfless activity' of the *Karma-yogin* is carried on from the point of view of the outer world, in the interests of the society of which he forms part, and from an inward individual point of view, for cleansing the heart. The goal is self-realisation or becoming *Brahman* or absorption in the Absolute. This is the Absoluteist view.

(2) The other motive that may legitimately be the inspiration of the *Karma-yogin* is the service of God. Whatever is done is done for the sake of God and constitutes in fact service to Him. The fruit of all activity is dedicated to God. Duty is divine service. He is in contact with the living personality of God which is in touch with the world in which he acts. The *Karma-yogin*, who is at the same time a devotee of God, has the reasonable hope that God will not let him down.[1] The mind is thus gradually turned away from the worldly results of action and worldly desire, even legitimate, is eliminated. The goal here is God-realisation or reaching the presence of God, described sometimes as merging in Him. This motive and goal represent the Theistic point of view.

The *Karma-yoga* of the *jñānin* is consummated in a perfect state of self-realisation, dominated by the attitude of enlightenment which sees all beings in one-self and one-self in all beings. The *Karma-yoga* of the *Bhakta* finds its fulfilment in a loving communion with God, the attitude being one of *Bhakti* or passionate devotion to God, or love of God expressing itself in the love of His creatures. Inward peace is, of course, the *sine qua non* of the Perfect State. There are several beautiful accounts in the *Gītā* of the Perfect State, giving slightly discrepant versions. For example, VIII. 5 tells us that the final state is attained after death. A more common version[2] is that it can be realised even within this life. The eleventh chapter records the possibility of an enthralling direct vision of God by the devotee, as was vouchsafed to Arjuna.

We shall now briefly review the metaphysics of the *Gītā* which forms the bed-rock of its ethical teaching. It broadly distinguishes between the unchanging and the immortal on the one hand, and the everchanging and the perishable on the other. The world of experience is further resolved by the *Gītā* into two elements—the perishable and the imperishable, not from the ultimate point of view, but from a relative one. The *prakṛiti,* the relatively permanent background of the world, is distinguished from the changes of the world, its fleeting manifestations. These two are, therefore, relatively speaking, the *akshara* (indestructible) and the *kshara* (destructible) world-changes.[1] The ultimate reality is not the ever-changing *prakṛiti.* It is the Infinite Being who pervades and supports all the worlds and dwells in all beings, and is thus not qualitatively distinct from the finite which he underlies and animates. The Absolute is the *being* that never *becomes,* the eternal bed-rock *(kūṭastha)* on which is reared the superstructure of the things of the world that are always struggling to become something else. An analysis of the 'Objective' experience gives us these results.

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[1] IX. 31.

[2] V. 19, 26, etc.

By an analysis of the 'Subjective' experience, we realise that deeply rooted in our consciousness is the firm belief that there is something within us that must survive the demise of the mortal body. The individual self may be analysed into the component parts of body, mind and soul. Neither the body, which is like a garment, cast off at death, nor the fleeting contacts of the senses with sense-objects, nor the empirical mind could be the permanent element in the self, which is always the subject and never the object. The inner principle, the subject, is thus higher than the senses, the mind, and the understanding.[2] This undying element is the essential basis of the objective world which has no existence apart from the Subject—the *Kshetrajña*—the lord of the body (*kshetra*), described in glowing terms[3] as the *ātman* that neither dies nor is born, that is not affected by elemental forces, nor is touched by weapons.

The intelligence, the mind, and the senses are but developments of the unconscious *prakṛiti* which enacts the whole drama of evolution under the auspicies of the *purusha* (spirit), the self who is a non-doer (*akartri*), a mere passive spectator, and who, though stationed in the body, remains uncontaminated. Empirical individuals are combinations of subject and object or the divine principle of subject circumscribed by the context of objects. Individual souls or *Jīvas* are individualised fragments of *Purushottama* (the Absolute). The illusion of individuality is due to the subject confusing itself with the object and considering itself the doer of actions which are wrought by the qualities of *māyā* or *prakṛiti.* According to the *Gītā,*[4] the personal God (*Īśvara*) combines within himself the immutability of Brahman and the mutation of becoming (that is) both the *sat* and the *asat*. *Māyā* is the power of self-becoming, the energy which is utilised by the *Īśvara* in producing mutable nature, both *māyā* and *Īśvara* being without beginning and mutually dependent.

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[1] XV. 16.
[2] III. 42.
[3] II. 20-25.
[4] IX. 19.

It is in this sense that the word *māyā* is used in the *Gītā*, and not in the Vedāntic sense of a beginningless and unreal *avidyā* imaging the illusions of the world. The *Gītā* does not indicate that the changes of the world are only apparent and imaginary. There is no hint that the world is real only so long as we live in it. It does not vanish, but only changes its meaning for one who rises above *māyā* and enjoys the immortality of timeless self-existence, even in the very midst of this world of becoming.

The *Gītā*, of course, teaches the doctrine of rebirth. The character, we develop in this life will determine the type of our next birth. This doctrine gives a reality to free will in spite of necessity or determinism, because the latter operates in a single life only. The discipline of rebirth leads to perfection and ultimately to *moksha*.

The theory of *avatāra* or incarnation is mentioned in the *Gītā* which declares Kṛishṇa to be the *Purushottama* or Perfect Man. "Though unborn and eternal, I take charge of *prakṛiti* and am born through recourse to *māyā*," says Kṛishṇa,[1] and this happens "when piety (*dharma*) wanes and unrighteousness rears its ugly head." An *avatāra* is, generally speaking, a limited manifestation of the Supreme, but the *Gītā* seems to take it as the descent of the whole god into man. In a sense every individual human being is an *avatāra*; only it is enveloped in ignorance and is a veiled manifestation, whereas the divine *avatāra* with a conscious being is none else but God, who limits Himself for a definite purpose and fulfils Himself in the world. This possibility of an *avatāra* at the time of a world crisis is indeed a most heartening spiritual message of the *Gītā*.

To sum up, the catholicity of the *Gītā* is clearly seen when, in a spirit of true toleration, it presents the most harmonious blend of the *apparently* conflicting doctrines then prevalent, and declares: 'All roads to *moksha* (salvation) lead but unto Me.' It lays down three distinct paths or ways (*mārga*) of salvation, *viz.* through *Jñāna* (Knowledge), *Karma* (Action) and *Bhakti* (Devotion). Very characteristic is its treatment of the first, viz. *Jñāna-mārga* or 'path of knowledge'. There are two kinds of knowledge: (1) the understanding of the phenomena of existence externally through the intellect is called *vijñāna;* and (2) the integral knowledge, through the force of intuition, of the ultimate principle behind the phenomena, the common foundation of all existence, is *Jñāna*. It is this *Jñāna* which the *Gītā* describes as incomparable in its purifying power and thus a means to attain final emancipation. It can only be attained if *vijñāna* or science is supplemented by *pariprasna* (investigation) and *sevā* (service). As *ajñāna* (ignorance) is more a spiritual blindness than an intellectual fog, mental training and a cleansing of the soul are necessary to remove it. The *Gītā* says that *Karma-yoga,* supplemented by the Yogic discipline (which was later systematised in Patañjali's *Sūtras*), provides such a training.

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[1] IV. 6.

The second path, the *Karma-yoga* of the *Gītā,* gives a new version of the Vedic theory of sacrifice and harmonises it with true spiritual knowledge. Sacrifice is nothing but self-restraint and self-surrender. The sacrifice of *sense-pleasures* is the true sacrifice. The *Karma-yogin* surrenders to God whatever work he does. He not only lives but acts in God. The third, the *Bhakti-yoga,* the path of love and worship or emotional attachment to God, as distinguished from knowledge or action, is, according to the *Gītā,* the royal road to *moksha* (salvation), being the easiest and open to all. Meditation on the unmanifested Absolute, *i.e.* the *jñāna-mārga,* is a difficult process and entails much hardship (*kleśa*). The great attraction of the *Gītā* for the ordinary man is that it reveals as it were this unmanifested Absolute as a Personal God—a saviour answering the cry of Faith in distress with His grace. This doctrine of *Bhakti* is at the same time reconciled with *Karma-yoga.* The inexorability of the law of *Karman* is sought to be mitigated by the doctrine that the thought of the last moment of a man's life is far more potent than previous thoughts in shaping man's destiny, and the true *Bhakta* may also be at the same time a true *Karma-yogin* if, in the midst of all his activities, he keeps his mind steadfastly on God so that his last thoughts may not stray from his Saviour.

Thus the paths of knowledge, devotion, ritualism and activism are perfectly reconciled. On the philosophical side it may be said that diverse currents of philosophic thought, not yet determined and labelled as irreconcilable, meet in it. One is not surprised therefore to find the following observation made with regard to its teaching:

"Whether it is a Vishṇuite remodelling of a Pantheistic poem (*Holtzmann*), or a Kṛishṇite version of an older Vishṇuite poem which in its turn was a 'late Upanishad' (*Hopkins*), or a text-book of the Bhāgavatas revised in a Vedāntic sense by the Brāhmaṇas (*Garbe*), or a late product of the degeneration of the monistic thought of the Upanishads representing the period of transition from theism to realistic atheism (*Deussen*), can hardly, in the presence of such a conflict of opinions, be definitely determined."[1]

5. *The doctrine of the four Vyūhas (chatur-vyūha)*

Although ultimately Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa alone figures as the founder of the new religious movement, there is no doubt that several other members of his family originally shared the honours of deification with him. The five Vṛishṇi heroes, referred to in an inscription[2] of the first century A.D. at Mora near Mathurā, are enumerated in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as Saṅkarshaṇa (son of Vasudeva by Rohiṇī), Vāsudeva (son of Vasudeva by Devakī), Pradyumna (son of Vāsudeva by Rukmiṇī), Sāmba (son of Vāsudeva by Jāmbavatī), and Aniruddha (son of Pradyumna), all of whom are known to have been deified and worshipped.[3]

According to the Vyūha doctrine, which is one of the foremost tenets of the earlier Pañcharātra or Bhāgavata, and the later Śrī-Vaishṇava religion, Bhagavat Vāsudeva, who in his *Para* aspect is the highest object of *Bhakti*, created from himself the *Vyūha* (phase of conditioned spirit) Saṅkarashṇa and also *Prakṛiti* (the indiscreet primal matter of the Sāṅkhyas); from the combination of Saṅkarshaṇa and *Prakṛiti* sprang the *Vyūha* Pradyumna and *Manas* (*Buddhi* or intelligence of the Sāṅkhyas); from the association of Pradyumna and *Manas* arose the *Vyūha* Aniruddha and *Ahaṁkāra* (consciousness); from the combination of Aniruddha and *Ahaṁkāra* sprang the *Mahābhūtas* (elements with their qualities) and Brahman who fashioned the earth and all that it contains, from the elements. Vāsudeva is the sole possessor of the six ideal *guṇas*, viz. *jñāna, bala, vīrya, aiśvarya, śakti* and *tejas,* while each of his three emanations possessed only two of the *guṇas* in turn. It is clear that this philosophical interpretation of the relation of Vāsudeva with the other deified Vṛishṇi heroes is a later development. There is no reference to the *Vyūhas* in the *Gītā,* the earliest religious text of the Bhāgavatas; they are alluded to in several other sections of the *Mahā-*

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[1] Macnicol, *Indian Theism,* p. 76.
[2] *EI,* XXIV. 194.
[3] *PIHC,* VII. 82.

bhārata (*e.g.* Bhīshmaparvan, the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śānti-parvan, etc.), although the earlier works do not give a consistent account of them. Bhandarkar says that of the five *Prakṛitis* of Vāsudeva, *viz.* the five elements, mind, *Buddhi*, egoism, and *jīva*, mentioned in the *Gītā*, *jīva*, mind and egoism were later on personified into Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The *Vyūha* doctrine is probably alluded to in the passage *janārdanas=tv=ātma-chaturtha eva*, quoted in the *Mahābhāsya* from an unknown poem on the life of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa.

There is no doubt that the five Vṛishṇi heroes mentioned in the Mora inscription were apotheosised and worshipped, with the title Bhagavat, in the Mathurā region about the beginning of the Christian era, apparently by people of the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛishṇi origin. The *Vishṇudharmottara* contains rules for the making of images of various divinities associated with the Bhāgavata cult, and these include the five Vṛishṇi heroes mentioned above. The *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* also gives details for the construction of the images of Vishṇu (Vāsudeva), Baladeva (Saṅkarshaṇa), Sāmba, and Pradyumna, but not of Aniruddha. The preference of Sāmba to Aniruddha may point to the fact that the author of the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* belonged to the community of the Maga Brāhmaṇas who seem to have held Sāmba, often associated with their solar cult, in special honour. In later times, Sāmba fell in the estimation of Bhāgavatas, probably because he was represented as the champion of solar worship in India and was very often identified with the Sun-god himself.

That all the five Vṛishṇi *vīras* (*i.e.* the four Vyūhas together with Sāmba) were independently worshipped has been suggested by Banerjea, who is inclined to identify Sāmba with certain sculptured figures hailing from the Mathurā region. There was the custom of electing *dhvajas* or votive columns in honour of different sectarian deities, especially near their temples. Banerjea points out that the fragmentary capitals figuring Garuḍa, *Tāla* (fan-palm), and Makara (crocodile), found at Besnagar and Pawāyā, point to the existence of the *dhvaja* and shrines respectively of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshaṇa and Pradyumna.

Certain early coins, including a few from Taxila, are supposed by Banerjea to bear the representation of columns surmounted by fan-palm capital. At Tumain in Madhya Bhārat has been discovered an originally Vaishṇava temple (now dedicated to Vindhyavāsinī), adorned with carvings illustrating the early life of Kṛishṇa in which a figure of Baladeva, assignable to the second or third century A.D., was recognised.

There is no doubt that the Chatur-Vyūha doctrine was an outcome of the apotheosis of several Vṛishṇi *vīras* besides Vāsudeva. But the non-mention of Pradyumna and Aniruddha, along with Saṅkasrhaṇa and Vāsudeva, in the Ghosundi and Nānāghāt inscriptions of the first century B.C., probably shows that the independent worship of the third and fourth Vyūhas, who are not known to have been religious teachers, was not quite popular outside the Vṛishṇi circle. Their deification may have been influenced partly by the practice in the Mathurā region of installing images of deceased ancestors in *devakulas*, as is indicated by an inscription of Huvishka.[1] But Saṅkarshaṇa, also called Baladeva, Balarāma and Rāma, was a more important figure, whose independent worship spread over wide areas before the birth of Christ. In the Ghosundi inscription, he is called Bhagavat and Sarveśvara jointly with Vāsudeva. The *Mahābhārata* represents Saṅkarshaṇa as being held in special honour by the Kuru king Duryodhana, while the *Kauṭilīya Arthasāstra* speaks of a class of ascetics with shaved head or with braided hair who adored him as their *devatā*. The Buddhist *Niddesa* works also mention the votaries of Baladeva side by side with those of Vāsudeva.

In epic and Puranic traditions, which sometimes represent Saṅkarshaṇa as the form of Anantanāga and point to his identification with some tribal god of the Nāgas,[2] he figures as a great helper of his younger step-brother Kṛishṇa in the latter's exploits, especially in the struggle with Kaṁsa.

The pastoral association of Saṅkarshaṇa may have been due partly to his relations with Kṛishṇa and partly to his identification with some tribal gods. The Bhīshmaparvan and the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* regard him as an exponent of the Sātvata or Pañcharātra system. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparvan, Vāsudeva is identified with Paramātman (Supreme Soul) and Saṅkarshaṇa with Jīvātman (individual soul). The votaries of Saṅkarshaṇa ultimately merged themselves with those of Vāsudeva. In later times the independent worship of the Vyūhas Pradyumna and Aniruddha, and even of Saṅkarshaṇa, declined owing to the growing popularity of the worship of the *avatāras* of Vishṇu, which became the dominant feature of Bhāgavatism in the Gupta age.

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[1] Cf. also *Pratimānāṭaka* (Act III) attributed to Bhāsa.

[2] Cf. the Kāliyanāga episode in the Kṛishṇa saga, probably pointing to the victory of Bhāgavatism over the tribal cult of the Nāgas who ruled in the Mathurā area before the Guptas.

6. *Relation of Bhāgavatism with Other Creeds*

The Ājīvikas are known to have been followers of a great champion of fatalism named Gosāla,[1] a contemporary of Mahāvīra. Utpala, commenting on the *Bṛihajjātaka*, seems to include the Ājīvikas amongst the Nārāyaṇāśritas, i.e. devotees of Nārāyaṇa. It is probable that in later days the Ājīvikas merged themselves with the followers of Vāsudeva.

It may be observed that the Jain faith, which shares the doctrine of Ahiṁsā with Bhāgavatism and Buddhism, is permeated with influences of Hinduism, especially of Kṛishṇa worship. The Jains include Vāsudeva and Baladeva among the 63 *śalākā-purushas* who have directed or influenced the course of the world. The legend of Mahāvīra's birth in Jain mythology is again entirely derived from that of Kṛishṇa's birth. On the other hand, the later conception of the 24 forms of Vishṇu was probably derived from that of the 24 Jain Tīrthakaras. The Jain Tīrthakara Ṛishabha was regarded as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu by some Bhāgavatas.

Senart and Poussin believe that there was an intimate relation between the Buddhist way of deliverance and that of the old thiestic cults of India, and suggest that devout worshippers of Nārāyaṇa exerted great influence on the making of the Buddhist doctrine even from its inception. Although the theory can hardly be accepted, as the early spheres of influence of the two creeds were different, we know that the importance of Ahiṁsā is recognised in both the systems. It is possible that the adoration of Buddha's footprints was borrowed from the conception of Vishṇu's *pada*.[2] The influence of the *Gītā* on Buddhist works like the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda*, etc., is unmistakable. On the other hand, the full development of the *avatāravāda* seem to have been influenced by the Buddhist conception of the former Buddhas, some of whom were worshipped in their own *stūpas* as early as the third century B.C. That a large number of Buddhists were admitted into the fold of the Vaishṇavas towards the close of the Hindu period is suggested by the inclusion of Buddha in the list of Vishṇu's *avatāras*.[3]

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[1] See above, p. 414.

[2] It means both 'station' and 'foot', and often leads to confusion as regards the original interpretation of Vishṇu-pada.

[3] Cf. *JRASBL*, XV. 101.

It will be seen from the above discussion that the Vaishṇava sect absorbed a number of different elements, among which prominent mention should be made of the worshippers of such different divinities as the Vedic Vishṇu, the deified sage Nārāyaṇa and the deified Vṛishṇi heroes Vāsudeva and Baladeva. We have to include in the list also the followers of Vāsudeva's relatives Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba, of his friend the Pāṇḍava Arjuna,[1] as well as of the *avatāras* before their identification with Vishṇu, and of such tribal gods as those of the Ābhīras. Under the circumstances, the existence of sectarian or doctrinal differences was inevitable, although its nature can hardly be determined.

Some writers believe that much of Bhāgavatism, including the idea of *Bhakti,* was borrowed from Christianity, while others go so far as to suggest that Kṛishṇa himself was an adaptation of Christ. It should, however, be remembered that the origin of *Bhakti* in India, the apotheosis and worship of Vāsudeva, and the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa with Vishṇu and Nārāyaṇa are pre-Christian. There are, no doubt, resemblances between the story of the child Kṛishṇa and that of the child Jesus, just as there are between the lives of Gautama and Jesus, and also Rāma in Tulsī Dās's work. Hopkins attributes it to direct importation from Christian lands into India, especially because of the late date of the development of the Kṛishṇa legend. But the *Mahābhāshya,* quoting passages from a Kāvya on the Kaṁsa-vadha episode, points to the pre-Christian origin of the Kṛishṇa saga. Indian literature and archaeological evidence[2] show that the cowherd association of Kṛishṇa was widely known about the third and fourth centuries A.D. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the adoration of the Virgin Mary is not much earlier than the fifth century. Kennedy rightly says: "There is no Christian representation of the suckling mother before the twelfth century, but there is a much earlier Hindu one." The Christian influence cannot be satisfactorily proved with the evidence at our disposal. Bhandarkar's theory that the Ābhīras were responsible for bringing the legends of Christ to India and for their introduction into the Kṛishṇa saga is hardly supported by evidence. If Christian legends found their way to India at all, it was probably through the mission of Saint Thomas to the court of the Parthian king Gondophernes[1] or through the Nestorian settlers on the Malabar coast.

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[1] Cf. Pāṇini's rule for the formation of the word *Arjunaka* in the sense of a person whose object of *Bhakti* was Arjuna.

[2] Cf. the Mathurā relief illustrating Kṛishṇa's birth.

7. *The Worship of Images*

The Bhāgavatas or the Pañcharātrins seem to be mainly responsible for the dissemination of the practice of image-worship among the higher section of the orthodox Indian people. To them the *Archā* or *Śrī-vigraha* (auspicious body of the Lord) was the God Himself in one of His aspects, and was thus the object of the greatest veneration as the 'God manifest' (*pratyaksha devatā*). Epigraphic data of the pre-Christian and early post-Christian periods prove that there were Bhāgavata or Vaishṇava shrines in various parts of India, such as Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā), Mathurā, etc. Very early images are not, however, extant and this can be explained by referring to undoubted evidence that the images were usually made at first of perishable materials. One or two stone images of Vaishṇavite deities are, however, known, which can be dated probably in the second century before the Christian era, if not earlier.[2]

The present writer has shown that the so-called Yakshiṇī image, which was discovered by Cunningham at Besnagar along with the Banyan-capital, is really the goddess Śrī, who held an important place in the Pañcharātra cult as the active energic principle, the chief consort of the Para-Vāsudeva. The other image is that of Saṅkarshaṇa or Balarāma in the collection of the Mathurā Museum, which shows the usual characteristics of the god, *viz*. the snake canopy, the ploughshare in one of the hands and round protruding eyes indicative of inebriety (*mattavivṛittekshaṇa*).

Vaishṇava images of the early post-Christian period also are not many in number, a few that are extant being mostly attributable to the Mathurā region. It was traditionally associated with the Vāsudeva cult, and inscriptions of the first century A.D. and later periods refer to the construction of Bhāgavata shrines, some by foreigners. One such inscription discovered at Mora refers, as noted above, to the installation of the images of the holy Pañchavīras of the Vṛishṇis in a beautiful stone temple erected under the orders of Toshā, evidently a foreign lady. A few fragmentary images in the round, obtained from Mora site and now exhibited in the Mathurā Museum, may be the remains of the figures of the five Vṛishṇi vīras; but the multilation is so complete that nothing can be said with certainty about their iconography. Reference has already been made[1] to the images of Vishṇu on the coins and seals of the first and second centuries A.D.

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[1] See above, p. 130.

[2] An image of Vishṇu-parivāra, now worshipped at Burhikhas in Bilāspur District, bears a Brāhmī Ins. of about the first century B.C.

A partially preserved architectural relief of the second or third century A.D. in the Mathurā Museum collection illustrates the scene of Kṛishṇa-Janmāshṭamī; it is of unique interest as it is the earliest extant sculpture illustrative of the Kṛishṇāyana stories, which later became the favourite motifs of Indian iconographists.

E. ŚAIVISM

1. *The Pāśupatas*

As we have seen above, the cult of Śiva goes back to very early times, and it is not unlikely that it was current among the non-Aryans in pre-Vedic period. His character was formed by the conflation of the attributes of many deities, one of the earliest being the Vedic Rudra.[2] But, whatever may be his origin, the god gradually rose into great importance. In the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad,* Śiva figures as the Great God (*Mahādeva*) superior to the Vedic pantheon, and a similar position is accorded to his spouse Umā Haimavatī in the *Kena Upanishad.* The fact that he is classed among minor gods both in *Āpastamba Gṛihya Sūtra* and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* shows, however, that his position of unquestioned supremacy was not established at a very early period. The rise of a definite religious sect, revering Śiva as the Supreme God and with a philosophy and organization of its own, cannot be traced back earlier than about the beginning of the Christian era.

So far as present evidence goes, the earliest was the Pāśupata sect, which itself gave rise to different sub-sects. In the *Mahābhārata* mention is made of the Pāśupata along with the systems of Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pañcharātra and Veda; and it is stated that the consort of Umā, namely Paśupati, Śrīkaṇṭha, or Śiva, son of Brahmā, revealed the *jñāna* known as the Pāśupata.[3] It is the belief of the Śaivas, to whatever school they might belong, that Śiva himself was the first preceptor of their doctrine. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa,* Maheśvara is represented to have declared to Brahmā that in the twenty-eighth *mahāyuga*, when Vishṇu would be born as Vāsudeva, he would incarnate himself as a *brahmachārin,* by name Nakulin, after entering a dead body in the burial ground of Kāyārohaṇa, a land of *siddhas*, and that he would have four pupils—Kuśika, Gārgya, Mitraka and Rushṭa—who, duly initiated into *Māheśvara-yoga*, would reach Rudraloka whence there is no return.[1] The same legend is found in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* also, with this difference, that the name of the incarnation is given there as Lakulin, and the pupils are called Kuśika, Garga, Mitra, and Kaurushya.[2] There seems to be some historical basis for this myth, as a few inscriptions[3] speak of a teacher of Śaivism by name Lakulin or Nakulin, who was regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Śiva. In an inscription dated A.D. 971 in the temple of Nātha near that of Ekliṅga, a few miles north of Udaipur, it is stated that Śiva became incarnate as a man bearing a club (*lakula*) in his hand, in the country of Bhṛigukachchha. There is another inscription of the thirteenth century A.D. which records that Śiva became incarnate in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Lakulīśa and dwelt in Kārohaṇa in the Lāṭa country, and that he had four pupils, Kauśika, Gārgya. Kaurusha and Maitreya, who became the founders of four branches of the Pāśupata school. Thus it is evident that there was a person by name Lakulin who taught a form of Śaivism which has come to be known by his name. He is even considered to be the author of a work, *Pañchādhyāyī* or *Pañchārthavidyā*, to which Mādhava alludes in his account of the Pāśupata system in the *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar placed the rise of this school about a century after that of the Pañcharātra system, i.e. about the second century B.C., but the Mathurā inscription of the reign of Chandragupta II proves that Lakulin flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D.[4]

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[1] Above, pp. 150, 439.
[2] Vol. I. pp. 162, 187, 203.
[3] *Mbh.*, Southern Recension: ed. by P. P. S. Sastri, Vol. XV, Śānti, Pt. III, Ch. 338. vv. 62-65.

The Pāśupatas believe that Maheśvara has taught five categories for the sake of releasing the *jīva* from its bonds. The categories are (1) *kārya* or effect, *viz.* that which is not independent, (2) *kāraṇa* or cause, *viz.* that which is independent, (3) *yoga* or path, (4) *vidhi* or rule, and (5) *duḥkhānta* or the end of misery. A knowledge of these is said to be essential for release.

The first two categories involve abstruse philosophical concepts. The third, *yoga*, is that which connects the individual soul with God through the channel of the mind (*chitta*). It is of two kinds: (1) that which is of the nature of action, and (2) that which is of the nature of cessation from action. The first consists in actions like chanting of *mantras,* meditation, etc., and the second 'consists in mere feeling'. The fourth, *vidhi* or rule, is that which takes the aspirant to the proximity of Dharma, which is the Lord. It is twofold, principal and subsidiary. The primary rule is *charyā* or conduct, which is the direct means. It consists of vows (*vratas*) and channels (*dvāras*). The vows are: besmearing the body with holy ashes, lying in ashes, certain practices called *upahāra* (laughing, singing, dancing, etc.), muttering magic formulae, and circumambulation. The channels are various forms of behaviour such as feigning sleep, etc., which do not conform to the normal. The secondary *vidhi* consists of processes which are intended to be helpful to *charyā.* These comprise besmearing the body with ashes after worship, begging and eating the remnants of what others have eaten so that the sense of indecency attached to such acts may be overcome.

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[1] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 23, vv. 210-213.
[2] *Liṅga Purāṇa*, ch. 24, vv. 127-131.
[3] For these records, cf. *VS.* 116; *JBBRAS*, XXII. 151 ff.; *EI*, XXI. 1 ff.
[4] *VS.* p. 117; *EI*, XXI. 5-7.

Duḥkhānta, which is the last category, is the final deliverance from sorrow. It is of two kinds: (1) *anātmaka,* which is of the nature of absolute elimination of misery, and (2) *sātmaka,* which is of the nature of lordship consisting in the possession of powers of seeing and acting. The power of seeing, though one, is said to be fivefold on account of distinctions in objects: (a) *darśana* which is knowledge, visual, tactile, etc., of objects that are subtle, concealed or distant; (b) *śravaṇa* which is supernormal hearing of all sounds; (c) *manana* which is supernormal knowing of all objects of thought; (d) *vijñāna* which is supernormal knowledge of all sciences with their treatises and what are taught in them; and (e) *sarvajñatva* which is supernormal knowledge of the principles of a system, whether expressly mentioned or not, succinct and in detail, with their divisions and peculiarities. The power of acting, though one, is said to be threefold: (a) *manojavitva,* or the power of doing anything instantly; (b) *kāmarūpitva,* or the power of assuming a variety of shapes and forms, or bodies and senses, without any effort; and (c) *vikaraṇadharmitva,* or the possession of supreme power, even when the senses have been withdrawn from operation. One acquires these supernormal powers of knowledge and action through long adherence to the discipline as presented in the Pāśupata system. It is to be noted that, while in the other systems the destruction of misery is regarded as *moksha,* in the Pāśupata this is coupled with the attainment of supernormal powers.

It would seem that even from very early times certain mystic practices were associated with the Pāśupata religion. When ineligible persons began to adopt them, considerable deterioration set in and the system itself fell into disrepute. But there is nothing inherently wrong about the faith. Any mystic cult can be distorted and become vitiated by the importation of left-handed practices (*vāmāchāra*). That has happened everywhere and in the case of every faith. The essentials of the Pāśupata system, however, are those of a virile theism leaning on the side of a healthy asceticism. The Pāśupata as well as the other branches of Śaivism have claimed the allegiance of some of the finest of spiritual personages who would be regarded as the salt of the earth in any age or country.

2. *Śaivism as a Popular Cult*

The earliest historical record to mention the worship of Śiva is that of Megasthenes, the Greek envoy at Pāṭaliputra about 300 B.C. He describes two Indian deities under the names of Dionysus and Herakles, generally identified with Śiva and Kṛishṇa respectively. Patañjali in the second century B.C. refers in his *Mahābhāshya* to the Śiva-bhāgavatas as also to images of Śiva and Skanda, which were sold by the Mauryas to raise money. This shows the popularity of the cult. According to Haribhadra's *Shaḍdarśanasamuchchaya*, Gautama and Kaṇāda, founders respectively of the Nyāya and Vaiśeshika systems, were of Śaiva persuasion. Guṇaratna, in his commentary of Haribhadra's work, says that the Naiyāyikas were called Śaivas, and the Vaiśeshikas, Pāśupatas. Among the successors of Aśoka we come across one Jalauka who was a Śaiva.[1] In the early centuries of the Christian era some of the Kushāṇa kings became ardent Śaivas and caused their coins to be minted with the images of Śiva and of his emblems like the trident and the sacred bull on them. The first Ikshvāku king, Śāntamūla,[2] was a worshipper of Skanda.

We obtain a fair idea of the popular cult of Śaivism from the epics. The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to Śiva by several of his well-known names, such as Śitikaṇṭha, Mahādeva, Rudra, Tryambaka, Paśupati and Śaṅkara. By the time of this *ādi-kāvya,* Rudra-Śiva had gained a history and founded a family; and references to many of the legends, elaborately described in the later Purāṇas, are to be met with in the poem.

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[1] *Rājataraṅginī,* I. 108 ff; also above, pp. 89-90.
[2] Above, p. 224 f.

In this epic we hear of Himavat giving his daughter Umā in marriage to the "unequalled Rudra,"[1] of Kandarpa's attempt to enter into Rudra at a time when he was performing austerity, and Rudra's curse in consequence whereof Kandarpa became bodiless (*anāṅga*).[2] We hear also of the birth of Kārttikeya who was to be the generalissimo of the gods.[3] The story of Bhagīratha's propitiations of Śiva and the descent of Gaṅgā is related in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* as also the story of Rudra drinking the poison emitted by the serpent Vāsuki when it was used as the rope in the process of the churning of the Ocean of Milk.[4] Some of Mahādeva's achievements are alluded to in the course of the epic narrative. The principal among them are the destruction of Andhaka (or Ardhaka), and the conquest of Tripura. That the overlordship of Mahādeva was not recognised by the votaries of other gods could be gathered from the episode at Daksha's sacrifice which is narrated in its simplest form in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is to be noted that there is no mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Rudra commissioning Vīrabhadra to break up the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. The significance of the episode, however, is clear, *viz.* that Daksha refused to recognise Rudra as a god worthy of propitiation; and Daksha may be taken as representative of those who reviled Rudra.

In the *Mahābhārata* we notice Śaivism and Vaishṇavism becoming more prominent and widespread than the other cults and dividing between them the allegiance of great masses of men. Though Śiva's character remains essentially the same as that of the Vedic Rudra, his attributes are more clearly defined and he receives new features and fame which are illustrated by numerous legends.

Some of the stories related in the *Rāmāyaṇa* figure again in the *Mahābhārata* with additional details. The myths of Śiva's destruction of Tripura and of Daksha's sacrifice, for instance, are narrated at greater length. Besides, Śiva's personality and prowess become directly connected with the development of the main epic story itself at several places. At the beginning of the Bhīshma-parvan, Durgā, the consort of Śiva, is prayed to by Arjuna on the advice of Kṛishṇa, before the commencement of the battle. In the Vana-parvan, Arjuna goes to the Himālayas and obtains the Pāśupata weapon from Śiva, who appears in the form of a hunter

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1. *Rām*, I, 35, 20.
2. *Rām*, I, 23, 10 ff.
3. *Rām*, I, 38.
4. *Rām*, I, 45.

(*kirāta*) and reveals his identity only after testing the Pāṇḍava prince's valour.

It is interesting to note that in one story in the Anuśāsana-parvan, Kṛishṇa worships Mahādeva. He had to go through the *dīkshā* ceremony, which is an essential part of the discipline of several Śaiva schools as we know them. "Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his spouse, whom all the gods were worshipping among them Indra, Vishṇu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, all uttering the *rathantara sāma*."[1] Kṛishṇa then proceeds to praise Mahādeva as the Supreme Deity, and secures from him eight boons and eight more from Umā. One of them, it is worthy of note, is that Kṛishṇa would be a Śiva-*bhakta* for all time.

There are sections of the *Mahābhārata* where the poet, whoever he was, surmounts sectarian barriers and sees the divinity equally in Vishṇu and Mahādeva. In the Śānti-parvan, Hari, the lord of the world, addresses the god Īśāna (Mahādeva) thus: "He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (*lit.* favours) thee loves me. There is no distinction between us; do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this *śrīvatsa* of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the *śrīkaṇṭha* marked upon my hand."[2] In the Anuśāsana-parvan among the one thousand names of Vishṇu are included the names of Mahādeva, such as Śarva, Śiva, Sthāṇu, Īśāna and Rudra. In one place Śiva speaks of Vishṇu as the greatest god; while in another Kṛishṇa praises Mahādeva as the one to whom there is nothing superior. Thus, side by side with sectarianism, there is also in the great epic a sort of universalism in faith.

From the places mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as being sacred to Śiva, it may be gathered that the Śaiva sect was to be found all over India. There were two classes of Śaivas—householder-devotees and ascetics 'whose sign was tonsure and the yellow robe.' The observance of caste was not stressed; the practice of *yoga* was insisted on.

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1. Muir, *OST*, IV, p. 194.
2. Muir, *OST*, IV, p. 241.

3. *Śaivism in South India*

Traces of Śaivism are to be found in South India from very remote times. The literature of the Śaṅgam age refers to Śiva as the greatest god. The *Ahanānūru* describes Śiva as the Lord who wears *konṟai* flowers, whose three eyes neither close nor wink, whose consort is Umā and whose weapon a battle-axe, who wears the crescent moon on his matted locks, who is unknowable even by the gods and the sages, who is blue-necked, and whose footstool is the universe. In *Puṟam* 55 there is a reference to the destruction of the three cities (Tripura) by Śiva. Nakkīrar compares[1] his contemporary Pāṇḍya king to Śiva, Vishṇu, Balarāma and Subrahmaṇya for his various excellences. He speaks of Śiva as having a long braid of hair shining like a flame, a flag with the bull ensign and a blue neck. It is significant that Śiva is here referred to as *Kūṟṟam*, the god of death and destruction. In the *Tirumurukāttruppadai*, besides references to the features of Śiva already described, the god is spoken of as the Lord seated under the banyan tree (Kallāl). *Puṟam* 166 characterises Śiva as *mudu-mudalvan* (the foremost) and says that the Veda is ever on his tongue. The twin classics, *Silappadikāram* and *Manimēkhalai*, generally assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era, contain ample references to Śiva-worship in the Tamil country. In the *Silappadikāram*,[2] it is stated that the Chera king Senguttuvan worshipped both Śiva and Vishṇu. Among the temples of Kāverīppūṁpaṭṭinam, the author mentions one dedicated to Śiva.[3] In the *Manimēkhalai* there is a statement[4] to the effect that temples beginning with that of Śiva with an eye in his forehead, and ending with that of the guardian-deity of the public square "should all be tidied for the coming festival."[5] In Canto 27 of the same work there is a reference to the Śaivavādin who expounds to Manimēkhalai, daughter of Kannaki, the Śaiva doctrine, according to which Śiva appears in eight forms and is the absolute Lord of creation and dissolution.

4. *Śaiva Images*

As noted above,[6] prototypes of Śiva as Paśupati and his emblem *par excellence*, Śiva-liṅga (the phallic emblem of Śiva), have been found in the Sindhu valley. Several indigenous coins of different varieties, dating back to a few centuries before the Christian era, contain anthropomorphic as well as phallic figures of Śiva. These, supplemented by early literary data, prove that the exclusive worshippers of Śiva, the Śiva-bhāgavatas, had long been using such icons for religious purposes. It is presumable that human as well as phallic forms of the god were at first enshrined in the main sanctum of the Śaiva temples; but it became the general custom afterwards to place Śiva-liṅgas only in it and use them as the principal object of worship, the human figures of Śiva being present a accessories in the various parts of the temple.

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[1] *Puṟam* 56.
[2] Canto 26.
[3] Canto 12.
[4] Canto 1.
[5] See S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 56.
[6] Vol. I, p. 187.

References in the *Mahābhārata* seem to prove that an orthodox section of the Brāhmaṇas was tardy in giving recognition to the worship of Śiva-liṅgas on account, perhaps, of the idea underlying such icons. The extant early specimens of these cult objects are, as will be presently shown, extremely realistic in appearance, and that was probably the reason why their use was not at first countenanced by this section of the people; it was also this aversion which was, perhaps, one of the causes for their gradual conventionalisation. Their general shape became so much modified and altered that the Śiva-liṅgas of the mediaeval times hardly bear any traces of their original realism—Havell even goes so far as to suggest that they were modelled on the votive *stūpas* of the Buddhists. It is in the mode of laying the *Brahma-sūtras* on the *Rudra* or *Pūjābhāga* of the *liṅgas* that faint traces of their original character are to be found. They were no doubt very much conventionalised in later times, but they came to have numerous forms of a varied nature, which were elaborately depicted in the mediaeval hieratic art of the Śaivas.

One of the earliest Śaiva sculptures of India in the historic period is the very interesting Śiva-liṅga which is still an object of worship in the village of Guḍimallam near Renigunta, Madras. The extremely realistic phallic emblem, five feet high, bears upon it a two-armed figure of Śiva; the god holds a ram in his right hand and a water-vessel and a battle-axe in his left one, and stands on the shoulders of a malformed dwarf (*Apasmāra-purusha*); below the diaphanous loin-cloth his sex-mark is prominently shown; *jaṭābhāra* (matted hair) adorns his head, and his body is sparsely decorated with ornaments. Gopinatha Rao dated it in the second century B.C., while others like Coomaraswamy would place it a century later. This combined mode of depicting Śiva both in his human as well as phallic form in a single piece of sculpture was a practice which was continued with some modifications in subsequent periods, and the Liṅgodbhavamūrti of Śiva and the different varieties of Mukhaliṅgas are really so many adaptations of it.

Coomaraswamy has drawn our attention to a much later sculpture (second or third century A.D.) showing a four-armed standing figure of Śiva carved on one side of a less realistic phallus; the natural hands of the god are shown in *abhaya* and *kaṭyavalambita* poses, while the added ones are raised and placed on his *jaṭās*. Phallic emblems of Śiva of a highly suggestive nature, without any figure of the god carved on them, have been found mostly in the Mathurā region, which can be dated in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

Mukhaliṅgas proper are known from the Gupta period onwards, and they are usually of the *ekamukha* and *chaturmukha* types, according as they bear, on their *Rudra* or *Pūjābhāgas*, the representation of one or four faces. The four faces in a *chaturmukha* liṅga typify the Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora and Tatpurusha forms of Śiva, the fifth face on the top, *viz.* Īśāna, remaining invisible *(Pañchamaṁ cha tatheśānaṁ Yogināmapyagocharam)*. The faces are usually shown carved round a single shaft; so a Mathurā sculpture of the late Kushāṇa or early Gupta period is interesting inasmuch as it show four faces carved on four shafts joined together.

Early numismatic as well as glyptic data prove that there was also not much diversity at first in the human representations of Śiva, the god being usually depicted with two or four hands with his bull mount Nandī (really the god in his theriomorphic form) by his side; but a tendency to multiply the varieties was already present, as a careful analysis of the figures of Śiva on Ujjain coins, coins of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian rulers like Maues and Gondophernes, and those of the Kushāṇa kings like Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva testify. A very early Śaiva sculpture is a red sandstone relief in the collection of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā, carved on both sides and belonging to the late Kushāṇa period; it shows Śiva and Pārvatī standing against Nandī. Śiva is ithyphallic, and both he and his consort hold *nīlotpala* buds in their hands; this is one of the earliest sculptural representations of the god in his aspect of Umāsahitamūrti. The magnificent South Indian bronzes of Śiva Naṭarāja, the Lord of the Dance, belong to the eleventh century A.D. and will be noted later.

F. MINOR RELIGIOUS SECTS

Although the four main religious sects, whose history has been described above, figured rather prominently in the religious world, it would be wrong to assume that the people at large entirely forgot the Vedic pantheon and the religious practices associated with it, or did not initiate new ones, mainly through the influence of the non-Aryans who had been absorbed in Vedic society. As a matter of fact, the Vedic rituals were scrupulously performed by a large section of the people, and though their number grew smaller and smaller, they never died out altogether. On the other hand, we find a curious medley of religious beliefs, which defy any systematic classification or even any satisfactory interpretation. Many of these were allied with, or derived from, the major religious conceptions referred to above and were ancillary to them. Some were ultimately absorbed by them. But still a cursory survey of them is necessary for an intelligent appreciation of the religious condition of the period.

A picture of the variety of religious beliefs current during the period is obtained from some Buddhist texts. The Buddhist canonical work *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (fourth-third centuries B.C.) mentions a number of religious sects such as Ājīvika, Nirgrantha (Jain), Muṇḍa-Śrāvaka, Jaṭilaka, Parivrājaka, Māgaṇḍika, Traidaṇḍika, Aviruddhaka, Gautamaka (Buddhist) and Devadharmika. The *Mahāniddesa* and *Chullaniddesa*—two Buddhist canonical commentaries (second-first centuries B.C.)—mention the Ājīvikas, Nirgrantha, Jaṭila, Parivrājaka and Aviruddhaka, along with the worshippers of the elephant, horse, cow, dog, crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Pūrṇabhadra, Maṇibhadra, Agni, the Nāgas, the Yakshas, the Asuras, the Gandharvas, the Mahārājas, Chandra, Sūrya, Indra, Brahman, Deva and Dik.

These two lists, which are by no means exhaustive, are interesting and instructive. They demonstrate the existence, side by side with well-known religious sects, of a bewildering variety of primitive faiths and popular cults—a characteristic feature of Indian religious life throughout the ages. It is neither possible nor necessary to refer to all of them in detail, but we shall deal with a few of these and add to them others known from different sources. We shall first deal with the heterodox or heretical Ājīvika sect which heads both the lists, and then take up some of the Vedic deities, those connected with Śiva and Vishṇu, and finally some of the new conceptions of primitive faith.

1. *The Ājīvikas*

Of the five prominent heretical sects or schools that arose at about the time when Mahāvīra and Buddha began to preach their messages, one alone—the Ājīvikas—had a long history of about two thousand years before it became extinct. The Order, established possibly by Nanda Vachchha and headed by Kisa Saṁkichchha after him, acquired dynamic energy under the third pontiff Gosāla. The cult spread at one time from Avanti to Aṅga, and it is almost certain that, though both Jainism and Buddhism denounced Gosāla and his creed, they quietly absorbed some of the tenets and practices of his school, and had to reckon with and combat some others. The Ājīvikas enjoyed the patronage of Aśoka and also of his grandson Daśaratha, both of whom dedicated caves to them. The sect is referred to by Patañjali (c. 150 B.C.) and in the *Milinda-pañha* (c. first century A.D.). Its fatalistic creed that things gain perfection even through non-performance of actions, and that "there is a process of natural and spiritual evolution through ceaseless rounds of births and deaths", was an anathema to the Kriyāvādins who believed that moral action was an indispensable condition of individual and social perfection. But the orthodox showed the same disfavour towards the Bauddhas as towards the Ājīvikas, and neither class was entertained at *śrāddhas* and sacrifices in Kauṭilya's time.

No trace of Ājīvika literature has been preserved, but scattered quotations from the writings of the school are to be found in Bauddha and Jain literatures. Their extreme asceticism, love of solitude, disdain of comfort and even of decencies, and love of austerities of all kinds repelled all but an infinitesimal minority, and so, naturally, the sect lost popularity in course of time. Yet it lingered on and is referred to by Varāhamihira (sixth century A.D.) and in the *Harsha-charita* (seventh century A.D.). The followers were known as *ekadaṇḍins* from the single staff that they carried, and were latterly confused, sometimes with the Bauddhas and sometimes with the Jains in South Indian epigraphical records and by Tamil writers. The sect became extinct in the fourteenth century A.D. As noted above,[1] the sect was probably merged into Vaishṇavism.

In the Jain *Bhagavatī-sūtra* reference is made to the fact that the Ājīvikas had shifted their centre of activities to the Puṇḍra country at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, and that in their pantheon were included many Vedic and non-Vedic gods. Two of these,

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[1] See p. 450.

Puṇṇabhadda (Pūrṇabhadra) and Maṇibhadda (Maṇibhadra), are of interest as their worshippers are referred to also in the Buddhist *Niddesa*, though as distinct from the Ājīvikas. Maṇibhadda and Puṇṇabhadda have been regarded as Yakshas by modern writers, but there is no doubt that the *Niddesa* distinguished them from the latter class of supernatural beings, though in other Buddhist and Jain texts they are characterised as Yakshas and classed with tutelary deities of cities. The Pawāyā inscription on the pedestal of a statue, of the first century B.C., leaves no doubt that a class of *Maṇibhadra-bhaktas* existed at one time and that Maṇibhadra was given the usual honorific title of *Bhagavat*.

It appears also that the worship of Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa was also not uncommon, for not only does Kauṭilya refer to the installation of his image in a fort, but there is sculptural evidence to prove that Kubera with his two *nidhis*—the conch-shell and the cornucopia exuding coins under a banyan tree (*kalpa-vṛiksha*) on the top of a column—was a favourite cult-object at one time. In fact, in the *Mahābhārata* (and in the *Lalitavistara* version of the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta*) Maṇibhadra (also called Maṇivara or Maṇichara) appears as the chief attendant of Kubera and, like him, functions as the lord of wealth and treasure and the patron of merchants, whence he is called Yakshendra, Nidhīśa, Dhanapati, etc., and receives equal honour with him at the hands of the Gandharvas.[1]

2. *Prajāpati—Brahmā*

During the period of the Brāhmaṇas, Prajāpati occupied the topmost position and was looked upon as the creator of gods, men and demons. His predominance was assured when he came to be identified with Brahman, the impersonal Absolute of the Upanishads and the Vedānta. When the post-Brahmanical age of rationalism was ushered in and the cult of sacrifice fell into comparative disuse, the worship of Prajāpati gradually declined. But the theists coined a new name for him and called him Brahmā, first of the later Hindu Trinity. In the Buddhistic Nikāyas, it is this personal Brahmā of the popular religion that is pictured, attacked and ridiculed. In fact, his unity is not recognised, and many Brahmās with different appellations are mentioned, and their inferiority to Buddha in wisdom is sedulously preached to lower them in the estimation of the people. Śakra (Indra) and Brahmā are, in fact, represented as faithful attendants of Buddha in later Buddhistic sculpture.

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[1] It may be mentioned that the cults of Kubera and Maṇibhadra definitely declined in the Gupta age. The one becomes a *dikpāla* and the other degenerates into a snake in the *Bhavishya Purāṇa*. Pūrṇabhadra is altogether forgotten.

3. *Sūrya*

The one god who neither rose to the supreme position nor ever altogether lost his popularity is Sūrya, and he still claims a sect for himself, namely the Sauras. The tradition regarding the divinity of the Sun has come down from Vedic times with some modifications but with no material variation. Some figures on ancient coins and a Bhārhut medallion containing a human bust of the Sun, with the stamens of a lotus representing his rays, suggest that the Sun was a popular deity in the third century B.C. The references by Greek writers and the Kushāṇa coins with the name and image of the Sun show that the popularity continued in later times. The Sun is a popular god in the epics, and his ornaments and adornments are vividly described. Legends grew round his family life—his wives and children—and his adventures and discomfitures are picturesquely described. From the names borne by some of the characters of the *Mahābhārata*, it may be inferred that the Sun was a familiar cult-object at one time.

If we believe that the post-Upanishadic religious belief was characterised by a return to the concrete and the personal, almost by a kind of dialectic movement of the mind, the vivid personification of the visible physical object—the Sun—can be easily understood. The hovering between the physical and the personal has almost ended now; tales in Puranic fashion begin to appear and the exploits and beneficences of the god are circulated to attract devotees. The popularity of the god receives a sudden accession of strength through the infiltration of Persian beliefs and the installation of images soon after. When and by whom the Persian solar cult was introduced into India, and whether Multān (Mūlasthāna) was the 'original seat' of the sun-temple, cannot now be satisfactorily settled. That Kanishka should have coins struck with the image of Mithra, with the name Miiro (Mihira) added, proves that the Persian solar cult had infiltrated into Brahmanical belief by the first century A.D. The Purāṇas like *Bhavishya, Sāmba, Varāha* and others narrate the story of the introduction of the cult into India from Śakadvīpa (Eastern Irān), and the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* expressly lays down that the images of the god should be duly installed by the Magas, who are none other than the Sun and fire-worshipping Magi of ancient Irān. The 57th chapter of the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* and many iconographic texts again emphasise such alien features of the Sūrya figures, as *udīchyaveśa* (northern dress), *avyaṅga* (the Indian form of the Iranian *aivyāonghen,* the sacred woollen waist girdle which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear), etc., which are almost invariably present in the extant North Indian specimens.

Some pre-Christian Sūrya figures have been found in different parts of India, the one carved on one of the railing pillars at Bodh-Gayā being the most interesting. Here the god is shown riding on a four-horsed chariot accompanied by the goddesses Ushā and Pratyushā shooting arrows. The Bhājā relief depicts the god seated in a quadriga in company with two female figures (probably Ushā and Pratyushā), the horses and wheels of which are shown trampling upon uncouth figures identified as demons of darkness. An interesting group of sculptures in red sandstone of the second-third century A.D. has been found in Mathurā and its environs, which have been variously identified by scholars; several of them undoubtedly represent the Sun-god, while a few may typify Sāmba, son of Kṛishṇa, who is traditionally regarded as responsible for introducing this form of Sun-worship into India. Sculpture No. D. 46 in the collection of the Mathurā Museum shows a corpulent figure of the two-armed Sun-god sitting on his haunches on a chariot drawn by four horses; a lotus-bud is placed in each hand, and his shoulders are provided with small wings as in the case of the Sun-bird Garuḍa; the legs are inserted in the chariot, but the body is shown covered by garments.

The North Indian tradition, however, could not penetrate the southern regions or even monopolise the field in the north, for the Sun-images of South India of later times apparently followed a different iconographic tradition, uninfluenced by the Persian innovation, and were imitated in the north also in some selected areas.

4. *Śaiva Gods*

Unlike the *Vyūha* doctrine or later *Avatāra-vāda* of Vaishṇavism, Śaivism did not develop any elaborate incarnation theory, but Śiva came to be looked upon as the head of a family of which the members were each a cult-object. The effect was a loose federation of faiths owing allegiance to this or that member of the Śaivite household. The first to get affiliated was Rudrāṇī—a name not found till the period of the Sūtras—who quickly attained an important position. Ambikā, described in the *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* as the sister of Rudra, came to be regarded in later times as his wife, and fully justified her title as the Great Mother with whom were associated the "mothers" (*mātṛikās*) in later belief. She became the supreme object of adoration in the Śakti cult, and had a number of names given to her in subsequent literature. Umā and Pārvatī (more definitely Haimavatī) occur as names in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and the *Kena Upanishad*. The figure of Umā appears in the coins of Huvishka, with or without the figure of Śiva, which proves that there were votaries of the Umā-cult and that a marital relation had already been established between Śiva and Umā in popular belief. It is not unreasonable to assume that in the Gandhāra region the cult of Śiva and his consort was fairly strong, and probably the figure seated on a lion in the coins of Azes I represents Ambikā or Durgā.

In the Bhīshmaparvan hymn of Arjuna and the Virāṭaparvan hymn of Yudhishṭhira, new names are coined for Umā. She is now Durgā (regarded as the wife of Nārāyaṇa in the Virāṭaparvan and of Śiva in the Bhīshmaparvan) who grants victory, and also Mahishāsuranāśinī, who killed the Buffalo-demon. In the *Harivaṁśa,* she is promised a permanent seat in the Vindhyas (whence her later title Vindhyavāsinī). She is also given the later familiar epithets of Kumārī, Kālī, Kapālī, Mahākālī, Chaṇḍī, Kātyāyanī, Karālā, Vijayā, Kauśikī and Kāntāravāsinī. The mountainous associations of both Śiva and Umā naturally suggested wild associates for both, and *Kirātas, Barbaras, Pulindas,* etc. were supposed to be their devotees (and Śiva himself comes as a Kirāta to Arjuna). Similarly, while *Bhūtas, Pretas, Rakshas, Piśāchas,* etc. made up the retinue of Śiva, Durgā had her own fierce female followers in later times, both obviously modelled on Vedic *gaṇas,* the troop of Maruts regarded as the sons of Rudra. As compared with the fortunes of Vishṇu and Śiva, Umā remained a minor deity, though later the famous *Durgā-saptaśatī* or *Devī* or *Chaṇḍī-māhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* extolled her exploits, and her name was glorified in other Purāṇas also.

But while Vishṇu, Śiva and Umā increased in importance, a few other deities had only fleeting success in winning religious allegiance. Judging by literary, numismatic and other evidences, the most important of them was Skanda. Unknown to the Vedas, he appears in a full-fledged form in the epics, and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali bears testimony to his popularity as a god. His father is either Rudra or Agni (the two being identified in earlier literature), but the privilege of being his mother or nurse is claimed by several—Umā, Gaṅgā, the Kṛittikās and Svāhā, who had assumed the forms of the wives of the six *Ṛishis* (Arundhatī, Vasishṭha's wife, being inimitable). Suckled by six mothers, he developed one mouth for each, whence he is called Shaḍānana, etc. But while his faces remained fixed at six, the arms were sometimes twelve, in keeping with the six faces, but at other times he was credited with a lesser number of arms.[1]

Certain associates of Skanda serve to help identification. Among the gifts to this generalissimo of the gods were included a cock and a peacock, and in sculptural and numismatic representations these were often inserted. The South Indian popular name Subrahmaṇya does not belong to the epics, and is only an elaboration of the title Brahmaṇya, and this title in its turn probably owes its origin to the belief that Skanda is identical with Sanatkumāra, son of Pitāmaha Brahmā. His multiple origin was responsible for a variety of other names such as Viśākha, Kārttikeya, Devasenāpati, Guha, Kumāra, etc.

Some of these names are important inasmuch as they became independent cult-objects, as is proved by literary and numismatic data. Thus Patañjali gives the interesting information that the Mauryas, in order to replenish their treasury, began to sell images of gods like Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, the most curious element in this information being that none of these, whose images were sold to the public, were genuine Vedic gods. It appears also as if Skanda and Viśākha were treated as different deities unless we are to believe that they were two forms of the same god differently named and worshipped for different purposes. Accidental confirmation of this dissociation of forms comes from the coins of Huvishka, on which the figures of Skanda, Mahāsena, Kumāra and Viśākha, with their names in Greek letters, are to be found. It appears, therefore, that not only Viśākha but also Kumāra and Mahāsena were independently conceived and figured, just as many of the Vedic gods were worshipped under different names according to their diverse functions (though it has been held by some that the forms were really three and not four and that Skanda-Kumāra was a single divinity). As the war-lord, Skanda naturally gained the allegiance of warlike princes and tribes, and the functions of his followers being similar to those of the Maruts, the followers of Rudra, an easy affiliation to the Śaiva cult could be effected, and Guha made into the son of Rudra. But as Indra was feared for his warlike exploits but not loved, since he lacked graciousness, so also Kārttikeya was worshipped for vigour but not for bounty. And even though sectarianism made Kṛishṇa and Hari servants of Skanda, he never gained the position of either; nor did he regain his eminence for long in the estimation of men, even though his worship did not disappear altogether, as has been the case with some other gods of antiquity.

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[1] Cf. *e.g.* the two-armed Kārttikeya in some of the Yaudheya coins.

Gaṇeśa, the brother of Kārttikeya in popular belief, has been more fortunate in that he is still counted among the five major gods. His name is self-explanatory, for he is the leader of the *gaṇas,* the troublesome followers of a wild god. Rudra is the father of the Maruts and is the gaṇapati *par excellence,* but the title is used for Bṛihaspati and Indra also in the *Ṛigveda.* The later conception of Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati as the god of wisdom has probably come from this association with Bṛihaspati in the *Ṛigveda.* Vināyaka, a synonym of Gaṇeśa, occurs in the *Atharvaśiras Upanishad* where Rudra is identified with him. In the *Mahābhārata,* the Gaṇapatis or Gaṇeśvaras and the Vināyakas appear as a multitude, but at the time of the Gṛihya-sūtras, the tendency to reduce their number had already begun. The same process of syncretism, which was responsible for merging the many Rudras into one, was responsible for the evolution of the cult of a single Gaṇeśa (also called Gaṇeśāna in the *Mahābhārata*), and the transformation of a terrible god into a lovable deity also took place in the cases of Rudra and Gaṇeśa. The warding off of evil was the indispensable preliminary to all good and religious acts, and the leader of the disturbers of the peace was placated as a matter of course at the beginning with suitable offerings lest there should be any interference with the religious rites. Gaṇeśa latterly became the giver of *siddhi* (success), because he was supposed to keep back the disturbing factors and thus indirectly promote success in undertakings. His real popularity came slightly later.

5. *Śrī or Lakshmī*

It is difficult to trace the connection between elephants and the goddess of wealth, and yet in some of the early coins, sculptures and relief carvings we have representations of a goddess, either seated cross-legged or standing on a full-blown lotus in the midst of a lotus shrub, and being anointed with water from jars held over her head by two elephants standing on lotuses on her either side. In

Bhārhut there are four representations of this goddess—one seated and three standing. She is Śrī (Beauty), regarded, along with Āśā (Hope), Śraddhā (Faith) and Hrī (Modesty), as the daughter of Śakra in Buddhistic literature, but the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes her as issuing out of Prajāpati when he was practising austerities to bring forth the world of living things. In the Bhārhut *stūpa*, we have another goddess almost similarly named—Sirimā—possibly the same as Śrīmatī, who with Yaśamatī, Lakshmīmatī or Yaśaḥprāptā and Yaśodharā belongs to the realm of Virūḍhaka, the regent of the southern quarter. She stands with even feet on a level pedestal, holding in her hand a *datura* flower or a bunch of lotuses. A Siridevī or Lakkhī is described in the Siri-Kālakaṇṇi-Jātaka as the daughter of Dhṛitarāshṭra the fortunate (*sirima*), the regent of the eastern quarter. Here, the attendant elephants are wanting.

As other types of figures, *viz.* the goddess seated or standing on a lotus or standing with lotus in hand, in some cases surrounded by flowering stems, are also to be found inscribed on coins, it is apparent that the cult of these goddesses had become widespread round about the beginning of the Christian era—roughly between the third century B.C. and first century A.D. Like Sarasvatī who developed into the Goddess of Learning and was credited with multiple alliances and worshipped in all principal religions, Śrī as Lakshmī was also credited with multiple origins and relations in later times. That was because once she became the Goddess of Wealth, she became an object of adoration of all sects and religions. It appears that Lakshmī, in the sense of plenty (though not yet a goddess), occurs in the *Ṛigveda,* and that the *Atharvaveda* distinguishes the auspicious (*śiva*) and the inauspicious (*pāpishṭha*) Lakshmīs born with a mortal at the time of his birth. The *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* adds the interesting information that Śrī and Lakshmī are co-wives (of Āditya, according to the commentator), and this tradition of their distinction travelled down the ages, for even in the *Mahābhārata*[1] and the *Rāmāyana*[2] Śrī and Lakshmī are invoked together. But in some later traditions Śrī's co-wife is Bhūdevī or Bhūmidevī (Earth Goddess) as in South Indian Vaishṇavism; and Lakshmī's is Sarasvatī (Goddess of Learning) as in Bengal Vaishnava images. That Lakshmī was originally not linked with Vishṇu may be gathered from the fact that she was supposed to have been bestowed upon Vishnu after the churning of the ocean had brought her forth, though a later tradition would have it that she came out of the lotus which grew out of Vishṇu's forehead.

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[1] Cr. Ed., III, p. 127. 151* after III. 38, 25 (where it is treated as an interpolation). Bombay Edition, III. 37, 33.

[2] 3, 46, 16.

Once Lakshmī had come to be looked upon as the Goddess of Fortune (the aspect of beauty receding gradually into the background), she was accorded not only religious worship but also the homage of kings. The city goddesses (*nagara-devatā*) were probably as much protective deities as maintainers of luck and prosperity (*nagara-lakshmī*), and popular stories about their departure from a city were meant to convey the idea of imminent danger or reversal of fortune. As one interested in the continued prosperity of the ruling princes, Lakshmī came to be looked upon as Rājalakshmī, the Fortune of the king, and she could be persuaded to stay on so long as the king practised virtues and protected his subjects—otherwise Lakshmī would depart from him, as she had in the past left the Asuras because they had turned immoral. In literature and in coins, reference is made to city-gods, *e.g.* those of Rājagṛiha, Kapiśa, Ujjaiyinī, etc. In this way Pushkalāvatī was associated with Lakshmī.[1]

6. *Nāga or Serpent Worship*

At this distance of time it is difficult to make out what other gods were actually objects of sectarian worship during the millennium beginning with 600 B.C. We may presume that the Vedic fire-worship continued, though with diminished popularity. While, on the one hand, the more reflective section was forming sectarian and philosophical groups and groping for a stable monotheism, popular belief in gods and godlings, demons and spirits of the different departments of nature, on the other hand, did not materially decline; though the status of these beings came down in accordance with the faith accepted. Possibly, in keeping with the changing social condition, not only were new gods created, but the functions of the old gods also underwent modification and alteration. Contact with indigenous cults was responsible not only for the importation of new objects of worship, but also for the incorporation of new mythologies in the older cult.

An illustrative example is furnished by the cult of snakes which has penetrated into all the major sects of India. The Vedas not only knew of the serpent (*ahi*) but also of its injurious nature (Vritra being conceived as such) as well as its beneficent character (Ahirbudhnya being a beneficial agent). This ambivalent attitude towards this creature has persisted all through the centuries in India down to the present times. Its emergence as a cult object has been traced back to the Mohenjo-daro age in two seals where it appears in an attitude of devotion to a figure in *yogic* posture, possibly a god—an early anticipation of the close association of serpents with Śaiva (and Śākta) cult of later times. That Śiva and serpents should simultaneously get recognition as important cult objects in the *Yajurveda*, when both are absent as objects of veneration in the *Ṛigveda*, may not be a mere accident. The region in which the *Yajurveda* flourished included the land of the Pañchālas, whose later capital Ahichchhatra (modern Aonla near Bareilly), with Ādi Nāga as the presiding deity, may not unreasonably be associated with the cult of serpents—a cult of which vestiges probably remained till the reigns of Agnimitra and Bhānumitra, on the reverse sides of whose coins images of serpents have been noticed by some numismatists (though this has been contested by others).

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[1] See above, p. 116.

In the *Atharveveda* and the later Saṁhitās serpents (*sarpāḥ*) appear as semi-divine beings, and in the Gṛihya-sūtras, Nāgas, called for the first time by this name and supposed to belong to earth, sky, and heaven, as also to the quarters, receive adoration and worship. The *Niddesa*, too, refers to Nāga worshippers, and the Chhargaon life-size Nāga image is described as "worshipful Nāga (*bhagavā nāgo*)." It was installed in the reign of Huvishka in a tank, possibly in accordance with an early tradition that the serpents are the dwellers of the deep—a tradition which travelled down the centuries in folklore and literature as attested, for instance, by the Mathurā Museum image dated the 8th year of the reign of Kanishka.

That a systematic attempt was made to wean the people from the serpent cult may be inferred from the fact that every important religion of India had to incorporate snake-worship as an integral part of its creed. The Nāga was regarded sometimes as the spirit of a departed ancestor, and sometimes as a guardian of treasures in later times. Thus not only Śaivism, but Vaishṇavism, Buddhism, and even Jainism had to admit the serpent in a subordinate capacity in their own religious systems. Buddha receives the homage of Muchilinda and Elāpattra. Pārśvanātha has a serpent as his special symbol. Śiva and Durgā, and even Gaṇeśa and Sūrya, wear snakes. Vaishṇavism, too, absorbed the snake-cult in a different fashion. The hostile attitude is indicated by Vishṇu's carrier Garuḍa, the enemy of serpents, and the subjugation of Nāga Kāliya by Kṛishṇa as narrated in the *Harivaṁśa* and later literature; but the friendly attitude is indicated by the use of Śesha or Ananta as the couch or seat of Vishṇu. More significant is the belief that Balarāma is the incarnation of Śesha and, in fact, his death-scene is pictured as the departure of a huge white serpent from his mouth towards the sea. Still more significant is the story in the Anuśāsana-parvan that by worshipping the serpent Baladeva. one acquires the strength of the *Varāha* (Boar) incarnation of Vishṇu (and curiously enough in later sculptures of this incarnation Śesha appears as supporting one of the feet of the Boar).

When to this we add the information that the figure of Baladeva, often furnished with a cobra's hood, was probably modelled on that of Śesha, as in the Chhargaon statue of the "worshipful snake", and the region round about Mathurā still calls snake statues by the name of Baladeva (or simply the Elder Brother, *i.e.* of Kṛishṇa), it may not be unjustifiably inferred that at the back of the reverence paid to Balarāma, there lay veneration for some royal snake. Whatever might have been the association of serpents with the Brahmanic divinities, there is no doubt that they played a great part in popular belief; and snakes, human figures with hoods of an uneven number (one, three, five, seven, etc., presumably to produce a symmetrical effect with a central hood directly over the head) and mermaid-figures, half human and half serpentine, served to represent the Nāgas in sculpture and painting. The association with water travelled beyond the limits of India, and, in the island of Bali, Bāsuki or Nāga-Basāki is regarded as an attendant of the lord of waters (Baruṇa or Varuṇa).

7. *Miscellaneous Deities*

We may conclude our account of the lesser known cults of the period by referring to other types of belief which were less spectacular, but perhaps not less popular among the masses. From constant reference to sacred trees and tree emblems, it may be fairly inferred that the worship of *vṛiksha-chaityas* and *sthala-vṛikshas* continued with unabated ardour in some form or other from the time of the Sindhu valley civilisation onward. Tree spirits were not clearly personified, it is true, but like the serpents they were objects of popular veneration down the ages. By the side of the tree cult. the worship of Siddhas, Sādhyas, Gandharvas and such other minor deities was almost colourless—in fact, the meaning of the first two never gained much clarity.

One notable exception was the Yakshas, who gradually acquired prominence in later belief, and many of the earlier statues were of Yakshas who were sometimes regarded as the attendants of the greater gods and sometimes as objects of reverence themselves. The tree cult must have received an accession of strength when the custom of using trees as symbols of saints and worshipping them as such became fashionable, as, for instance, the Bodhi tree among the Buddhists.

We may well believe also that the practice of collecting stones and other symbols of divinity is an ancient custom, and that many of the village gods and goddesses, as in South India, were placed under trees which shared in the worship paid to the godlings underneath. Apparently, the Vedic idea that Gandharvas and Apsarases live in the trees was not abandoned even in later times, nor also the belief that the trees were themselves sentient beings and not merely the abodes of other spirits.

We purposely refrain from discussing the dread of demons and the propitiatory cults that must have been practised by the people at large to keep them in good humour. Magical formulae and incantations must have been largely used to placate the invisible spirits and to control their vagaries. The rivers also began to be venerated in larger numbers, and sacred streams, with *tīrthas* or sacred spots on their banks, are a distinctive feature of the *Mahābhārata*. Pilgrimage as a religious institution must have been strengthened by the peace and facilities for travel which resulted from settled government.

From what has been said above it will appear that the most remarkable facts in the religious history of the period are the amazing diversity of beliefs, a proneness to reverence, either towards gods or towards men of wisdom and morality, an eager pursuit of religious truths, and a tendency to make experiments in religious matters. Once the hold of the Vedic cult lost its grip and, later, the formalism of the Brāhmaṇas and the abstruse speculations of the Upanishads failed to satisfy the common man, the more earnest and devout souls sought comfort in *bhakti* to a personal god, while a bolder but not always more intellectual section sought out a saint or a religious reformer. But minor divinities continued, as of yore, to demand the allegiance of the illiterate and the superstitious. The most significant religious phenomena were, however, the rise into prominence of the two major gods, Vishṇu and Siva, and the establishment of the two major dissenting sects, Jainism and Buddhism. The minor sects had to make alliance with one or other of these, and were gradually absorbed into or transformed by these major cults. The period is also characterised by the virtual disappearance, towards its close, of the importance of Indra and Prajāpati, the two outstanding divine figures of the Vedic and the Brāhmaṇic age respectively.

G. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

1. *Philosophical Sūtras*

The earliest philosophical writings in India are the Upanishads. But they cannot be regarded as systematised. The rise of what may be called regular philosophical system belongs to the period which we are considering in this volume. In conformity with the literary style then in vogue, this systematic philosophy was composed in the form of *sūtras* or aphorisms whose nature has been indicated above.[1]

From the nature of things, the *sūtras* were accompanied and followed by long or short commentaries. The more elaborate commentaries were called *bhāshyas*. These *bhāshyas* themselves were commented upon and these commentaries were given other names. Before and after the *sūtras* and *bhāshyas*, small compendia, in prose or verse, were also composed to expound the philosophy of a school.

One interesting fact about the growth of Indian philosophy is that great writers and profound thinkers have appeared often only as commentators, without claiming to be original but as expositors of the thought of a master-mind who went before. Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Vyāsa, Vātsyāyana and a host of others were apparently only commentators of the *sūtras* of a system. They were no doubt profoundly original, but they never claimed to be so. Later ages acclaimed some of them as founders of schools; but they themselves never posed as such. They professed only to bring out the true meaning of preceding writers, who, they said, had been very much misunderstood.

The process of transition from the Upanishads to the Sūtras is not difficult to explain. The Upanishads often use cryptic language which requires elucidation. For instance, we have the injunction that Brahman should be worshipped as '*tadvanam*'[1] and as '*tajjalān*'.[2] These are not dictionary words and cannot be understood unless explained. Similarly, there are mutually contradictory statements. For example, *Taittirīya Upanishad*[3] says that in the beginning there was non-Being (*asat*) and Being arose from non-Being; but *Chhāndogya*[4] categorically asserts that in the beginning there was Being (*Sat*) and it was one and alone; and it goes on to argue that when some say that there was non-Being in the beginning and all Being came out of it, they assert the impossible. These are obviously contradictory statements. But can they really be contradictions? The Upanishads are *Śruti* or revealed. They are not the fruits of human authorship. They reveal the truth and truth is but one. The contradictions, therefore, are only apparent and must be reconciled. So the process of elucidation, reconciliation and synthesis began and must have been carried on for years, maybe for centuries, until we reach the *sūtras* of the Vedānta and of other schools of philosophy.

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[1] Vol. I. p. 472.

The composition of *sūtras* marks a stage in the development of Indian philosophy but, within the body of the *sūtras* of each system of philosophy, there are marks of a more or less steady growth. Within them, we find refutation of other systems of thought. These refutations, therefore, must have been incorporated in the *sūtras* after all the other systems had been fully developed. We cannot imagine that all the systems started their career at exactly the same time and grew side by side in equal pace. We have, therefore, to conclude that after the original nuclei of *sūtras* were composed, additions were made to them in subsequent years to suit the exigencies of clash with other philosophies. But, after a time, these *sūtras* became rigid and there was no further change. The main schools of these Sūtras are six in number, Vaiśeshika, Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, and Uttara Mīmāṁsā or Vedānta. These six systems are usually regarded as constituting three pairs according to their affinities and similarities. The first two form one pair, the second two another, and the remaining two the third. This was their relation for a long time. But in the third pair a cleavage occurred in later times, leading to the complete isolation and independence of the last school, viz. Vedānta. After this Vedānta acquired a special importance, but was eventually sub-divided into several more or less famous schools. The founders of the six orthodox systems were : Kaṇāda (Vaiśeshika), Gautama Akshapāda (Nyāya), Kapila (Sāṅkhya), Patañjali (Yoga), Jaimini (Pūrva Mīmāṁsā), and Bādarāyaṇa (Vedānta).

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[1] *Kena*, iv. 31.
[2] *Chhānd*, iii. 14-1.
[3] ii, 7.
[4] vi. 2.

So far we are on tolerably sure ground, but the moment we think of fixing a date for the composition of these Sūtras, we find ourselves in difficulty. Chronology has always been a knotty point in both the political and cultural history of ancient India, and we find a wide divergence of opinion among scholars regarding the relative chronological position of the different Sūtras as well as the dates to which they are to be assigned. A detailed discussion of this question is unnecessary for our purpose.

It will suffice here to state that generally speaking Vaiśeshika and Nyāya Sūtras are regarded as the earliest and Sāṅkhya as the latest. Dr. S. N. Das Gupta regards Vaiśeshika as pre-Buddhistic, while Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri thinks that the final redaction of Vaiśeshika and Nyāya Sūtras took place between the fourth and second centuries B.C., the Vaiśeshika being earlier than the Nyāya. Dr. Das Gupta places the Sāṅkhya Sūtras after A.D. 900, but Prof. M. Hiriyanna places what according to him is the earliest Sāṅkhya book, *viz.* Īśvarakṛishṇa's *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā,* in the fifth century A.D. Of the other Sūtras, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta Sūtras are placed by Dr. Das Gupta about 200 B.C., while Prof. Hiriyanna brings them down respectively to A.D. 200 and 400. As regards the Yoga Sūtras, Dr. Das Gupta refers them to about 147 B.C., but they are placed by some as late as the fifth century A.D. Thus the proposed dates for the different Sūtras vary over a wide range of more than a thousand years between the fifth century B.C. and fifth or ninth century A.D. According to Prof. Radhakrishnan, however, the Sūtra period begins with A.D. 200.

We must guard ourselves against a possible confusion between the systems and the Sūtras. The systems of philosophy certainly had their beginnings much earlier, earlier perhaps than even Buddha, but the texts of the Sūtras which embody their conclusions were composed later. We may provisionally accept the view of Prof. Radhakrishnan and refer the composition of the Sūtras between two to five centuries *after* rather than *before* the Christian era. In view of the chronological uncertainties we shall only briefly indicate here the leading philosophical thoughts and tendencies of the period.

The systems into which they crystallised will be dealt with in the next volume.

2. *The Lines of Thought and the Problems*

(i) *Āstika and Nāstika (Orthodox and Heterodox) Philosophy*

In the Upanishads themselves we find an important distinction drawn between *aparā* and *parā vidyā,* or lower and higher knowledge[1] and also between *avidyā* and *vidyā,* false and true knowledge.[2] It is also pointed out that the lower knowledge is the knowledge of the Vedas proper and their adjuncts, whereas the higher knowledge is that of the Indestructible (*aksharam*).[3] This is a very important distinction. The voluminous Vedic literature with all its auxiliaries and the mass of sacrifices and ceremonies which it inculcated were gradually losing their importance in the eyes of thinking men. These sacrifices, however, were supported by the authority of the Vedas. A revolt against the Vedas themselves was thus already brewing. But a part of these very Vedas—their latter part or the end, *i.e.* the Vedānta—talked of a higher knowledge than that of the sacrifices. It was to this, then, that the philosophic mind turned for enlightenment. This introduced the distinction between work (*karma*) and meditation (*jñāna*); a higher value was assigned to meditation and this gave us our philosophy.

This tendency to drift away from the massive and elaborate Vedic sacrifices did not stop with the discovery of a philosophy. More intrepid thinkers arose, who wanted to discard the Vedas completely and openly rebelled against them. One such minor rebellion is typified in Chārvāka. We do not know his exact date; we do not even know whether it is a personal name or only a descriptive epithet. But the teachings associated with this name have been partially preserved. They are in short a complete denunciation of the Vedas, their authors and the religion they taught. This attack, if the account that we have of it is faithful, sometimes verges on vulgarity. Thus it is averred that the Vedas were the work of three kinds of men—cheats, hypocrites and flesh-eaters—and that the language of the Vedas was utter gibberish; reference is also made to certain unclean customs connected with the horse-sacrifice. But the more powerful, systematic and philosophic attack upon the Vedic cult was led by two well-known names in history—the founders of Jainism and Buddhism.

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[1] *Muṇḍaka,* i, 4.
[2] *Kaṭhā,* i, 2. 5.
[3] *Muṇḍaka,* i, 5.

When an accepted creed is attacked, naturally defenders also come forward on its behalf. When there were persons who denounced *karma* (sacrificial work), there were others who supported it; and when there were people who attacked the Vedic religion, others arose to take up cudgels for it. A battle of intellect and of words raged furiously for several centuries before and after the birth of Buddha.

Two questions gradually emerged out of this turmoil, *viz.* the validity of the Vedas and the reality of the Vedic gods. The first grew into the problem of knowledge and the second into the problem of reality. The first question was about 'how we know and what our sources of knowledge are', and 'whether the Vedas were a source of knowledge at all'; and the other question was about 'what it was, in the last analysis, that we know'.

Thought engaging itself with these questions split up into two lines called the *āstika* and the *nāstika*—the believing and the unbelieving. Though these words have been used in more than one sense, usually an *āstika* is one who accepts the Vedas and believes in their validity, and a *nāstika* is an unbeliever who rejects the Vedas. The one is orthodox while the other is heterodox. These were the connotations in which the terms were used by Hindu writers who coined them. Heterodoxy, however, is a relative term. If the rejection of the Vedas is heterodoxy to a Hindu, rejection of Buddha is equally so to a Buddhist. But as the victor in a war dictates the terms of peace, the Hindu meaning of these terms has prevailed in India; and a modern writer has no option but to accept it

(ii) *Source of Knowledge*

The technical name in Sanskrit for a source of knowledge is *pramāṇa*. The question that came to the forefront, as between the heterodox and orthodox thinkers, was the one about the *pramāṇa* The heterodox thinkers rejected the Vedas. Now, the Vedas are a collection of words which were revealed, according to the orthodox view, to inspired seers. To reject the Vedas, therefore, meant the rejection of testimony or the evidence of other men as a source of knowledge. This is exactly what the unbelievers were believed to have done.

The extreme heterodox view, associated with the name of Chārvāka, was that perception was the only source of knowledge. That which could not be perceived by the senses did not exist. This is too gross a proposition to stand scrutiny and it was easily answered. When Chārvāka went out of his home on any occasin, his wife could not see him for a time. Did she become a widow forthwith and began to mourn his loss? So, even that which is not seen is known and believed to exist, as Chārvāka was by his wife.

This defect was mended in the Buddhist view that inference also was a source of knowledge, but this did not carry philosophy far enough. Inference is based on what we have perceived and generalised: on general propositions like 'All S is P,' which are obtained by uncontradicted experience. The root of inference is in experience or perception. Deeper spiritual truths—truths about God, the other world, etc.—could not be known by inference of this kind.

All orthodox thinkers agreed that the Vedas *were* a source of knowledge. In fact this belief was the real criterion of orthodoxy. About other sources of knowledge, divergence of views existed and was allowed. So, to perception and inference, they added the Vedas or *śabda* (word), as they were technically called, and the number became three. To these a fourth was added by some, *viz.*, analogy. If you are told that X is like Y and then see a thing which is *like* Y, you know at once that it is X. To these four, two more sources of knowledge were gradually added, *viz.* non-perception and presumption. You know that there is no elephant in your room because you do not see any. And if you see a fat man but never see him take any food during day-time, you may *presume* that he takes food unseen, maybe at night. This list of sources of knowledge was further enlarged by some by the addition of tradition and a few others.

The central theme, however, remained the authority of the Vedas. When even tradition was added to the list of sources of knowledge, the desire perhaps was to augment the authority of the Vedas. If you continuously hear from people that there is a ghost in yonder tree, are you not inclined to believe it? Yet, that is only heresay which, according to modern law, is no evidence at all. But if you can accept continued tradition as a source of knowledge, how much more credence should you give to the Vedas—the eternal word which has been revealed to man?

In the acceptance of the Vedas as a source of knowledge, all orthodox thinkers agreed. They also agreed in holding that life was full of ills, and escape from it was the highest object of desire. They further agreed that this escape could be effected only by meditation on the highest truth. Barring the acceptance of the Vedas as a source of knowledge, they agree so far with the heterodox thinkers, but they differ among themselves and also from the heterodox thinkers in their account of Reality.

(iii) *Reality in Orthodox Philosophy: The World*

Orthodoxy clung to the view that there was some *permanent* reality, whereas heterodoxy was not wedded to any such view. As to the character of this reality, opinions varied. About the external world around us, orthodoxy was not committed to any particular theory, and wide divergence of views has existed. And if we take into account the heterodox views also, it will be found that most of the theories about the world that philosophy has known up till now were put forward in some shape or other by the thinkers of India.

Three orthodox views come out in sharp contrast: (1) Some held that the world was a conglomeration of atoms which were themselves uncreated. These atoms exist independently of our thought. They are of four kinds, having the qualities of smell, taste, touch and light. When they combine, they make the things of the world; and when they disintegrate, these things are destroyed. Causation, therefore, implies the introduction of new things into the world. The effect is not inherent in the cause.

(2) Another theory is that the world is due to a mysterious interaction between a plurality of eternal and unchanging individual souls, which are conscious, and an unconscious principle, which is akin to the feminine principle in nature and becomes active as soon as it contacts a soul. According to this theory, the world is already inherent in the feminine principle which has been given the technical name of *prakṛiti;* the effect is always in the cause, just as curd is potentially present in the milk. Causation implies only a change of state.

(3) According to the third view, there was only one eternal, unchanging substance which manifested itself in the manifold changes of the world, the variety of things and qualities, and finite selves. This substance was a conscious principle. But the world

with its manifold, changing phases was only an appearance and not a reality. It was only an error, an illusion that we believed in this multiplicity of things. In ultimate knowledge, the differentiation between one thing and another and between self and not-self has no basis. It is all a huge error. That one thing produces another, that the non-existent comes into existence is a difficult proposition to accept. Causation cannot be understood as a change of state, for the unchanging substance cannot change; nor can it be the beginning of a new thing, for a non-existing thing cannot come into existence. If the world is not an illusion, at least its appearance must be regarded as a great Mystery (*anirvāchya*), inexpressible and inexplicable.

(4) To these three, a fourth may be added, which is a combination of the second and the third. According to this view, the source of the world is a conscious principle but the world is not an illusion; it is real; it expresses the ultimate substance and is its vehicle so to say, and it belongs to the substance like a quality to a thing.

The question of Reality is not exhausted by an account of the external world only. It includes also the question of the individual soul and of a creative God. On these questions also the orthodox thinkers have differed widely. And if we take into account the heterodox views also alongside of them, it will be found that between a total denial of the soul and an affirmation that it varies in size with the size of the body, different views about its character and destiny have been held. And about God also, between the assertion of His non-existence and an identification of Him with the Universe, He has been delineated in several other ways.

CHAPTER XX

ART

A. ARCHITECTURE

The numerous objects and buildings unearthed in the Sindhu valley, which have been described above,[1] constitute the earliest examples of the art and architecture of India. Then follows a long gap, and it is not till about the third century B.C. that we once more come across the vestiges of a flourishing artistic culture. It is difficult to believe that the powerful traditions of the earlier age died out altogether, and it is not unlikely that the products of the intermediate period still lie hidden under the soil or, being made of perishable materials like wood, have vanished altogether without leaving any trace. In any case, though the link between the Sindhu valley and Mauryan art is missing, and a complete hiatus separates the two, literary evidence leaves no doubt that the activities of both architects and sculptors continued during the intervening period.

I. *Cities*

The Buddhist canon[2] testifies to the existence in India of populous cities with large buildings long before the time of the Buddha. Very few vestiges of these early cities have, however, been preserved. It is stated by Arrian, who is believed to have based his *Indica* on the accounts of Megasthenes, that cities on the banks of rivers and in other low-lying spots were built of wood; and those in more commanding positions, where they were less exposed to floods, of mud or brick. It is because of the impermanent character of the materials used in the buildings of these ancient cities that they have crumbled into ruins, and nothing exists above ground, except a part of the city walls of Rājagṛiha. These were built, in cyclopaean fashion, of massive unheaven blocks of stone pierced by gateways (pl. II, 2), each flanked on either side by a semi-circular bastion, over which probably rose the watch-tower, an almost invariable feature of these fortress cities.

References of cities and municipal organisations are found in Buddhist literature, in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* and in the epics;

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[1] Vol. I, Ch. IX.
[2] *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*SBE*. XI), 99.

and a graphic picture of the plan and lay-out of an early Indian city is given in *Milinda-pañha.*[1] It speaks of a city "fine and regular, measured out into quarters, with excavated moats and ramparts about it, with stout gatehouses and towers, with market-places, cross-roads, street-corners and public squares, with cleanly and even main roads, with regular lines of open shops, well provided with parks, gardens, lakes, lotus ponds and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples of the gods, free from every fault and standing in all its glory."

This description appears to hold good for earlier periods too and, shorn of its superfluities, the standard scheme of an early city may be summarised as follows: it is surrounded by a moat or moats and further protected by a wall (*pākāra, prākāra*) running all around. The plan is rectangular, usually square, with gate or gatehouses (*dvāra, dvārakoṭṭhaka*) in the middle of each side, the gateway being approached by a bridge across the moat. Four main streets from the four gateways led to the centre of the city, which is laid out in quarters (*bhāgaso mitaṁ*).

Ahichchhatra, the capital of the Pañchāla country, as now excavated, appears to have been a city of this type. Its walls, built of burnt brick, still rise to a height of 40 to 50 feet. Details of the planning of the city are not yet clear, but in the centre stood a large temple to which the main thoroughfares of the city converged.[2]

An idea of what these early cities looked like may be obtained from representations of some of them in the reliefs of Bhārhut, Sānchī, Amarāvatī, Mathurā, etc. In these reliefs, many of the historic cities of ancient India like Rājagṛiha, Śrāvastī, Vārāṇasī, Kapilavastu, Kuśīnagara, etc. have been shown. An outer view of the city wall with its gatehouse and defensive towers, and occasionally some glimpse of the buildings inside, may be had from these reliefs. The moat surrounding the city is indicated in the reliefs by lotuses (pl. II, 3), actual water being shown in many cases. The city walls are usually shown as made of brick, though in one Sānchī relief a wooden wall of palisade construction may clearly be recognised. The walls are sometimes provided with re-entrant angles. They are finished off at the top either by a coping or more usually by battlements. The gatehouse is flanked by two high towers (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka, gopura-aṭṭālaka*), projecting from the gatehouse, joined to each other

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1. I. 34 and 330 ff; *SBE*, XXXV, 53; XXXVI, 208-9.
2. The author is indebted to the manuscript of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit for the information about Ahichchhatra.

by a porch (*śālā*). The gatehouse is equal in height to that of the wall; the gatehouse towers soaring higher up add to the strength and dignity of the entire scheme. The towers rise to several storeys, the topmost one having a barrel-vaulted roof with gable ends. The dimensions of the gatehouse are often wide enough to provide passage for chariots and horses and elephants with riders, as is shown in some of the reliefs (pl. III, 4). Accessory defence towers also occasionally occur just inside the gateway building.

Quite distinct from the gatehouse stand occasionally *toraṇas*, usually represented as situated at the far end of the bridge communicating with the gateway. Such *toraṇas* were made of two free-standing upright pillars supporting one or more architraves at the top, evidently imitated from wooden construction, if not actually made of wood. Apparently they had no value for defensive purposes and were probably meant as ornamental accessories.

An idea of the buildings within the city may also be gleaned by reference to early Indian reliefs. The buildings usually consist of several storeys, the topmost storey having a wagon-vaulted roof with gables at either end with pointed finials at the top. They usually face a court, occasionally enclosed on either side by subsidiary structures, but left open in front (cf. Sānchī, east gate). Sometimes a *toraṇa*, consisting of two upright pillars surmounted by two or three architraves, leads to the court in front of the building (Amarāvatī). The upper storeys are provided with balustraded verandahs (*alindas*) in front. They are sometimes found to be supported on pillars, in which case the ground floor partakes more of the character of an open pavilion intended probably as an assembly hall. The pillars are either square or round, sometimes with the so-called "bell capitals" at the top (cf. Bhārhut). The upper floor is negotiated by stairways supported on a framework of beams and rafters resting on pillars. In a relief from Mathurā (c. second century A.D.) we have the view of an external stairway which is roofed at the top and provided with railings at the sides (pl. IV A, 6.). It is entered through an archway with a latticed screen at the top. The same relief gives us the replica of a pleasure palace within a garden rising in three storeys, the topmost one having probably a tiled roof (pl. IV A, 7).

The appearance of the buildings, shown in early relief carvings, leaves no doubt that they were made of impermanent materials, particularly of wood, the essentials of wooden technique being scrupulously imitated in these relief representations. In the façades of the early caves probably survive the frontages of these early buildings (pl. III, 5), and here, too, the stamp and impress of wooden construction are clear and explicit. Nevertheless, they were usually large and imposing structures, their beauty and decorative richness being amply testified to not only by the relief carvings of early Indian art but also by the elaborate cave façades, which are clear copies of the structural modes and patterns in wood. Such cities as are represented in early relief carvings were apparently being built even from the beginning of the period under discussion. On account of the limited scope of the material there was very little change in the shape and form of the buildings, but gradually they become richer and overlaid with a wealth of ornament, the like of which can very seldom be seen. These buildings thus appear to present a strong contrast to the earliest Indian buildings of secular character, *viz.* those of the Sindhu valley cities, which were strictly of a utilitarian character and devoid of any ornament.

Some idea of the grandeur of ancient cities and buildings can be formed from the description of Pāṭaliputra by classical writers and Fa-hien.[1] Fragments of the huge wooden palisade of the city have been unearthed by Dr. Spooner at Bulandi Bagh (pl. V, 8) near modern Patna and these prove by their size that the classical accounts of the dimensions of the city walls are by no means exaggerated. Subsequent excavations at the site of Kumrahar nearby have unearthed the remains of the palace, unfortunately extremely fragmentary in character. The palace appears to have been an aggregate of buildings, the most important of which was an immense pillared hall supported on a high substratum of wood. The pillars were set in regular rows, thus dividing the hall into a number of smaller square bays. Fragments of stone pillars, including one nearly complete, with their round tapering shafts and smooth polish indicate that the great Aśoka was responsible for the construction of the hall, or at least for the stone columns which replaced the earlier wooden ones. The comparison of the palace buildings of Pāṭaliputra with those of Susa and Ecbatana by the classical writers is perhaps not without some significance, and a close parallel to the Mauryan palace, as excavated, may be recognised in the Achaemenid Hall of Hundred Columns at Persepolis.[2]

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[1] Above, pp. 67, 86.

[2] Spooner in *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 63 ff, 403 ff. But his views have not been generally accepted. Cf. also R. P. Chanda, *Beginnings of Art in Eastern India* (*MASI*. No. 30), p. 12.

II. *Religious Architecture*

It has often been remarked that Indian art is the handmaid of religion, and this remains substantially true of architecture as well as of the other formative arts, in spite of the grandeur of secular buildings. The desire for a permanent habitation was more keenly felt in religious than in secular architecture and hence the change from perishable to more durable materials occurred much earlier in respect of sacred buildings. The rise of new religious sects, described in Chapter XIX, must have given a great impetus to art. The *stūpa,* which represents a domed structure of brick or stone masonry, chapels, usually known as *chaitya* halls, and monasteries formed important monuments of the Jain and Buddhist faith. The *Bhakti* cult gave a great impetus to the construction of images and *devagṛihas* or 'houses of gods'. It was the custom to erect *dhvajastambhas,* or columns bearing the emblems of the gods, in front of such sanctuaries, and several of them, associated particularly with the worship of Vishṇu in his *Vyūha* forms, still stand in and around Besnagar in the old Gwālior State. There is thus clear evidence of prolific architectural activity in religious buildings of the different denominations. Our knowledge of the sanctuaries of the structural order, built, as they were mostly, of impermanent materials, is, however, very meagre. We can only trace a continuous movement in respect of the *stūpa* and give some account of the *chaityas* and monasteries hewn out of rock.

1. *The Stūpa*

In the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*[1] Buddha enjoins Ānanda to erect at the crossing of four highways (*chātummahāpathe*) a *stūpa* over the remains of his body, after it has been burnt on the funeral pyre, in the same manner as the *stūpa* of a universal monarch. It is. therefore, clear that the custom of rearing *stūpas* was pre-Buddhist. The Jains also erected this form of memorial in early times, but it is the Buddhists who particularly selected and adapted it to their own use. In course of time it acquired a special Buddhistic association as containing a relic (*dhātu*) of the Master or of his chief disciples, and as making a spot associated with some important event in the life of the Buddha or in the history of Buddhism. As enshrining a relic symbolising the Master himself, a devotional aspect was also implicit from the very beginning, and *stūpas* were set up as votive objects in sanctuaries, known as *chaitya* halls. They were also erected on sacred Buddhist sites as pious works, the gift of a *stūpa* being reckoned as meritorious as that of an image, even when the latter came to be in prolific use. Apart from objects for which they were raised, there is, however, no other indication by which they can be distinguished from one another, and architecturally all these classes must be treated as one. The origin of the *stūpa* has given rise to many theories. The most probable view seems to be that this hemispherical structure emerged out of the earthen funeral mounds (*śmaśānas*), under which, according to the Vedic rituals, the ashes of the dead were buried.

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[1] *Digha Nikāya,* XVI, 5, 11; *SBE,* XI, 93.

The earliest of the *stūpas* now extant represents a plain and simple structure consisting of a hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*), placed on a low circular base and surmounted by a square box (*harmikā*), which is further crowned by the parasol or umbrella (*chhatra*), the symbol of universal paramountcy. The dome was the principal element of the *stūpa* and was surrounded by a *pradakshiṇāpatha*, or passage for circumambulation, occasionally fenced off by a railing or wall.

This original form of the *stūpa* may be recognised in the Great *Stūpa* at Sānchī (Bhopāl State),[1] which represents one of the earliest specimens now extant. Originally built of brick in Aśoka's time, the Great *Stūpa* was enlarged to nearly twice its size and enveloped in stone, perhaps a century later, when the stone railings and the gateways were also added. As the diagram opposite shows, the *stūpa* presents an almost semi-circular dome, truncated near the top, and is supported on a sloping circular base, which was approached by a broad double ramp on the southern side, and was formally used as an upper procession path (6 feet wide) for *pradakshiṇā* around the monument. On the flattened summit there was a small square pavilion (*harmikā*), surrounded by a railing, from the centre of which rose the shaft of the umbrella discs (pl. V, 9).

The original brick *stūpa* was in all probability enclosed by a wooden fence, later replaced by the massive stone balustrade which now surrounds the enlarged monument encased in stone. It consists of octagonal upright posts (*thaba*, from Sanskrit *stambha*) capped by a continuous coping stone (*uhṇīsa*, from Sanskrit

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[1] The Great *Stūpa* is the principal monument among a number of such remains at Sānchī and the adjacent region, collectively known as the Bhilsa topes. Within an area of about 10 miles by 6 miles there may be found five or six groups of *stūpas* containing nearly sixty individual examples. None of them may be dated prior to the time of Aśoka, and some are distinctively later.

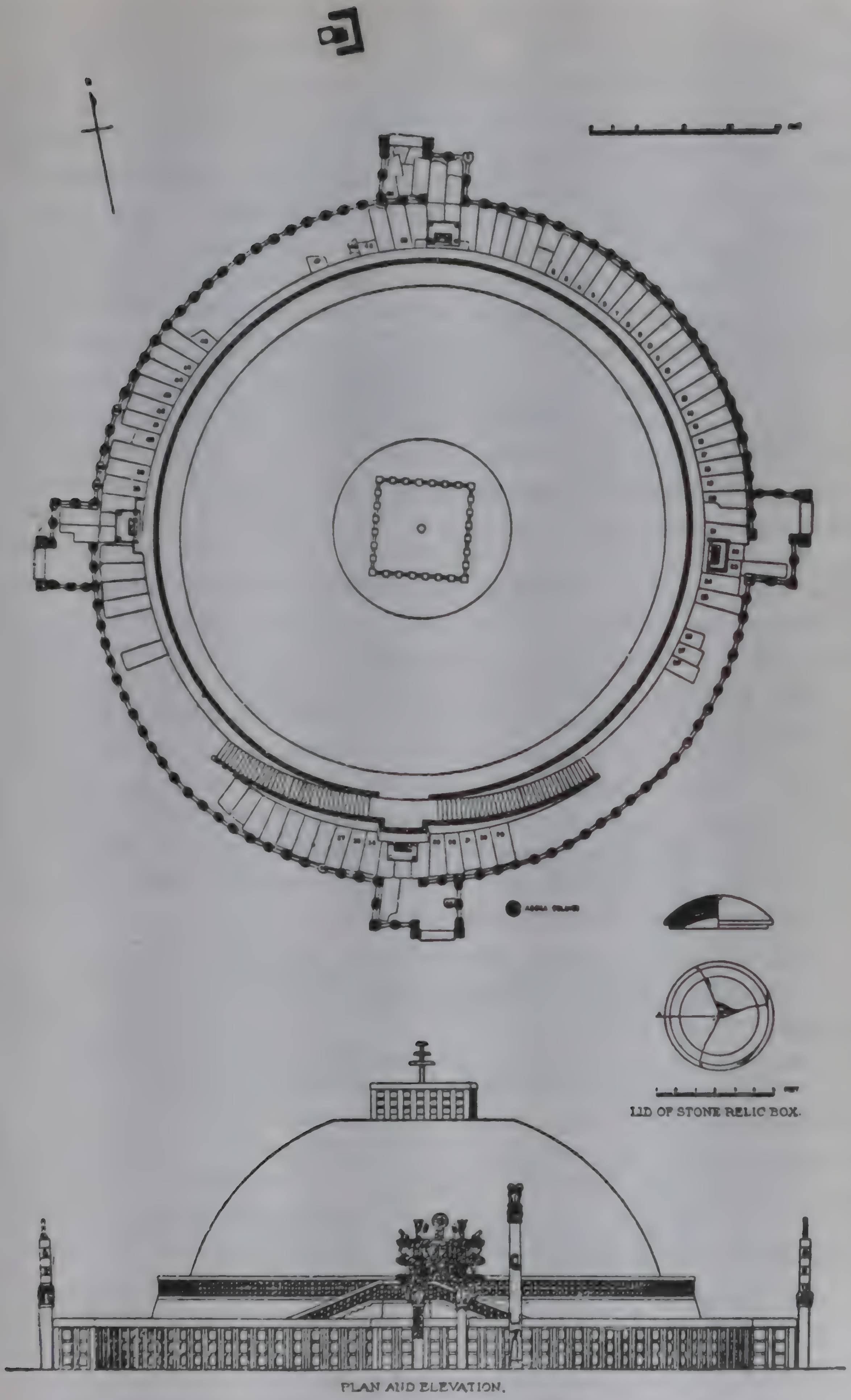
LID OF STONE RELIC BOX.
PLAN AND ELEVATION.

Fig. 1. Sānchī, Great *Stūpa*.

ushṇīsha), rounded at the top and fixed to the posts by means of tenons socketed to mortices. The posts are further connected with one another by three horizontal rails or cross-bars (*sūchis*), which are slipped into the lense-shaped holes cut on the sides of the upright posts. The mode of construction of this stone rail is essentially wooden, every joint being practically the same as that employed by a carpenter working in wood. On the four sides of the *stūpa* are four gateways (*toraṇas*), each projecting a little from the line of the ground balustrade. In design and dimensions they resemble one another. Each of them consists of two upright posts, surmounted by three architraves, placed horizontally one above the other (pl. IV, 10).

The same process of wooden technique is manifest in its construction, the architraves being morticed into the posts and the projecting ends, separately affixed on either side, being supported by means of brackets of various shapes and designs. The crowning finials, representing the various symbols of the faith like the *triratna*, the *dharmachakra*, etc., are also morticed into the topmost architrave. All the four gateways are covered with the most elaborate sculptures,[1] in contrast to the rails which are kept severely plain. *Stūpa* No. 3 at Sānchī is also surrounded by a similar rail, but with a single gateway. The *stūpa* at Bhārhut in the old Nāgod State, Madhya Bhārat, was also surrounded by rails and gateways of similar design, a portion of which may now be seen in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The Bhārhut rail, however, instead of being plain, was richly carved. Carvings of analogous but cruder workmanship also characterised the ground balustrade of *stūpa* No. 2 at Sānchī. The style of the carvings of both would place these rails to a period earlier than those of the Sānchī *toraṇas*.

The structure which obtained the greatest celebrity in Asia was the relic-tower or pagoda which Kanishka erected at Purushapura (Peshāwar) over the relics of the Buddha. Chinese pilgrims furnish us with graphic accounts of this remarkable monument, which consisted of "a basement in five stages (150 feet), a superstructure of carved wood in thirteen storeys (400 feet), surmounted by an iron column with from thirteen to twenty-five gilt copper umbrellas (88 feet), making a total height of 638 feet."[2] Because of its graceful proportions, Fa-hien describes it to be of incomparable beauty and adds: "tradition says that this was the

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[1] The carvings of the different gateways offer well-marked divergences in style, a fact that may indicate that the gateways were erected at different periods, though not far removed from one another. Cf. the next section on Sculpture.

[2] *HIIA*, p. 53.

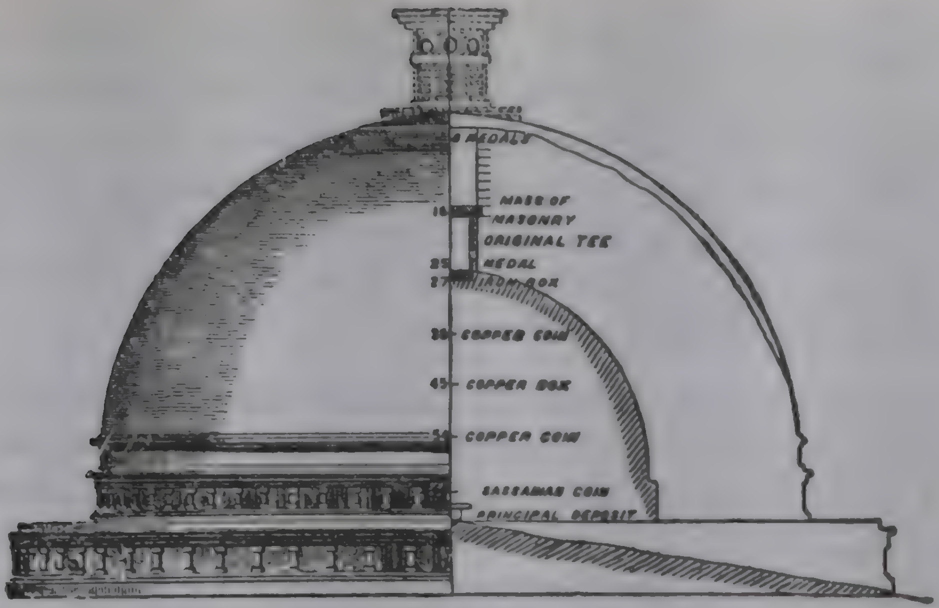
MEDALS
MASS OF
10
MASONRY
ORIGINAL TEE
25
MEDAL
27
IRON BOX
36
COPPER COIN
45
COPPER BOX
54
COPPER COIN
SASSANIAN COIN
PRINCIPAL DEPOSIT

Fig. 2. Mānikyāla, Great *Stūpa*: Section

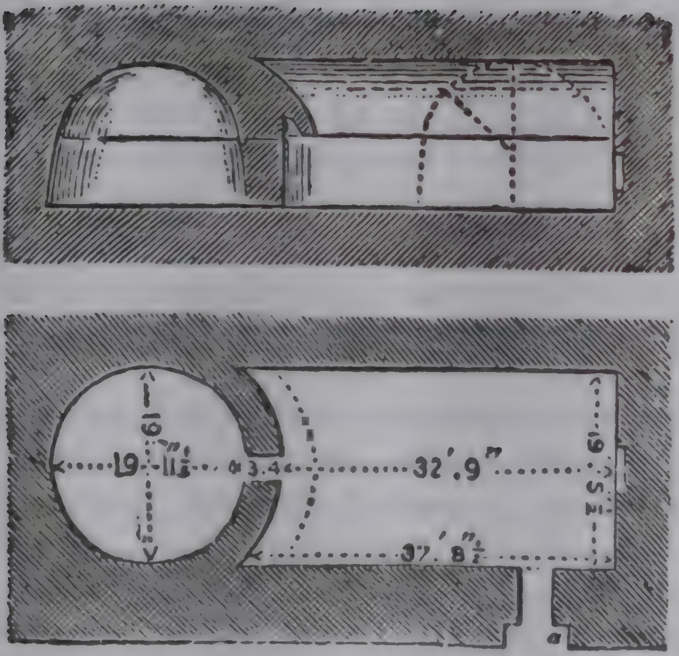
19
19 11½
3.4
32'.9"
19
5
32'.8½"
a

Fig. 3. Barābar Sudāmā Cave: Plan and Section

highest tower in Jambudvīpa." The tower was already in decay when Hiuen Tsang visited it, and gradually every vestige was obliterated by its own crumbling ruins. The site has been identified with Shāh-jī-kī-Dheri and excavated, revealing a base that appears to have been 286 feet in diameter; the monument may hence be regarded as having been the largest of its kind in India. The casket containing the relic has also been found and is now a priceless possession of the Peshāwar Museum.

The region round Peshāwar—ancient Gandhāra—has preserved the remains of quite a large number of *stūpas*, showing the different stages of its evolution. The traditional hemispherical form as presented by the great *stūpa* at Sānchī is clearly recognised in the small *stūpa* at Chakpat in the Swāt valley and in the great *stūpa* at Mānikyāla (Fig. 2) in the Punjāb. The characteristic tendency to the elongation of the *stūpa* is also equally apparent in Gandhāra. This may be recognised in the provision of a tall drum or a series of drums, raised over a square plinth of one or more terraces approached by stairways. The topmost section of the drum supports the hemispherical dome with a square *harmikā* and crowned by a many-tiered *chhatrāvalī* of conical shape. The last is made up of flat round discs rising one above the other in gradually diminishing sizes, the uppermost one tapering to a point. Although the height and elongation of the structure are thus clearly emphasised, the hemispherical dome still retains its position of importance. The body of the *stūpa*, especially of the plinth and the drum, is richly carved with sculptures set in niches between pilasters all around, and this arrangement forms the characteristic mode of ornamentation of the Gandhāran *stūpas*, particularly those of the post-Christian era. Miniature votive *stūpas* (pl. VI, 11) of this distinctive shape and form have been found in large numbers in different sites throughout Gandhāra and gives us an idea of what the bigger monuments of this order, now mostly ruined, looked like in their original state.

Stūpas were also erected in southern India from a fairly early period, and the Andhra region seems to have been literally studded with them. The most important of these monuments were situated at Amarāvatī,[1] Bhaṭṭiprolu, Jaggayyapeta,[2] Ghaṇṭaśāla, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, etc. Unfortunately, not one of these monuments can now be seen in its entirety. But the sculptured replicas on the casing slabs (pl. VI, 12) of these *stūpas* enable us to ascertain the distinctive characteristics of the *stūpa* monuments of this region. The technique of building up these *stūpas* is somewhat singular. The foundation and the body of the *stūpa* were built in brick, which in the earlier examples was solid. Later on, probably to reduce weight and to economise material, the inner body was composed of two circular walls, one at the hub and the other at the outer end, with radiating partition walls joining the two, the intervening spaces being packed with earth; and thus the entire monument was given the required shape. This inner body was next encased with slabs of stone, usually richly carved marble, the top being finished in moulded stucco.

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[1] The monument in its earliest form seems to have been built about 200 B.C. but as nothing remains except the foundations, the original shape and form of the earlier monument are not known. The form presented by the replica on the casing slab was that of the *stūpa* as reconstructed about the second century A.D.

[2] These two *stūpas* were probably co-eval with the original *stūpa* at Amarāvatī.

The lofty circular terrace, which formed the drum and emphasised the height of the *stūpa,* was provided with a rectangular projection on each cardinal face. The sides of the projection formed stairways leading to the upper processional path, while the front was converted into an altar piece. The top of the projected offset, ending in a platform on a level with the upper terrace, supported five free-standing slender pillars, known as *āyaka-khambas* (*āryaka-stambhas*) or the 'worshipful columns'. This is a distinctive feature, not met with elsewhere, and adds considerably to the architectural appearance of the monument as a whole. Another distinctive characteristic of these southern *stūpas* is the fact that not only the ground balustrade which surrounds the monument but even the drum and the hemispherical dome are richly carved.

A study of the evolution of the *stūpa* would show that there was a general tendency towards the elevation of each component part. This gave it an elongated appearance, and the term 'tower', by which the Chinese pilgrims usually designate it, is not altogether inappropriate. The changed character is clearly borne out by a comparison of the early pre-Christian *stūpas* with their mediaeval successors in India and Further India. In the earliest of the *stūpa* monuments, the almost hemispherical dome is the principal member of such a structure, and the base and the finials are but accessory parts, having a proportionate relation of subordinance in comparison with the main element. But due to the growing tendency towards height and elongation, the *stūpa* ultimately attains a spire-like shape, in which the original hemispherical dome loses its dominating importance,

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Though early, they already exhibit distinctive features like the *āyaka* projection in each of the cardinal points, the lofty drum, etc.

being cramped into an insignificant position between the lofty basement and drum on the one hand, and the series of tapering *chhatrāvalī*, that has been transformed into a high and conical architectural motif, on the other.

2. *The Chaitya Hall*

Before the introduction of images, the *stūpa*, as enshrining the relics of the Master, was the centre and focus of the devotion and adoration of the Buddhists. As the most outstanding and ubiquitous emblem of the faith, it became the central object to which the prayers and devotion of the faithful could be directed. It is not surprising, therefore, that the worship of the *stūpa* was a popular theme in early Indian art. *Stūpas* having the character of sacred monuments are known as the *chaityas*, and the *chaitya* hall is really a shrine in which the votive *chaitya* occupied the place of the altar. Such sanctuaries appear to have existed from very early times, and the ruined foundations of *chaitya* halls traced at Sānchī, Sārnāth, Sonāri, etc. might probably have belonged to the period of Aśoka. But with very few exceptions, the *chaitya* halls, now extant, are hewn out of living rock. These are almost certainly excavated copies of wooden structural buildings of which we find sculptured replicas in early Indian art. This alone can explain why the peculiarities of wooden construction, though useless and redundant in cave excavations, persist there as significant and distinctive characteristics. Their comparative approximation to wooden prototypes also serves as a useful guide to the chronological and stylistic position of these caves.

Rock-cut architecture was specially suited to India because of the convenient physical texture of her rocks, particularly those of western India, where the majority of such monuments may be found. Further, the idea, inherent in the Indian mind, of the unchangeable and immutable nature of the god and his abode is better expressed in a rock-hewn than in structural form which, even if constructed of the best and the most permanent of materials, cannot be expected to be as durable. Hence it was that the rock-cut form remained a characteristic mode of architectural expression in India for more than a thousand years.

The *chaitya* hall, in its fully developed form, bears a curious resemblance to the Christian church, not only in shape but also, to some extent, in use. It consisted of a long rectangular hall, rounded at the rear end and divided internally into a nave, an apse, and two side aisles. The aisles are separated from the nave by pillars, and the apse contains, in place of the altar, a solid *stūpa* as the votive object. The aisles are continued round the apse, thus providing for circumambulation (*pradakshiṇā*). The nave is covered by a barrel-shaped vault, and the two aisles also by vaults, each of which is half the section of that of the nave. The doorway is usually opposite the votive *chaitya,* and over it appears a huge arched window, shaped like a horse-shoe, dominating the entire scheme of the façade.

The type described above is, however, not the achievement of a single period. A long process of anterior evolution may be traced, even beginning from two or three centuries before the Christian era, and in monuments not necessarily connected with Buddhism. Perhaps the earliest excavations in rock, which may have some association with the development of *chaitya* halls of later days, are the rock-cut caves at Barābar, near Gayā in Bihār. The Sudāmā (Nyagrodha) cave (Fig. 3), excavated by Aśoka for the Ājīvikas, consists of two apartments, of which the outer one is rectangular, and beyond this, at the back and separated from it by a solid wall with a narrow passage connecting the two, there is an empty circular chamber in the place usually occupied by the votive *chaitya.* The outer chamber is covered by a barrel vault and the inner by a hemispherical dome. Deeply inset into the face of the rock, the doorway near one end of the broader side has sloping jambs, a peculiarity that is clearly reminiscent of wooden construction where it was used to counterpoise the outward thrust of the roof.

The most important of the Barābar group is the Lomaśa Ṛishi cave, undated and apparently unfinished, but certainly Maurya in date. In plan and other arrangements, it closely resembles the Sudāmā cave, with the only exception that the inner chamber is oval instead of being circular. The doorway consists of a smaller rectangular opening narrower at the upper end, thus indicating sloping jambs. On either side rise two posts, slightly sloping inwards, that support "two longitudinal purlins morticed into their heads." Over these there is a framework, apparently copied from wooden prototypes, of arched shape with a slight ogee point at the apex. This framework supports a curved roof with a pointed finial at the top. Between the doorway and the roof, there is a semicircular panel with a frieze of elephants in low relief, and above it a latticed screen resembling wicker work pattern. The façade of the

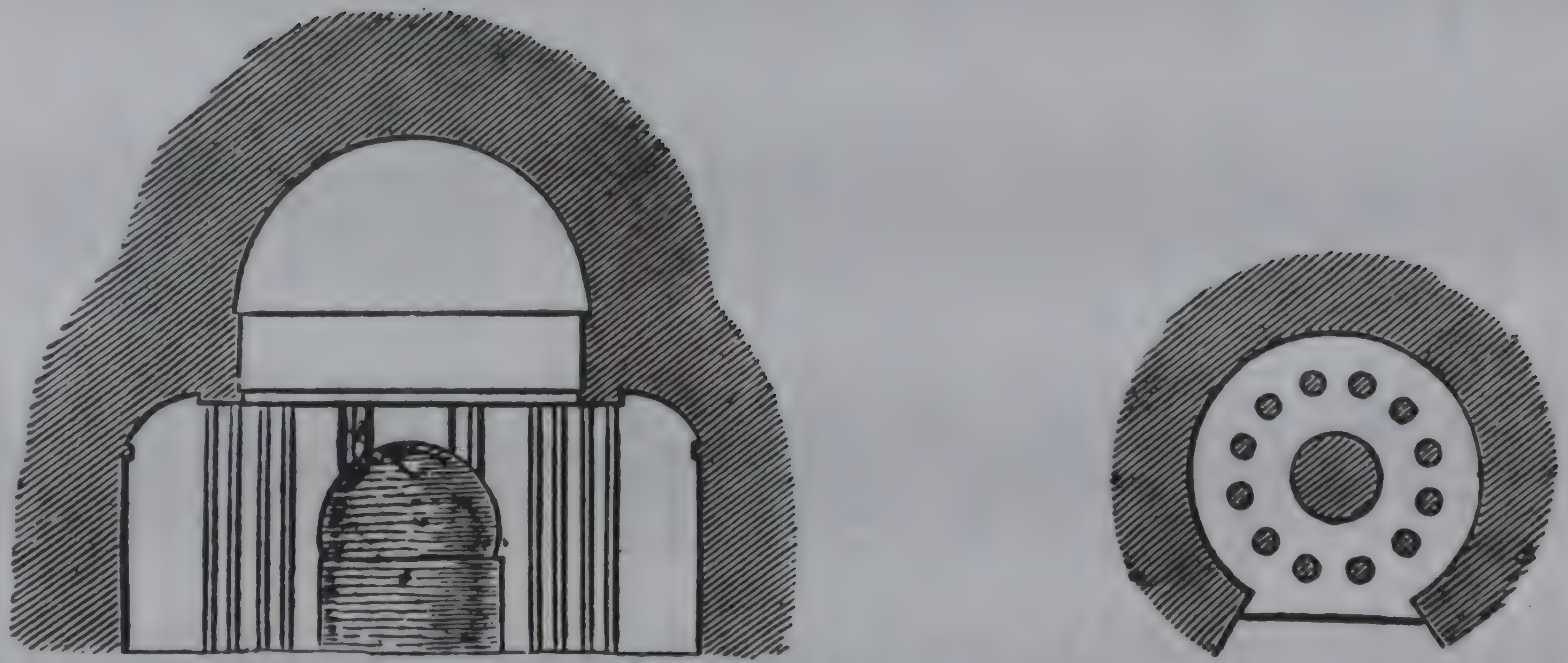

Fig. 4. Junnar, Circular Cave: Plan and Section

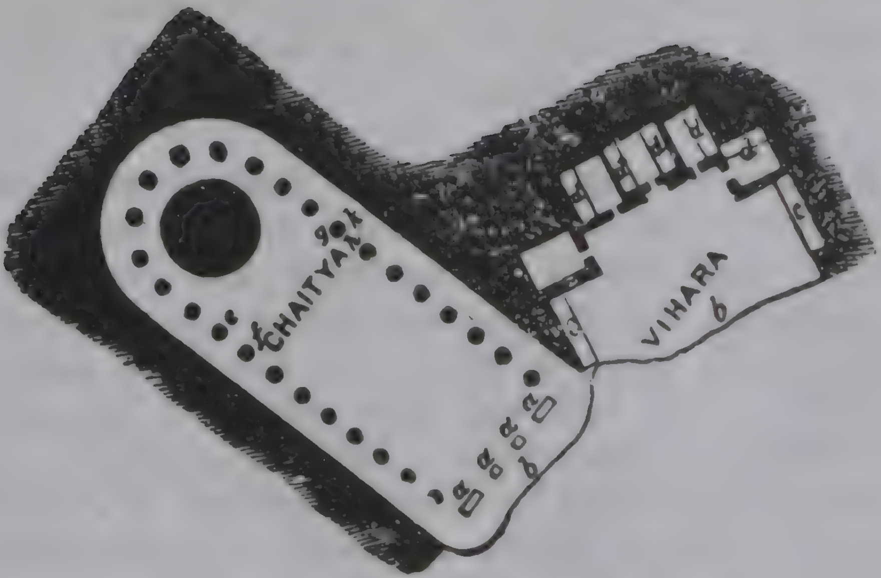
CHAITYA
VIHARA
a
b
c

Fig. 5. Bhājā, *Chaitya* and *Vihāra*: Plan

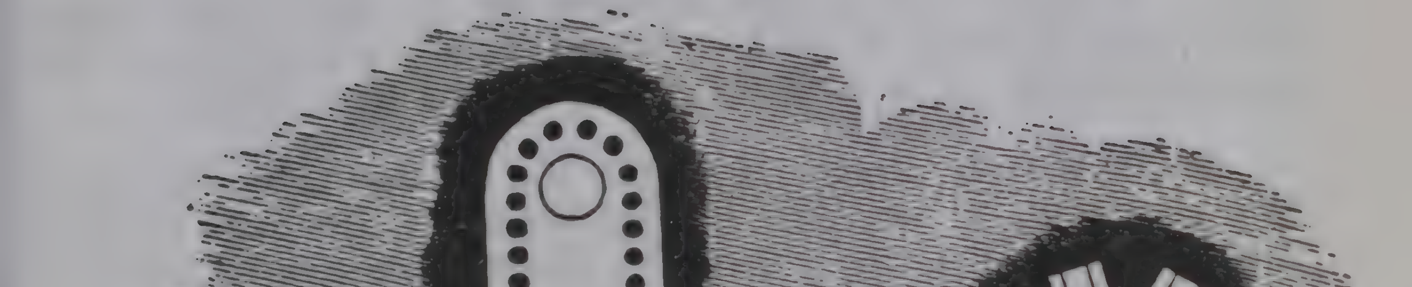

Fig. 6. Bedsā, *Chaitya* and *Vihāra*: Plan

Lomaśa Ṛishi cave at Barābar (pl. VII, 13) has been finished with great care and is important as representing the beginnings of the elaborate scheme of ornamentation that characterised the decoration of the façades in the *chaitya* halls of later days. Possibly it is copied from structural examples.

The plan and arrangements of the Sudāmā and Lomasa Ṛishi caves are similar in all essential details, and evidently represent a circular shrine preceded by an assembly hall (*maṇḍapa* of later days). It is possible that the earliest form of such a shrine consisted of the circular cella alone to which the Buddhists added a votive *chaitya,* and the outer hall was later added to accommodate the gradually increasing congregation. This supposition gains some support from the interesting circular *chaitya* hall at Junnar (Fig. 4), 56 miles to the north of Poona, in which a votive *chaitya* is surrounded by a ring of twelve pillars, the central area being domed and the circular aisle half-domed. A solid wall, pierced by a narrow doorway, separated the cella from the outer hall in the caves of the Sudāmā type; gradually this solid wall was eliminated and the apsidal plan of the *chaitya* hall of the familiar type was thus obtained. A bold move is also indicated by the hall being driven axially into the depth of the rock instead of cutting it parallel to the face of the rock, as in the Sudāmā and Lomaśa Ṛishi caves.

The next stage of evolution, after the Barābar group, is found in a cave at Bhājā, near Poona, in the Western Ghāts, with twenty-seven pillars running along the entire length of the apsidal hall and around the votive *chaitya,* thus dividing it into a central nave and two side aisles (pl. VII, 14). The pillars are plain octagonal shafts, a little over 11 feet in height, and support the barrel-vaulted roof on a framework of curved ribs, originally of wooden construction. The side aisles, only 3½ feet wide, are half barrel-vaulted (Fig. 5). The votive *chaitya* is placed near the back end, and the entrance, now a lofty open archway, just opposite to it. The decoration of the façade, as seen in the upper section, also indicates a definite advance on what we have in the Lomaśa Ṛishi cave. Along the entire width of the façade extends the rail, and together with this appears the ogee front which, as a decorative device, has been repeated, thereby adding to the beauty of the scheme as a whole. The rail-pattern is imitated from woodwork, and so are many other features. Indeed the wooden character of the *Chaitya* Hall is nowhere so emphatically stressed as at Bhājā. Of approximately the same style and pattern are the ruined *chaitya* hall at Kondāne (pl. VIII, 15), the much decayed *chaitya* cave at Pitalkhorā in Khāndesh, and also possibly one of the early *chaitya* halls (cave No. X) at Ajaṇṭā. These three caves may be considered to be contemporary to the Bhājā *chaitya* hall or very nearly so. At any rate, these four represent the oldest specimens of their class in western India[1] and, considering their advance over the Barābar caves, may be dated in the first half of the second century B.C.

The movement continues for a long time and the march of the style may be traced through a series of monuments, such as Ajaṇṭā cave No. IX, Bedsā, Nāsik, etc. to the most celebrated of all, *viz.* the great *chaitya* hall at Kārle. The progress was slow but steady, and may be recognised in the gradual emancipation from wooden conventions, greater elaboration of the different elements and features, and richer and more variegated ornamentation of the façade. The chief interest of the Ajaṇṭā cave No. IX lies in its square and not apsidal end, as in six of the Junnar caves, and the flat roof over the two aisles, but not over the nave which is vaulted as usual. At Bedsā (Fig. 6) we find, probably for the first time, a new and rational design of the *chaitya* façade that was to become characteristic of the subsequent *chaitya* halls, and a portico with its roof supported on four elaborately carved pillars. The façade forming the inner side of the portico is divided horizontally into two distinct storeys, the lower with a narrow rectangular doorway surmounted by an arch and the upper by an enormous arched window of horseshoe shape, which by its association with the *chaityas* is also known as the *chaitya* window. The entire ornamentation of the façade is mostly made up of miniature rails, regularly interspersed with repetitions of window fronts. A semi-circular open work moulding, resembling wicker work, also appears occasionally among the usual ornamental devices of the façade.

The façade of the *chaitya* hall at Nāsik (pl. VIII, 16) is richer and more variegated as a result of the introduction of fresh motifs, like pilasters with campaniform capitals alternated by representations of *stūpas* with latticed screens as backgrounds. All the details

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1. The *chaitya* caves at Junnar (*HIEA*^{2} I, 155-59) are noteworthy for their extreme simplicity and severity, due partly to their rather early date. But none of them can be placed as early as the Bhājā-Kondāne group. The details and other arrangements place them in the next group. The chief interest of the Junnar series of caves consists, however, in the fact that they contain examples of unusual forms, not known elsewhere. Of the ten *chaitya* caves, for instance, there is one circular cave (already mentioned) and six with square terminations at the back, flat roofs and without the internal pillars.

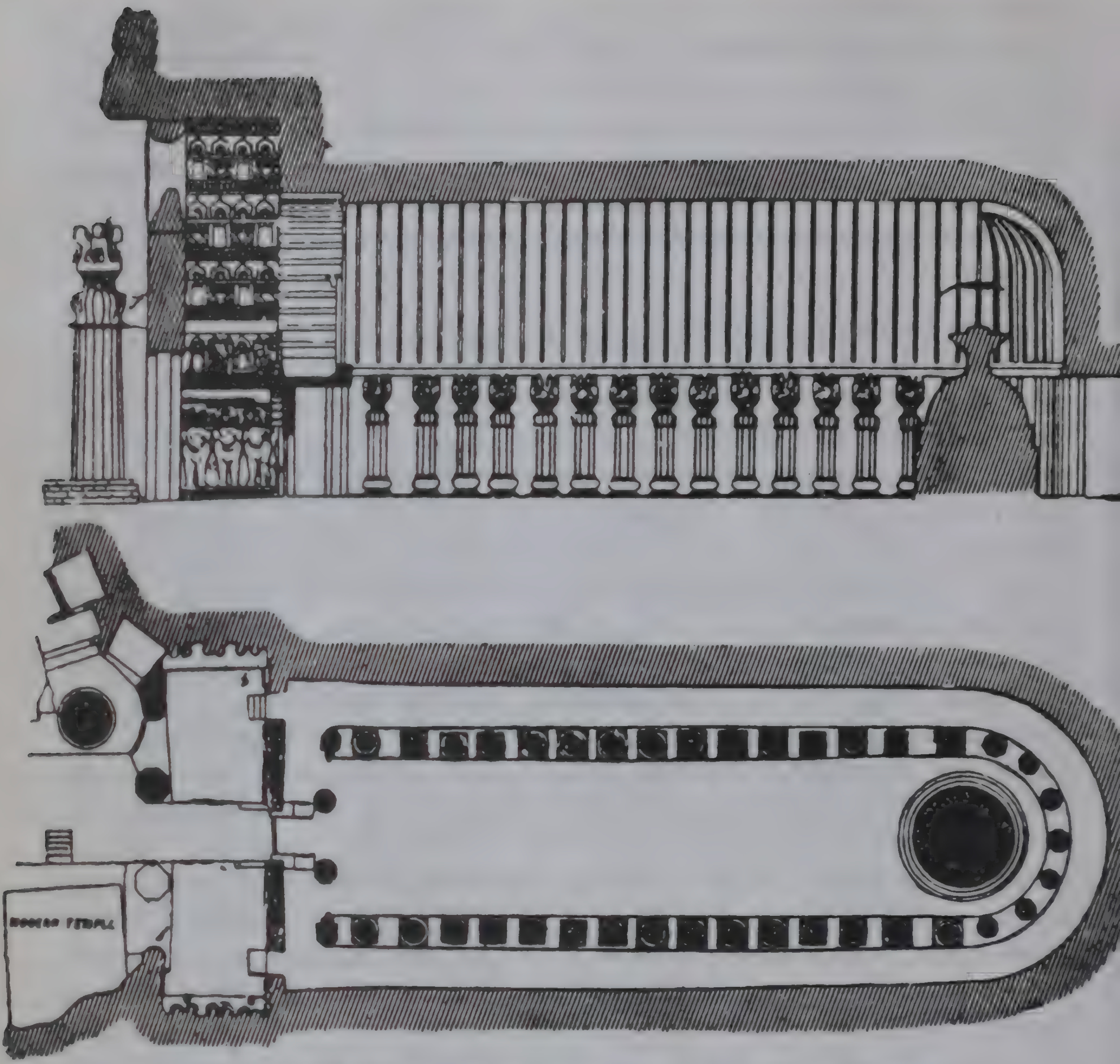
MODERN TEMPLE

Fig. 7. Kārle, *Chaitya* Hall: Plan and Section

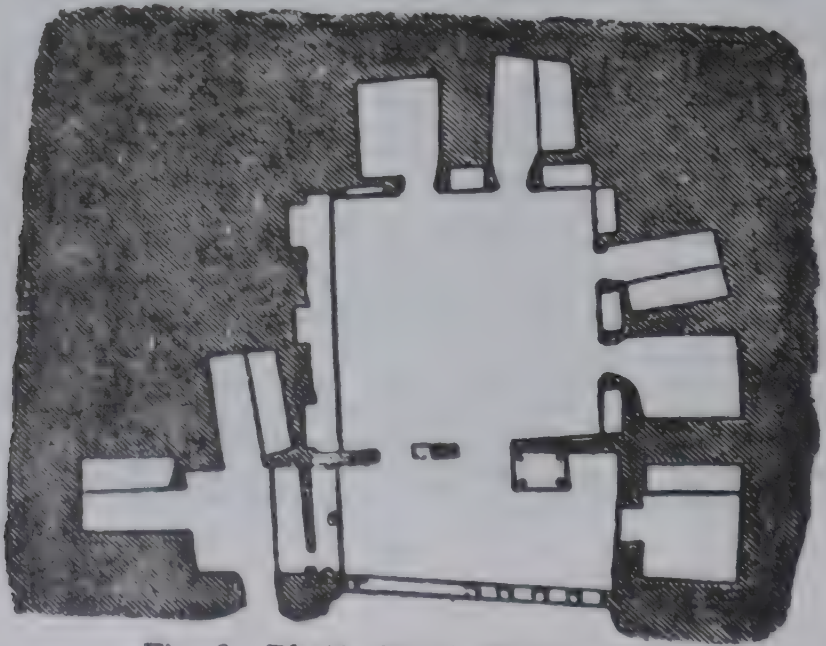

Fig. 8. Bhājā, Small *Vihāra:* Plan

are no doubt copied from wooden forms, but here they have attained a lithic character, not at all incongruous in their present context. The pillars in the interior are so nearly perpendicular that their inclination almost escapes detection. Instead of the plain octagonal shafts rising directly from the ground (cf. Bedsā, pl. IX, 17), we have octagonal pillars with pot bases and rudimentary capitals, each in the shape of a square stepped abacus. The votive *chaitya* also presents a highly elongated form, and we may refer the *chaitya* hall at Nāsik to about the close of the first century B.C.

The largest of all the *chaitya* caves, and indeed one of the finest monuments in the whole of India, is the great *chaitya* hall at Kārle. Preceding the main hall there is a portico 15 feet deep and 52 feet wide, cut out of the rock and closed by an outer screen, and in front of this stood two isolated columns, each surmounted by a campaniform capital with addorsed figures of lions supporting a wheel. The inner façade is almost of the same style as at Nāsik, the only difference being that instead of one entrance, as in the earlier caves, there are three doorways in the Kārle cave, the middle one leading to the nave and those on either side to the two aisles (Fig. 7).

The general dimensions of the interior (pls. IX, 18; X, 19, 20) are imposing, being in excess of 124 feet by 45 feet in area and 45 feet in height. The effect is at once impressive and magnificent. The architectural defects of the earlier examples have been removed. A series of thirty-seven pillars, rising perpendicularly, separates the nave from the aisles. Of these, those encircling the apse are of plain octagonal pattern, while the remainder, fifteen on each side of the nave, are elaborately designed and carved. Each pillar consists of a pot base on a square plinth of several stepped courses, an octagonal shaft, and a campaniform capital with a square abacus supporting a sculptured group of a pair each of elephants and horses with riders. Above the sculptures on the capitals, and rising to a height of 45 feet at its apex, springs the vaulted roof, somewhat stilted at the sides, beneath the soffit of which is a series of projecting ribs of wood attached to the roof—"one of the last instances of this peculiar vestigial use of woodwork in combination with the solid stone."[1]

Much of the beauty of the interior of the Kārle hall depends on the effective conception of the colonnade and the vaulting and the organic manner in which the two have been combined. Beneath the semi-dome of the apse is placed the votive *chaitya*, cut as usual.

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[1] *HIIA*, p. 29.

out of solid rock. It consists of a lofty cylindrical drum which, rising in two storeys, each enclosed by rails, supports the hemispherical dome. The dome spreads out into the square *harmikā* which is crowned by the *chhatra* discs fixed to a shaft. Though much elongated on account of its lofty drum, the votive *chaitya* retains much of its archaic dignity and adds to the grandeur of the hall.

Palaeographic evidence and stylistic considerations both agree in referring the Kārle *chaitya* approximately to the first quarter of the second century A.D. This magnificent cave practically brings to an end the early phase of this class of architecture, though the *chaitya* halls at Kānheri and Aurangābād may be slightly later in date.

3. *The Saṅghārāma (Monastery)*

Another important form of early Indian architecture is the *saṅghārāma* or *vihāra, i.e.* monastery, associated with both Buddhism and Jainism, more particularly with the former so far as the extant examples go. The monastery in India was designed on much the same lines as a private house, *i.e.* a square block formed by four rows of cells along the four sides of an inner quadrangle. In the earlier period, they were usually built of wood on a stylobate of stone or brick. As the monastic organisation developed, they became elaborate brick structures with many adjuncts. Often they consisted of several storeys, and along each side of the inner courtyard there usually ran a long corridor with the roof supported on pillars.

Remains of early structural *vihāras* belonging to centuries both preceding and succeeding the Christian era have been found in many places. Unfortunately, in most instances, it is only the foundations that can be traced now, and these do not call for any special notice. Rock-cut examples of monasteries have been found in abundance, and of these, the Barābar and the Nāgārjunī groups of caves, built for use of the Ājīvikas, are the earliest. The Barābar group belongs to the time of the great Aśoka, and the Nāgārjunī to one of his successors, Daśaratha. The Sudāmā and the Lomaśa Ṛishi caves of the former group have already been noticed in connection with the *chaitya* halls. The remaining caves of the two groups were simple rectangular chambers, cut out of rock, with a barrel-vaulted roof above, and characterised by a lustrous polish on the interior walls resembling that on the Aśokan pillars. Some of the caves are provided with raised platforms at one end. The

Son Bhandar cave at Rājgir agrees essentially with the above, and perhaps belongs to a date not far removed from them.

The Jain caves at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri near Bhuvanesvara in Orissa go back to the time of Khāravela.[1] The two groups, consisting of a little over thirty-five excavations, were not laid out on a definite and regular plan, but located at convenient places according to the physical configuration of the rock. A few of these consist of single cells only, or verandahs with cells opening on to them.[2] while others, some of which are double storeyed,[3] consist of several cells together with a portico and an open courtyard in front. The inner façade consists of doorways surmounted by semi-circular arches above, the spaces in between the two arches being covered by friezes of sculptures, which are the most elaborate in the Gaṇeśa and Rāṇī gumphās. The interpretation of these friezes still remains unsettled. The Rani-ka-nur or the Rāṇī gumphā in the Udayagiri (pl. XI, 21) is the largest and best preserved of all the caves. It consists of two storeys, each preceded by a verandah supported on pillars (Fig. 9).

It is in the Buddhist caves of western India that we may trace a continuous development of the rock-cut monastery type. In the earliest excavations the plan of the monastery is still irregular, the cells being disposed in one or two rows only, and often at erratic angles. The typical plan, however, soon took shape in the form of a square (or oblong in certain instances) central hall (Fig. 8), preceded in front by a pillared verandah or vestibule, and opening out on the other sides into a number of small square cells carried further into the rock. The halls are usually provided with raised benches and the cells with similar beds. By the beginning of the Christian era, the type appears to have been well established.

The earliest of the *vihāra* caves in western India are certainly those at Bhājā. The one[4] (Fig. 5) attached to the *chaitya* is interesting as both are parts of the same design. A further instance of this may be found at Bedsā in the unique *vihāra* cave whose cells are

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[1] See above, pp. 213 ff.

[2] Of the single cells one carved in imitation of the open mouth of a tiger (Bāgh gumphā or the Tiger cave) is rather interesting.

[3] In these caves the upper of the two floors appears to have been first excavated, though the interval of time between the two need not necessarily be a long one.

[4] It is problematic whether this *vihāra* belonged to the Buddhists. On the west end of the verandah we have two sculptures on either side of the doorway to the cell. In one we have the representation of Sūrya on his four-horsed chariot and in the other we have Indra on his elephant (*HIIA*, pp. 24-27, Figs. 24 and 27). The style and workmanship of these reliefs would also support the antiquity of this excavation. It should further be noted that this is *the only cave* of the early series which contains figure sculptures.

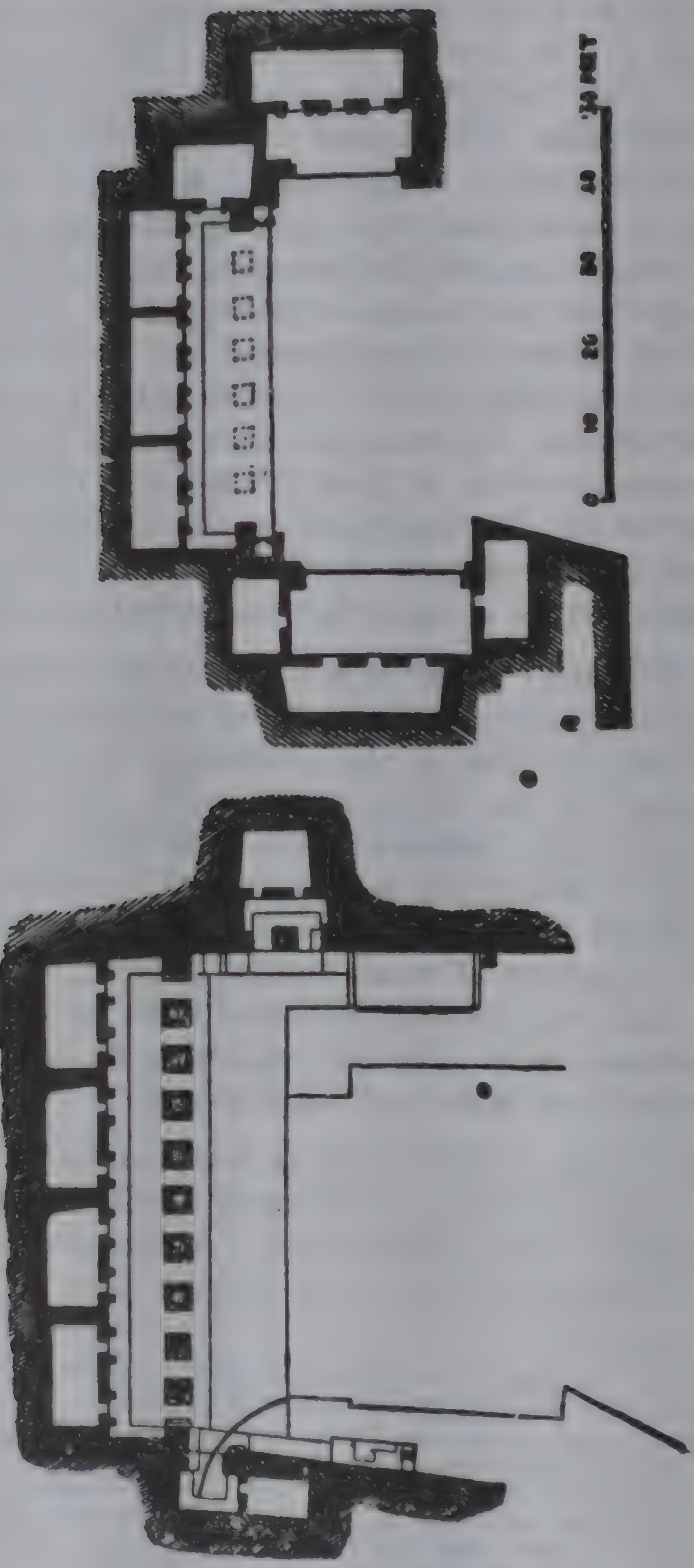
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Fig. 9. Udayagiri, Rāṇīgumphā: Plan

ranged round an apsidal central hall (Fig. 6), manifestly copied from the plan of the *chaitya* itself.

Of the other *vihāras* of the pre-Christian period, mention should be made of those at Ajaṇṭā[1] Kondāne, Pitalkhorā,[2] and the early group at Nāsik, which were more or less contemporary to the respective *chaityas* described above. The rock-cut *vihāra* type of the early series may be seen in its most decorative form, particularly in the treatment of the façade, in three caves at Nāsik, belonging to the second century A.D. Each one of them consists of a pillared verandah and a large central hall, without pillars, which open out into the cells ranged on three sides. The pillared frontage (pls. XI, 22; XII, 23) endows the *vihāras* with an imposing appearance, the scheme along with the design of the pillars being characteristic of the age. The graceful design of the pillars and the harmonious relation between the different component elements of the façade make cave No. X one of the finest of the early series of rock-cut *vihāras*. Cave No. III, only slightly later in date, closely follows the above, but with certain elaborations as may be noticed in the carved balustrade behind which the pillars are placed, and a fine frieze of animals rendered with exceptional merit on the entablature. In these respects, and in the figures of giants portrayed on the side of the plinth as carrying the structure, a marked originality may be recognised in this class of monuments. On the back wall of these caves, between the doorways of two cells in the central hall, is carved the relief representation of a *stūpa* flanked by a female figure on either side.

Rock-cut *vihāras* of the form and type as presented by the above caves are also found at other places, the Gaṇeśa *leṇā* at Junnar (pl. XII, 24) being one of the most significant. At Kārle, we find examples of storeyed *vihāras* of the rock-cut order, which indicate a beginning that was to have significant developments in the next phase of the rock-cut *vihāra*, at once grand and magnificent.[3]

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[1] Nos. XII and XIII.

[2] The *vihāra* attached to the *chaitya* hall at Kondāne and that at Pitalkhorā introduce an innovation that becomes characteristic of the later development of the rock-cut monastery type. The central halls in these two *vihāras, unlike all extant examples of early date*, are not plain but pillared. The Gaṇeśa Leṇā (pl. XII, 24) at Junnar is one of the latest in the early series of *vihāras*, as its date can on no account be placed earlier than about the middle of the second century A.D. The dimensions of the hall are large, being 50 feet by 56 feet, but even in spite of that no pillars have been introduced for support of the roof.

[3] Brahmanical monuments belonging to the period under discussion have been excluded from this chapter as, though their existence both in structural as well as in rock-cut form is known, the remains are either much too fragmentary or insignificant and commonplace to be of any real help to the study of the early architectural types and forms.

B. SCULPTURE

I. MAURYAN ART

The sculpture of this period, like architecture, begins with the Mauryas and flourished under the patronage of the imperial court, especially of Aśoka. The best specimens are furnished by a number of monolithic columns with their majestic animal capitals found in Bakhira (near Basārh or Vaiśālī), Rāmpurwā, Lauriyā Nandangarh, Rummindei, Saṁkisya, Sārnāth, Sānchī and other places, remnants of a large number—more than thirty—which the emperor is known to have erected. A clear idea of their general appearance and constituent parts is afforded by the pillar, which is still *in situ* at Lauriyā Nandangarh (pl. XIII, 25). Generally speaking, each column consists of two parts, the shaft and the capital. The shaft, circular in section and slightly tapering, is made from a single block of stone and has a graceful and elegant proportion. The capital, monolithic like the shaft, was divided into three parts by an inverted lotus often described as a Persepolitan "bell", abacus, and a crowning sculpture in the round. The surface of both the shaft and the capital is chiselled with that extraordinary precision and accuracy which characterise the workmanship of the Mauryan age, and have never been surpassed in Athens or elsewhere. As the shaft alone is more than 30 feet high, and the heaviest weighs about 50 tons, the construction and conveyance of these monolithic columns, often to a great distance, testify to the high engineering and stone-cutter's skill of the age.[1] In some cases, as in the Rummindei column, the transition from the shaft to the "bell" of the capital is abrupt, while in other instances it is made easy and gradual by the introduction of intermediate mouldings of variable stages and designs. The surface of the gently arched "bell" is decorated with highly stylised longitudinal lotus-petals with sharp and thin ridges in the middle and wide and roundish border mouldings, the spaces between the ends of the petals being filled in with short mouldings. But here, too, there is a progressive attempt towards a clearer and sharper definition of the middle ridge and of the border mouldings, and increasing stylisation; both are fully in evidence in the Sārnāth specimen. The real aesthetic significance of the beautifully arched and elegantly ribbed floral bell of the Mauryan capital lies in its gentle curve, its rhythmic proportions and in its very effective contrast with the chaste and elegant, plain and smooth, tall and tapering shaft that it crowns.

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[1] See above, p. 87.

The abacus, either circular or rectangular, is often carved on its sides with elegant floral designs or figures of birds and animals. It supports the crowning figure or figures of animals which are sometimes of the highest workmanship ever known in animal sculptures anywhere in the world.

It is possible to trace a gradual evolution in the style of these monolithic columns. The Bakhira pillar (pl. XIII, 26), with its ill-proportioned clumsy shaft, plain abacus and uncouth figure of a lion on the top, shows the crude beginning of the artistic effort which culminated in the fine elegant column at Lauriyā Nandangarh and the wonderful capital of Sārnāth, with the four animals carved on the abacus and the quadripartite semi-lions on the top. The Saṁkisya elephant and Rāmpurwā lion (pl. XIV, 27) show steady advance on the Bakhira specimen and represent the intermediate stages. But the Sārnāth quadripartite (pl. XIV, 29) is architectonically on a superior level and must be admitted to be a very successful solution of a problem—the relation of the crowning animals with other elements of the capital—which confronted the Mauryan artists from the very beginning. Of all Mauryan sculptures it is the most well-known and most highly spoken of; but at the same time it must not be lost sight of that the entire conception and execution are conventional from beginning to end. Compositionally, the accumulation of form of the four semi-lions is schematic though, from consideration of technique, clever and efficient. The extravagance of form saps the life out of the object that it represents though, from a technical point of view, the art is fully developed and appears conscious and sophisticated. The Sānchī counterpart of Sārnāth belongs to the same conception of form and is equally conventional and stylised.

Compared to these lions the elephant, carved in the round on the rock at Dhauli in Orissa (pl. XIV, 30) above the inscribed record of Aśoka, shows much more sense of creative form and is artistically far superior. Indeed, such plastic presentation of bulky volume, such feeling for live flesh rendered with remarkable naturalism of a dynamic character, such knowledge of physiognomical form of the subject treated and such sense of dignified movement and linear rhythm has no parallel in Mauryan animal sculptures. Compared to this, even the Rāmpurwā lion or the Sārnāth quadripartite, with their tight and coagulated treatment of the veins and muscles shown in meaningless tension, and in spite of full reproduction of volume and advanced proof of visualisation, appear lifeless. The loud exhibitionism of this latter group cannot stand comparison with the quiet dignity of the former. Indeed, the Dhauli elephant symbolises His Imperial Majesty King Aśoka presenting himself in quiet dignity before the people of Kaliṅga, while the Sārnāth quadripartite is an exhibition of imperial pomp, power and authority. Of all Mauryan animal sculptures the Rāmpurwā bull (pl. XIV, 28) alone seems to partake a little of the character of dynamic naturalism that imparts potency and strength to the Dhauli elephant. This bull is architectonically less advanced than the lion from the same place, but it exhibits a remarkable sense of form, of plastic volume and of the quality of the living flesh; realistic vision and close observation of nature helped to a clearer understanding of the subject represented, and nothing conventional or stylised or abstract blurred the mental image of the artist or stood in the way of its execution. This becomes clearer when we compare it with the striding bull on the Sārnāth abacus; the latter is frankly stylised and conventional. Indeed in the Dhauli elephant and the Rāmpurwā bull, a different asethetic vision and tradition seems to have been at work.

All Maurya columns are chiselled out of grey Chunār sandstone and have a lustrous polish due to the application, perhaps of silicious varnish, on the stone. This same source of the material probably suggests that there was at or near Chunār an art-centre established and patronised directly by the Maurya court, an assumption further supported by the fact that all the component parts of the columns, including the crowning animal, abacus and shaft, tend towards increasing success.

The origin of this court-art of the Mauryas has been a subject of keen dispute among scholars. But the general opinion seems to be that the impetus originally came from outside, from Irān of the Achaemenid emperors. Indeed, few have seriously doubted that West-Asiatic art-forms and inspiration, indirectly and in general, and Achaemenian impetus and inspiration, directly and in particular, were at work at the root. But this must not mean that the Achaemenian pillar-type and form were bodily adopted by the Mauryan court-artists. Indeed, the differences that separate the Maurya columns from the Achaemenian ones are considerable and must not be lost sight of. The Mauryan shaft is plain, the Achaemenian, fluted; the Mauryan, monolithic, the Achaemenian, built of separate pieces or segments of stone; the Mauryan partakes of the character of a wood-carver's or carpenter's work, the Achaemenian, that of a mason. The form and character of the capital differ widely in the two cases; the Mauryan has no base, the Achaemenian has one which takes the form of an inverted lotus. The Achaemenian column, intended invariably as part of a larger architectural conception, is composed of too many component parts presenting harsh contrasts and looking complex and complicated, while the Mauryan column, intended to produce the effect of an independent monument, is simpler, more harmonious in conception and execution, and gives the feeling of more stability, dignity and strength, born perhaps of other primitive and elemental origins. The indigenous and original contribution to the creation of this item of Mauryan art is therefore undeniable. Equally undeniable also is the fact that in its lustrous polish, in its adoption and adaptation of the bell-shaped capital, in the higher plane of conception and driving idea, and in the general monumental and dignified quality and appearance, the Mauryan column seems to reveal the debt it owes to Achaemenian art, also to Hellenistic art so far as some of its crowning members and part of the general effect are concerned. The twisted rope design, the acanthus leaf and palmette designs, etc. may, however, have been derived from older and common West-Asiatic heritage.

But whatever we might think of the origin, the total aesthetic effect of Mauryan columns has never been surpassed in later Indian art. In the whole realm of independent monumental columns of the world Mauryan columns occupy a proud position by reason of their free and significant artistic form in space, the rhythmic and balanced proportion of their constituent elements, the unitary and integrated effect of the whole, their chaste and elegant shaft and capital and, no less, by the conscious, proud and dignified attitude of the crowning components.

.But with all its urban, conscious and civilised quality, its advanced power of visualisation and full comprehension of the third dimension, Mauryan court-art only constitutes an episode in the history of Indian art. It was indeed a hothouse plant reared up by the will, care and patronage of a court heavily under the influence of contemporary international culture and ideology of the Asiatic West and Mediterranean East. In course of time, the glass walls fell to pieces and the plant withered. Mauryan court-art failed to make any notable permanent contribution to the growth of Indian art except that it directly helped the fixation of the latter in permanent material. The individual taste and preference of the Maurya monarchs for ideas and objects of Medo-Achaemenian and Hellenistic Orient furnished the impetus and inspiration, and Indian art was raised from the position of handicraft and primitive art to the status and dignity of high art, just as Mauryan imperialism and Aśokan policy of *Dhammavijaya* (conquest by the Law of Piety) drew India out of her local and tribal outlook and raised Buddhism to the status of an international religion.

One of the most important functions of Mauryan court-art, like Achaemenian court-art, was to impress and overawe the populace with the power and majesty of its rulers. To this function can be traced the compactness of the solid animal figures, their exaggerated forms and their conventional appearances, also the most imposing stateliness of the columns. Mauryan court-art is thus individualistic in its essential character and ideology. Like Aśoka's *Dhammavijaya,* it lacked deeper roots in the collective social will, taste and preference, and was therefore destined to have an isolated and short life, coeval and coexistent with and within the limits of the powerful Mauryan court. This explains why Mauryan court-art, with all its dignified bearing, monumental appearance and civilised quality, forms but a short and isolated chapter of the history of Indian art. Like the columns and the animal figures themselves, Mauryan court-art stands aloof and apart!

II. ŚUṄGA-KĀṆVA ART: MADHYADEŚA AND EASTERN INDIA

The art of the time of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, which immediately follows that of the Mauryas, is clearly a negation of the Mauryan attitude. Indeed, the bas-reliefs on the railings of Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā and Sānchī or on the friezes of the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri (Bhuvaneśvara) caves that, chronologically speaking, follow closely on the art of the Mauryan court and, from the point of view of subject-matter, are predominantly Buddhist, reflect more of the mind, tradition and culture-ideology of the larger section of the people than Mauryan art was capable of doing. Śuṅga-Kāṇva art, formally and spiritually, is opposed to all that Mauryan art stands for, and is different in motive and direction, technique and significance.

The bas-reliefs of Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā, Sānchī, Amarāvatī and other sites provide more than anything else an illuminating commentary on contemporary Indian life and attitude towards life as conceived and planned in early Buddhism. These reliefs, whether in medallions or rectangular slabs, also seem to be nothing but *charaṇa-chitras*,[1] with appropriate labels as in Bhārhut, translated into stone and hence not portable. Besides, the method of arrangement of various scenes depicted on the upright pillars and posts of the gates and the railings of Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā and Sānchī, *i.e.* their general lay-out in square or rectangular panels, one below the other, in more or less continuous narration, cannot but invariably suggest similar arrangement of scenes in *charaṇa-chitras* or *paṭa-chitras* of later folk-pictorial tradition. One may go still further and argue that the top horizontal panels of the Bhārhut and Sānchi gateways, with their sides rolled up at the two ends, are nothing but adaptations in stone of *paṭa-chitras*, spread out for exhibition with their sides rolled up.

1. Sānchī: Railing of Stūpa II; Bhārhut; Bodh Gayā: C. 100-50 B.C.

The artists of the Mauryan court had not to grapple with the problem of the third dimension as they had a ready-made solution at their disposal. Under ordinary circumstances one would have expected this solution to be one of the heritages of Śuṅga art. Quite the contrary is the case, however. The ground balustrade of *Stūpa* II of Sānchī (pl. XV, 31), which presumably is the earliest phase of this art, is wholly worked in very low and flat reliefs, so low and flat that these reliefs may be said to be just essays in linear composition. The Bhārhut repository consists invariably of low and flat reliefs, portrayed more as silhouettes sharply detached from their backgrounds. Forms are conceived and presented, not in terms of depth but of surface, and what optically should have been presented as hidden or partly covered is shown in part or in entirety (cf. pls. XV, 32-33; XVI, 34-37).

Objects are represented as large or small according to the meaning in the story depicted, *i.e.* according to their comprehensibility or reality, not in accordance with the optical impression. Oversecting and foreshortening are frankly resorted to, whenever and wherever necessary, but nowhere is there any attempt to achieve any illusion of depth. Besides such reliefs there are independent large size human figures of *yakshas, yakshiṇīs*, etc. in high and bold relief, and occupying prominent positions on unframed railing posts. These figures, unlike those of the reliefs, are round modelled shapes either in rigid parallelism and frontality as we see in the figure of Sirimā Devatā (pl. XVI, 35), or in variegated *'bhaṅgas'* and ample turns and bends in movements as one sees in the figure of Sudarśanā *yakshiṇī* (pl. XVI, 36). In the former case, the treatment is compact and conglomerated, while in the latter it has a swaying grace and a flowing plastic consistency. But in both cases there is the unmistakable evidence of an attempt to relate the three-dimensional extensiveness to the flatness of the surface. It is not difficult to imagine that from the silhouette-like low and flat reliefs of the ground balustrade of Stūpa II of Sānchī to the reliefs and the large size figures of Bhārhut, there is a frank attempt at progressive realisation of what had originally been a two-dimensional form in *charaṇa-chitras* or scroll-paintings in terms of relief on such durable material as stone. This phase of early Indian art may thus be said to be a quest for the third dimension, for depth and hence for more free movement in space, and these reliefs but exemplify the devices the artists adopted for the purpose.

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[1] Continuous series of portable pictures, usually depicting familiar topics of popular interest, painted on long narrow pieces of thick cloth or canvas, which may be easily rolled up, and opened for exhibition.

A most characteristic formal quality of Śuṅga art is its flowing linear rhythm that binds all isolated objects in one continuous stream of life as it were. Look at any coping stone of a railing, and you will find a huge lotus stalk flowing in rhythmical waves from form to form, not only binding each isolated object itself, including the limbs of human beings, but also the animals and trees, with the same flowing linear rhythm. Wherever luxuriant vegetation finds a place —and nowhere else in Indian sculpture is the vegetal world so intimately, engrossingly and luxuriously rendered than in the Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā, Sānchī and Bhuvaneśvara reliefs—its radiating and continuous linear movements dominate the composition, and all the figures of men or animals, irrespective of action and status, are swayed and permeated by the movement and become equal and integral parts of the whole. The so-called Prasenajit Pillar reliefs, the scene of the Chuḍāmaha festival in the Sudharmā Hall, and the figures of Chandrā, Alakanandā and Sudarśanā Yakshiṇīs may be cited as examples of this flowing and rhythmical linear movement.

But there is another trend in Bhārhut equally powerful, a trend characterised by a disregard of this flowing linear rhythm. This trend is best illustrated in such scenes as those on the so-called Ajātaśatru Pillar where the figures are hard and isolated and the compositions are regulated in a schematic manner by vertical and horizontal lines (cf. pl. I, 1). It is only an agitated display of light and darkness that disturbs the otherwise static character of the scenes. The trend is equally marked in several frameless figures standing on upright posts; such are the figures of Virudhaka Yaksha, Gāṅgeya Yaksha, Chakravāka Nāgarājā, Sirimā Devatā and of others. It seems, however, that this latter trend was gradually yielding place to the former, which means that isolated, compact and static rush of forms was progressively being subordinated, so far as Bhārhut and Both Gayā are concerned, to the free and rhythmic flow of lines and swaying balance.

The general tone of the art of Bhārhut is very modest, sober and restrained; the participants in the stories seem to be untouched by any dramatic moment or by any high tide even when such occasions present themselves. The modesty and sobriety of diction are, however, no bar to clarity of expression, which is one important characteristic of this art. The stories are told with scrupulous exhaustiveness; no single detail is left out, and labels are added for identifying the scene. In Bodh Gayā, however, stories are told more summarily, but suggestively. A comparison of two scenes of the same subject, *e.g.* that of the Jetavana story, would offer an interesting illustration. Descriptive labels also disappear, evidently the narratives had already become well known, and there was no more need for labelling them or portraying every single detail (pl. XVII, 38-40).

In order to make the fables represented easily comprehensible to the illiterate, the artists of Bhārhut adopted what is known as the method of continuous narration, in which the main stages of a given story, localised in the same spot but happening at different times, are portrayed in one and the same relief with the hero of the story repeatedly shown. Sometimes successive stages of a story are divided into several panels so that the sequence of the story can be clearly followed from panel to panel.

The Śuṅga-Kāṇva artists appear to delight in the handling of the human figure; the joy of a new discovery seems to urge them on to depict the human body in every conceivable position and attitude. In Bhārhut the attempt is still full of effort; the individual parts of the body are shown clearly and distinctly, but they are not always linked integrally. In Bodh Gayā, the parts reach an integration and the body moves more freely and becomes a living entity. Indeed, technically as well as from the point of view of visual perception, Bodh Gayā is a step forward from Bhārhut. Reliefs are less crowded, all non-essentials being left out. The medley of forms of the Ajātaśatru Pillar of Bhārhut has given place to order, brevity and clarity, and the figures have all been brought out clearly and exhaustively. They are now shown in fuller roundness; their heaviness of form still persists, but it has already shed its static weight and stolidity. From mere definition of the body, Bodh Gayā sets the stage to suggest that the body is warm blood and soft flesh as well.

2. *Sānchī: Gateways of Stūpas I and III. C. 50 to 1 B.C.*

Sānchī is in the continuous line of evolution from Bhārhut and Bodh Gayā. Here, in the bursting and boisterous reliefs of the four gates (cf. pl. XVIII, 41) of the Great *Stūpa* (South, North, East and West in chronological and stylistic order) and in the only remaining gate of *Stūpa* III, the beholder can see the contemporary life of mid-India spread out before his eyes in all its mundane love and delight, pageantry and grandeur, peace and beauty, idyllic romanticism and violent struggle. The reliefs illustrate episodes from the life of the Buddha and incidents that enlivened contemporary history (pls. XIX, 45-47; XX, 48; XVIII A, 43-44); they do it no longer softly, modestly and clumsily as in Bhārhut, but with great delight, sometimes even in riotous mirth and gaiety. Sometimes stories are repeated from one gate to the other; the artists and their patrons were evidently fond of particular stories like those of the War of the Relics, the Chhaddanta Jātaka, the siege of Kusinārā, the visit of Aśoka to the Bodhi Tree, etc.

The Sānchī artists seem to take an engrossing interest in all that pertains to the life of this world. The human figure (cf. pl. XVIII A, 42) is endowed with a new form and bearing. It is no longer constituted of different parts joined together, no more shy, hesitating and faltering in its movements, but as an integrated and harmonious whole, free and happy, without being easy and sensuous as in Bodh Gayā. A rich world of flora and fauna finds a feeling and naturalistic expression at the hands of the Sānchī artists; the elephants, deer and antelopes, the lotus creepers, pipal and a host of other trees and plants which lend their characteristic form, colour and charm to Indian art are portrayed for the first time here and in certain panels of the Rāṇī gumphā near Bhuvaneśvara.

But not all the reliefs of Sānchī belong to this dynamic creative impulse which is most potent and fruitful in certain reliefs of the South and West Gates. Undoubtedly this is the main and the most important trend in Sānchī. But the old tight and schematic, rigid and mechanical compositional trend of the Ajātaśatru Pillar of Bhārhut is not altogether absent.

Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā and Sānchī represent the first organised art activity of the Indian people as a whole, which stands directly counterpoised to the court-art of the Mauryas. It reflects for the first time the results of the ethnic, social and religious fusion and integration that had been evolved through centuries on the Indian soil, more particularly in the Madhyadeśa of Buddhist conception. It is quite possible that artists from the north-west worked side by side with artists nearer home at Bhārhut, and perhaps also at Sānchī. Equally unmistakable is the meaning of the use of certain West-Asiatic forms and motifs at all these places. But all such forms and motifs have been so completely fused and integrated into local forms and idioms that the foreign originals are only vague memories. Considered from this point of view, this art inaugurates the first chapter of national and indigenous Indian art and expresses the Indian mind in all its grades and shades. It was in this art that the basis of not a few of the essential qualities of what we call Indian plastic art was laid down. These essential qualities would persist through the ages, throughout the modulations brought about by the passage of time and by the ethnic conditions of the country.

3. *Orissa: Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Reliefs. C. 100 B.C.—A.D. 150*

A few caves, presumably Jain in religious affiliation, in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills near Bhuvaneśvara, contain a number of sculptured friezes and panels which, though belonging to the common denominator of the art of Madhyadeśa, speak nevertheless a distinct local or provincial dialect. The Manchapuri cave relief in Udayagiri and Anantagumphā reliefs in Khaṇḍagiri are both characterised by a robust vitality and vigorous movements; masses modelled in high relief produce strong contrasts of light and darkness. This seems to connect these reliefs with the main trend of Sānchī; the treatment of elephants and foliage are particularly noticeable; but the general treatment is coarse, movement less vital; technically the reliefs are less advanced, and isolated and compact figures prevent forceful composition. On the whole, Madhyadesa affiliations are unmistakable; equally unmistakable is the fact that the reliefs follow the same narrative principle, though we know little about the stories themselves.

The long friezes of the Rāṇī gumphā (pls. XXVII, 70; **XXVIII**, 71) and Gaṇeśa gumphā came much later, belonging probably to a date not earlier than the first and early second century A.D. They are also equally provincial in outlook, but very much advanced in theme and conception, treatment and composition. The crude and coarse workmanship of the reliefs cannot, however, conceal the maturity of their conception and representation.

4. *Western India: Bhājā and Kārle. C. 50 B.C.-A.D. 150*

The large rock-cut reliefs of Bhājā in the Western Ghāts conform to the same common denominator,[1] but are conceived from the roots of aboriginal, almost primeval, depths, and executed with an expansive vitality that knows neither limits nor restraint (the Sūrya relief (pl. XX, 49) and the Airāvata relief, for example). The composition is of exceptionally large proportions; fully and expansively modelled masses of heavy weight[2] move surgingly forward as far as their inner urge or the rock-surface would allow them. There can be no doubt that the Bhājā reliefs basically were ethnically conditioned; they are indeed aboriginally Indian.

A century later, at Kārle, the surging plastic expansiveness of Bhājā becomes chastened by the vigorous discipline of fluid and rhythmical design. The free human figure of Sānchī (*yaksha* figure panel of upright *toraṇa,* West Gate) is touched by the plastic exuberance of Bhājā and at the same time vigorously disciplined within a massive frame; it is thus transformed into a free, proud, stately and heroic specimen of humanity, strong, self-assured and animated (cf. pl. XXV, 64). The deeply heaving lungs seem to expand the body to the last limits of the frame and model it into fully developed form at the same time. Man and woman stand close side by side, each in his or her own way and complete in themselves; yet the two together make the whole, each being complementary to the other; the man, proud and self-assured, but slightly erotic in pose and attitude. But it is wrong to call them *mithuna* couples since they hardly betray any conscious erotic suggestion.

5. *Yaksha Primitives. C. 50 B.C.-A.D. 50*

While from Bhārhut onwards a new and civilised art and a common denominator, in spite of local or provincial aspects determined ethnically or otherwise, were being gradually evolved, an older and perhaps primitive art form, originally practised, presumably in wood and clay, was getting fixed in stone along a different line of evolution and steadily approaching the civilised conception and technique. The *yakshaas* and *yakshiṇīs* were malevolent deities of primitive tribal conception and were worshipped in every village. They hold a definite and important place in both Buddhist and Brahmanical myths, legends and religion. Since they held power over men's life and death and were reputed to be hoarders of unspent wealth, they were conceived as having a physical form of large proportions and huge bulk, and since they owed their existence to tribal primitive imagination, they had a heavy earthly character of form. Earliest stone specimens of such divinities hail from Patna (pl. XXI, 52), Parkham (near Mathurā) (pl. XXI, 50), Baroda (also near Mathurā), Besnagar (pl. XXI, 51), Pawāyā (near Gwālior) (pl. XXII, 54, 56) and other places.

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[1] Cf. the figures of Dvārapālas at Bhājā.

[2] Cf. the demon over which pass the chariot of Sūrya and also Indra's elephant.

These life-size plastically round independent statues belong to different aspects and phases of early Indian art. They are all primitively Indian in form, but they also reflect the currents of the flowing traditions and fashions of contemporary civilised practice. Their heavy bulk, their almost archaic stolidity and weighty volume, the conflict between fully rounded and modelled volume as seen in the arms, breast and abdomen on the one hand and flat surface at the back on the other, the treatment of the drapery and the physiognomical form and appearance—all seem to indicate that they have a close relation with the figures of the *dvārapālas* on the East and West Gates of the Great *Stūpa* of Sānchī as well as with the primitive Bodhisattvas of Mathurā. The disposition of the feet and their full three dimensional aspect seem to point to a date later than Bhārhut.

Special reference should be made to the elegant figure of a female *chaurī*-bearer found at Didarganj (Patna), which shows a more powerful, developed and highly civilised conception and feeling (pl. XXI, 53). Though still exhibiting certain primitive characteristics, it can in no way be considered archaic or primitive, not even in spite of the relatively more emphasised importance of the front view. Here one witnesses perhaps an earlier urban, conscious and sophisticated female type and form, immortalised in later Indian art and literature. The statue, plastically fully round, is bound by no law of frontality and is meant to be seen from all sides. Its heavy but loose mass of hair, its full soft bosoms and the firmness of flesh at the back, its attenuated waist with soft abdominal muscles and the broad hips, and its expression of conscious elegance and daintiness recall the still daintier and more lively *yakshiṇīs* of the Mathurā reliefs of the second century A.D.

6. *Cult Images*

The origin of cult images has been discussed above.[1] It seems to be quite clear that while the practice of image-worship was imported by foreigners like the Greeks and the Central Asian tribes, it was prevalent among a large section of the peoples who inherited it from earlier times. A study of the extant images shows that while imported anthropomorphism made its influence felt in the Punjāb and north-west, the innate anthropomorphism of the Indians asserted itself with vigour and created the divine images of the new religious cults, especially Buddha, in Mathurā. The Buddha Bhagavān was shaped, as it were, out of the form and content of the Yaksha Bhagavān.[2] Indeed, the earliest Buddha figures from Mathurā[3] that are called, out of deference to old scruples, Bodhisattvas and not Buddhas, have, formally and psychologically as well as in treatment, intimate relations with early Indian human figuration, not a few of which must have been idealised portraits. Like the *yakshas* and *dvārapālas* of Sānchī, the Buddha-Bodhisattvas of Mathurā are characterised by a heavy earthiness of form; a rustic robustness and a relaxed largeness impart to them a simple dignity that is purely temporal. Compared to these, the earliest Gandhāra Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, though crude in workmanship, are sophisticated in appearance and expression, but have not the dignity, either temporal or spiritual, of a *Chakravartin*.

The two types belong to two different social and psychological spheres. The Gandhāra type is eclectic and syncretistic, ignorant of the Indian tradition, and unconscious of the dignity that underlies the idea of a '*Chakravartin*'; Indian notions and West-Asiatic, mainly Hellenistic, forms make of the Buddha a lifeless human being of ordinary stature. The Mathurā Buddha type is essentially and aboriginally Indian, closely linked with the old tradition of primitive image-making (cf. pls. XXI, 55; XXIII, 57).

III. GANDHĀRA ART. c. 50 B.C.—A.D. 500

So far as can be judged from actual finds, Gandhāra along with the Punjāb seems to have been one of the most prolific schools of early Indian art, active from about the middle of the first century B.C. to about the fifth century A.D. Geographically this region was so situated that it lay exposed to all sorts of foreign contacts and influences—Persian, Greek, Roman, Śaka and Kushāṇa. But it is somewhat strange that this so-called Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra does not come to view before Greek domination of the north-west became a thing of the past, and that the patrons of this art were principally the Central Asiatic Śakas and Kushāṇas, who carried the traditions and culture of their Hellenistic predecessors and played the rôle of protectors and interpreters of West-Asiatic Hellenism in this region.

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[1] See Ch. XIX, Sections on 'Images'.

[2] See above, pp. 395-6.

[3] Katra seated fig. c. A.D. 80; Aniyor seated fig. c. A.D. 80; seated fig. Munich, c. A.D. 80; standing figs. erected by Friar Bala at Mathurā, Śrāvastī, Allāhābād, Sārnāth, c. A.D. 80-100.

From the very prolific nature of Gandhāra art it seems that sculptural objects representing stories and legends of cults that were new and foreign to these peoples, but which they had come to adopt for their own, were very much in demand. They seem to have been turned out in large numbers from workshops established for the purpose, almost in a mechanical manner as it were. This explains why, in spite of the strict fidelity to Indian traditions, myths, legends and iconography, in spite of their depicting the entire Buddhist legendary and historical cycle in all its minutest details, the reliefs appear to be mechanical and without any character, bereft of any emotional sympathy or spontaneity, and lacking in sincerity. Undoubtedly those responsible for these products were mere craftsmen, mediocre artisans mechanically turning out wares to meet the demands of an aristocratic but unimaginative and unappreciative clientele. Animals, throughout the entire range of the Gandhāra school, are but very poorly treated, and even the monsters in the *Māradharshaṇa*[1] scenes lack character—an absolute proof of the colourlessness and the mechanical character of Gandhāra art.

The Hellenistic inspiration of this art is undeniable, even though transformed by Śaka-Kushāṇa and Indian tastes and perceptions. Figures of the Buddhist pantheon, including that of the Buddha himself (pls. XXVI, 65-68; XXVII, 69), with iconographic marks and attributes of Indian tradition, are rendered in terms of identical characters of the Graeco-Roman pantheon, sometimes with the moustache, turban or ornaments added according to current local taste; their draperies are arranged in the style of a Roman *toga* and treated as in Hellenistic art in separate volumes; Indian sages and priests and anchorites in the stories correspond to bearded philosophers and sages of the classical tradition; *yakshas, garuḍas, nāgas* and even Vajrapāṇī, with their usual attributes, are conceived and represented in terms of the bearded genii, Atlantes, Bacchants, Zeus, Herakles, Eros, Hermes or Poseidon. Relief composition as a whole, modelling of the facial and physiognomical features, well-rounded forms, and the relation of depth and surface, treatment of drapery, wavy treatment of the hair, relation, balance and distribution of weight of parts of the human frame, certain motifs and patterns, etc. all indicate a full and close knowledge of Graeco-Roman art which the artisans unhesitatingly made use of in the context of a new life, religion and iconography that were but ill-realised either in imagination or in actual experience. Large size independent figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, it must be admitted, betray in certain cases a character of their own, both in features and treatment, and they are aesthetically as well as historically much more important. But here it was a case of an individual with individual traits and character, not one of depicting Indian life as a whole.

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[1] Defeat and fight of Māra, the evil spirit of Buddhist literature, who came with his beautiful daughters and satanic hosts to tempt, or frighten, Gautama on the eve of his attaining Buddhahood.

To understand the syncretistic character of the long-lived Gandhāra school, it is necessary to study the finds in chronological sequence. The Bimaran reliquary, which is usually considered to be the earliest product of the school (*c.* 50 B.C. at the earliest), is followed about half a century later, *i.e.* in the first century A.D., by two headless standing images of the Buddha—one from Loriyan Tongai (A.D. 6) and the other from Hastnagar (A.D. 72)—the Kanishka reliquary from Shah-ji-ki-dheri (A.D. 78-100), a standing Hārīti figure from Sakrah Dheri (A.D. 7) and a few others that may be dated only somewhat approximately. These are followed in the second century A.D. by a large number of finds—stone and stucco reliefs—at the various sites of Taxila, which may also be dated approximately with the help of the data furnished by Sir John Marshall's excavations. The third, fourth and fifth centuries are characterised by a large number of finds in stucco and terracotta; indeed, stone sculptures become rare during these centuries, and the few examples that are known are qualitatively on a level lower than that of stucco and terracotta figures. The most representative specimens of this phase hail from Jaulian and Dharmarājika *stūpa* at Taxila, but more profusely from Hadda, near Jalālābād. In fact, the quality and character of the later phase of Gandhāra art are not a little conditioned by the use of these two pliable materials.

The figures and their draperies of the Bimaran reliquary, shown in agitated movement, strongly recall Hellenistic ideals. The drapery is treated plastically as separate volume with its own weight. In the free standing Buddha, dated A.D. 6, from Loriyan Tongai, the drapery is still separated from the body, but it is so disposed that certain parts of the body are made visible from underneath the garment, the fold-lines of which remain agitated. In the Chārsadda Buddha, dated A.D. 72, this is more clearly manifest, and already in the known examples of the latter half of the first century the transparency of the drapery with agitated fold-lines becomes the chief theme. Preference for long and rhythmic lines, a strong outline of the structure, a wide and vast treatment of the *ushṇīsha* and loose wavy hair are also equally manifest.

Towards the end of the century, with the Kushāṇas establishing themselves firmly and spreading their sway, a sort of all-round schematisation in art begins. The drapery is shown in small and narrow folds symmetrically arranged, and at times becomes reduced to a decorative display. The figures themselves are shorter in stature, stumpy in appearance and treated in a rough manner, exhibiting a kind of crude, rustic strength. Throughout the second century these characteristics have their sway in the main, and schematisation, with the fluted drapery shown in flat parallel folds, holds the ground. It is not unlikely that this debased and degenerate art was at least partially due to Śaka-Kushāṇa influences from the Mathurā region, and partly also to those of the art of the later Roman Empire with its rather squat forms.

From the third century onwards, there seems to be a revival of artistic forces that were current in the first century. The works of this later phase of Gandhāra art, especially those from Hadda and Jaulian, are characterised by an intensity of feeling, a telling realism, and an individuality of character that are strongly reminiscent of the classical tradition and are far removed from the sapless, conventional commonplaces of the earlier phase of progressive decadence. It is this phase of Gandhāra art that was borne on the shoulders of Buddhism and Buddhist monks through Hadda and Bāmiyān to Central Asia and China and it was into this phase that contemporary art of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley poured a little of its contents and spirit.

From the Indian point of view, the importance of Gandhāra art lies in the fact that here one can see how a phase of Indian life, religion and iconography looked like in a foreign eclectic garb. From a Hellenistic point of view, it represents an eastward extension of Hellenistic art, as transformed by Śaka-Kushāṇa and Iranian tastes and forms, in an Indian setting and as applied to Indian subjects. As Kramrisch says: "Gandhāra . . . occupies a position apart. For, it is Indian and colonial from a Hellenistic point of view, it is Hellenistic and colonial when viewed from India."

IV. MATHURĀ: c. A.D. 150-300

The earliest finds from Mathurā, represented by a few fragmentary sculptures, are closely related to the art of Bhārhut, going back to the middle of the second century B.C.; but it is from about the beginning of the Christian era that the Mathurā school seems to have become active and begun producing unceasingly for centuries those varied works of art which earned for her an enviable position in the art world of contemporary India and enabled her, at a later stage, to export images to such centres as Central Asia and Taxila on the one hand, and Śrāvastī and Sārnāth on the other. The unmistakable identification mark of all Mathurā sculptures is the spotted red sandstone from Sikri.

A few specimens (the Āmohini relief, a standing female figure, the Loṇaśobhika *āyāgapaṭa* (pl. XXV, 63), the Kaṅkālī Tīlā *āyāgapaṭas*, etc.), that seem to belong to pre-Kanishka decades, show a character of relief composition that emphasises the stature of the main figure by raising its height and grading the subsidiary figures accordingly. All figures are carved boldly and against the plain surface of the ground. A certain heaviness of form, earth-bound and of primitive significance, can be traced from the very beginning (compare the *yaksha* tradition); those in action, especially the feminine figures, betray a conscious sensuality as well.

This heavy physicality is soon partly relieved by a relaxation of the flesh and an open-eyed smiling countenance which characterise the seated and standing Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (cf. pl. XXIV, 61) and also Jinas of the last quarter of the first and the second century. These sculptures are all in the round or in very high relief. Broad masculine chest and shoulders and a firm body-form expressive of enormous pent-up energy are some of their invariable positive characteristics that have hardly any relation to the contemporary art of the Gandhāra Buddha. Without any attempt at expressing grace, sweetness or calm repose, qualities that are connoted by the Buddha-Bodhisattva idea, these figures clearly relate themselves to a primitive earthbound tradition as exemplified by the *yakshas* and *yakshiṇīs*. The right shoulder of the Buddha-Bodhisattvas is left bare, the drapery, arranged in schematic folds, closely clings to the body that shines through, and the scarfs, twisted into bulging ropes and loops, dangle on one side. Modelling is summarised up to the waist, stiff and hard below, where the two legs stand stiffly like stumps; the outline is consistently firm.

The Gandhāra Buddha type was, however, not unknown in Mathurā; indeed, it seems to have been copied in not a few examples that exhibit a kind of refined treatment. The Gandhāran composition is also evident in certain reliefs and decorative motifs; but this does not happen before the first half of the second century.

The heavy life-size portrait statues of the Śaka-Kushāṇa kings—Kanishka (pl. XXIV, 60), Wema Khadphises (?) and Chashṭana (?), all belonging to the last quarter of the first century, and clad in Central Asian Scythic dress—are in a class and style apart. The dress and footwear of the Kanishka statue and the inscription across the surface of the lower part of the enormous heavy and angular robe at once indicate that the artist was not an Indian but most probably a Scythic national. Rigorously frontal in setting, its main effect is entirely gathered on the surface, and the solid and compact drapery is treated in harsh angles and flat lines sharply chiselled. It is not unlikely that this Scythic tradition, as reflected in these statues, passed on its angularity of compositional arrangement to the composition of the seated or standing Buddha-Bodhisattva images of Mathurā.

Roman influences, too, seem to have touched Mathurā, probably directly by the sea-route. A well-known example, that of the so-called Herakles and the Nemean lion, and a number of Bacchanalian scenes in relief (cf. pl. XXIII, 58) are not only Western in theme, but also seem to have been inspired by Roman aesthetic ideals and artistic treatment.

The continuity of the indigenous tradition is best represented by a series of high relief sculptures on the front sides of pillars and pillar-bases from various sites of Mathurā. Most of these appear to belong to the second century and, while a few represent Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and male figures, the great majority are nude or semi-nude female figures (pl. XXIV, 59, 62)—*yakshiṇīs* or *vṛikshakās* or *apsarases* in erotic attitude suggesting fertility—or women engaged in their toilet. An intimate connection with Śuṅga and Kushāṇa terracottas is at once suggested, both in theme and treatment, and a lineal relationship with the *yakshiṇīs* and *vṛikshakās* of Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā and Sānchī is also equally undeniable. But what had been spontaneous movement has now become conscious gestures, and what stood for symbols or emblems have now become vehicles of sensuous and erotic suggestiveness. Full round breasts and full heavy hips are no longer just conveyors of the idea of fertility, but suggest warm and living flesh, relaxed or tight. Frankly, the aim is sensual, and this is further emphasised by the outward thrust of the hip, the slight turn of the head or the hand, a definitely erotic and suggestive attitude. Even in the male figures, living flesh is clearly suggested by the modelling.

V. VEṄGI: JAGGAYYAPETA, AMARĀVATĪ, NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA, GOLI, ETC. c. 150 B.C.—A.D. 400

The earliest specimens of sculptural art from the Kṛishṇā-Godāvarī delta, known in ancient times as Veṅgi, hail from Jaggayyapeta (cf. pl. XXVIII, 72, 73) and Amarāvatī, and comprise a number of carved marble slabs, presumably of *stūpas* and railings. These low and highly linearised reliefs frankly belong to the common denominator of form of Bhārhut and early Sānchī, but lines in Veṅgi are much more sensitive and the human forms with their elongated limbs are much more tall and slender. At Amarāvatī (cf. pls. XXIX, 74-76; XXX, 77-78) the reliefs are slightly rounder and the modelling fuller and more delicate. On the whole, men, animals and vegetation are more elastic and treated more elegantly than in the north. The material *par excellence* of Veṅgi artists was marble. Never so far was the delicate and voluptuous beauty of the human frame so richly and luxuriously conceived, and never were technical skill and efficiency more adequate for realisation of the conception.

There is no doubt that the Veṅgi region carries on the tradition of early Indian art, and serves as a link between the earlier art of Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā and Sānchī on the one hand and the later Gupta and Pallava art on the other. As in Bhārhut and Sānchī, the marble reliefs from the various sites of Veṅgi depict the Buddhist legendary cycle in all its details, but the art was hardly religious at all, far less Buddhist; it does not speak of nor aim at suggesting the Buddhist ideal of renunciation or *nirvāṇa*, or of discipline or strict ethical virtues including avoidance of women. Rather, it is frankly naturalistic and even sensuous; an innocent and spontaneous joy and the most pagan love of life pervade the entire world unfolded before our eyes. The female forms of the *yakshiṇīs*, the *vṛikshakās* and the dancing girls have been rendered with infinite love and grace; their full busts, heavy hips and their living flesh have all been touched with a saturating sensuousness.

In the reliefs from Veṅgi, nature recedes to the background; it still serves its symbolic purpose, but is no more to be seen in its fertile abundance. The main interest passes on to the human figure itself. Scene after scene teems with tall and slender human figures; they are everywhere in abundance, in all poses and attitudes, in action and movement, in ease and relaxation, in high tension and elegant languor, sitting, standing, bending, flying, dancing, hanging, hovering—always exhibiting sturdy but delicately modelled bodies with heavy heaving shoulders borne on a pair of slender supple legs, all definite in their precise but exuberant outline and characterised by an amazing elasticity of movement.

Yet, the mature art of Veṅgi, as represented at Amarāvatī, is not entirely steeped in the physical and sensuous; here is neither the simple and spontaneous naturalism of Sānchī nor the unabashed lewdness of Mathurā. The sensuousness of Veṅgi is much more refined, elegant and sophisticated, lifted to a subtler plane, which is due not a little to a complete mastery of an advanced technique.

This mastery of technique is evident in a variety of directions. The relief matures in depth whence the figures seem to emerge and achieve the full roundness of form in the process of becoming. Oversecting and foreshortening, already evident at Bodh Gayā, Orissa and Sānchī, have also attained the fullest maturity and are exploited to the utmost. The flexibility of the body itself, with the joints all rounded off, has grown to swaying movements which carry the figure in dynamic rhythm. But the movements do not cease with the individual figure; the rhythm transcends the outermost limits of the figure, extends to the group which it binds together with the same dynamic movement, and finally to the entire composition with all its groups in one large sweeping movement, often in the form of a parabolic curve—a favourite device at Amarāvatī. Veṅgi thus brings to final consummation the problem of dynamic compositional unity which began haltingly and reticently at Bhārhut in the Prasenajit Pillar. The modelling, too, has grown to full maturity in plasticity and naturalism; it is subtler, more delicate and more sensitive than that of even Mathurā of the first century A.D. But the most important advance in technique lies in the treatment of the relative weight of the different parts of the body. The Hellenistic tradition of contrapost, of carrying the weight of one's body not by any mechanical or functional device as in early Indian art, but by the subtler process of balance and equilibrium, seems to have served the Veṅgi artists admirably well.

The above general description of the Veṅgi school refers to the highest level of the art reached at Amarāvatī towards the middle of the second century A.D. The reliefs of Gumadidurru, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Goli, although belonging to one common school, rarely attain this level. Some of these have a heavy and spreading plastic form like those of the Amarāvatī reliefs of the first century, but the modelling of the former is definitely softer and weaker than those of the latter. Others plastically belong to the last phase of Amarāvatī, *i.e.* the third century, when the clearly tangible outline of the second century softens down to almost feverish agitation and nervous mobility. The modelling, too, degenerates into a sort of tremulous mannerism trying to express a passion—wild, trembling and almost bursting with extravagance, in which the very sap of life was being consumed. The second century successfully tried to transcend the limits of the human body by intensifying the body-experience itself, but this could only be done by a disciplined mind through a process of rigorous discipline of the body. In the third century, this discipline is relaxed, in mind as in art, and the very intensification that served so well in the preceding century spells doom on the Veṅgi school, once so gay, luxuriant and animated. Not before the fifth and sixth centuries, in Gupta art of the Gaṅgā valley, was the experience of the second century given a new name and form in which the body itself was relieved of the weight of its physical substance and became illumined by a highly intellectualised spiritual experience.

VI. GENERAL REVIEW

With Mathurā and Amarāvatī the curtain is drawn on an art that began its career at Bhārhut, where men and women are part of nature itself and live a common life with trees and animals. A healthy pleasure in material life is taken for granted, but everybody takes it with earnestness, dignity and in calm self-evidence of enjoyment. At Bodh Gayā, the dignity and earnestness are equally valued, but the initial restraint gives way to slow swaying movements. Sānchī brings gaiety, emotion and vivacity born of a fuller acceptance of life and its spontaneous joys and movements; its calm and composed forms are innocent of transient and hysterical moments. Kārle is characterised by a calm strength and dignity; men and women there are mundane and earthly but in an ethnically primitive significance; it stands on life's stable and permanent foundations. This is equally true of the *yakshas, yakshiṇīs, nāgas,* and the Buddhist primitives of Mathurā. The reliefs of Mathurā bring the sense perception of Sānchī to maturity, and the joy in life expresses itself in easy serenity and a general cheerfulness of disposition. The human figures are enlivened by a careless enjoyment of life. The bourgeois ladies of Mathurā, even while loving, toying with pets, or gossiping and dallying, never behave coquettishly. But the aristocratic ladies of the upper classes of the urban and sophisticated society of Amarāvatī are definitely coquettish in an elegant though extravagant manner. The wildest joy and most violent passion shake them to their foundations. For the first time, Indian art becomes conscious of psychological conditions and learns to differentiate between the subtle and the violent shades and emotions of the human heart; they are given full expression to, not intellectually but through the lineaments of the body. Conceived not as a part of nature but confined within the physical frame and in a narrowly mundane manner and, further, abandoned to the fullest and nervous enjoyment of transient pleasures, life exacted its toll by drying itself up.

The fundamental change in the attitude and disposition towards life between Bhārhut and Sānchī on the one hand, and Mathurā and finally Amarāvatī on the other, can admittedly be explained by the general laws of optical evolution; it was to a very large extent the result of the natural growth of an aesthetic process. But possibly the difference was, at least partly, due to changes in the socio-economic structure, and hence in the social psychology of the people responsible for this art.

The change just referred to begins to assert itself roughly from about the middle of the first century A.D. Before that time both the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley and the Deccan (to which belong Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā, Sānchī, early Mathurā, Kārle and early Veṅgi) nurtured a civilisation and a structure of society that was mainly rural and agricultural. The art of such a social economy naturally reflected the essential oneness with nature, a healthy and spontaneous joy in, and acceptance of, life, preference for stable and permanent values and faith in calm and composed strength. But from about the middle of the first century A.D. India, more particularly the Deccan and the South, came quickly to share in a very rich maritime trade with the Mediterranean world, and gold and luxury products from the Roman West began freely to flow into the country. Slowly, but surely, the Deccan and also the North began to develop, along the river valleys, big emporiums of trade and commerce out of their old cities, and rural agricultural civilisation began to be transformed into a mercantile one, at least in the large centres of life and activity. With the creation of a real bourgeois society, a change in the social taste and also in the attitude towards life was but inevitable. This change is first noticeable at Mathurā even in the selection of motifs, which range from toilet and love scenes to scenes of toying with birds and drinking bouts. But Mathurā was hinterland and, moreover, too strong and eclectic a centre of past traditions and of influence from a variety of directions. Amarāvatī, on the other hand, lay not very far from the rich coastal ports of the eastern Deccan, a few of which at least sheltered rich Roman trading settlements. The art of Amarāvatī thus naturally reflects the disposition and attitude of a mercantile social economy which manifests preference for transient pleasures and temporary values, exuberant expression of joy and passion, and courtly elegance and sophistication.

C. PAINTING AND OTHER ARTS

I. PAINTING

Both Buddhist and Brahmanical literature, some of which undoubtedly go back to centuries before Christ, contain abundant references to the art of painting. The *Mahābhārata* mentions Chitralekhā, a maid of honour to princess Ushā, as a gifted portrait-painter and describes a painted hall. According to the *Vinaya Piṭaka,* Āmrapālī invited painters from various countries and asked them to paint on her walls the figures of kings, traders and merchants seen by them; and it was by seeing the portrait of Bimbisāra so painted that she fell in love with him. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* also makes several references to the pleasure-houses of king Prasenajit, containing *chittāgāras* or picture-halls or galleries. Besides portraiture and mural paintings, we also find mention of such widely-known practices as *lepya-chitras, lekhya-chitras, dhūli-chitras*, etc. *Lepya-chitras* are nothing but continuous narratives in line and colour on textiles, and partook of the nature of *paṭa-chitras* of later tradition; *lekhya-chitras* are probably line-drawings of a decorative nature like *ālimpanas* or *ālpanās* of later tradition, while *dhūli-chitras* are also of the same nature and character, but the material used is powdered rice, white or coloured. Literary records having a direct bearing on the art of painting are indeed numerous, and they go to show that from very early times painting, both secular and religious, was considered an important form of artistic expression and widely practised by the classes and masses alike. The theoretical basis of the art in relation to the world of vision and imagination is also alluded to in the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhist sūtras and gāthās. This indicates that there were very early tradition and practice which eventually led at a later period to the formulation of definite principles of theory, technique and classification of various kinds of painting.

We have, however, no extant specimen of such ancient practice. The earliest historical example of which we have any definite knowledge consists of a few rows of human figures in yellow and ochre earth colours, arranged in sections in accordance with the shape of the irregularly vaulted ceiling of the Sītābengā or Jogīmārā cave in the Rāmgarh hills in the Surgujā State of the Eastern States Agency. Besides the irregular compositional bands, there is also another band with representations of large aquatic animals, *makara*, etc., also in the same yellow and ochre earth colours. The compositions have all been covered over by a layer of paintings subsequently added, but enough remains to indicate that these murals were executed in what is known as 'tempera', that the figures, which are mostly in three-quarter profile, are lively and freely rhythmical, and though loosely set at a distance from one another and arranged in parallel rows, they are well balanced in alignments and inherently connected with one another. Foreshortening and oversecting are easily employed, and the third dimension is intelligently understood.

All these bespeak considerable past knowledge and practice, and perhaps also a consciousness of parallel practice in such cubical materials as wood, stone and clay. Indeed a comparison of the garment—*dhoti* and *uttarīya*—of some of the Jogīmārā figures with those of early Sānchī (*Stūpa* II) and Jaggayyapeta reliefs will establish strong similarities in form and motif. It is not, therefore, without good reason that these paintings have generally been assigned to about the middle of the first century B.C. Indeed, their maturity is more or less on a level with contemporary sculpture.

A century and a half later follows the next phase of Indian mural paintings as exemplified on the walls of caves Nos. IX and X of Ajaṇṭā (cf. pls. XXXI, 79; XXXII, 80).

Only scanty specimens of the earliest Ajaṇṭā phase are preserved, but they are mature works and belong creditably to the contemporary denominator of Indian plastic art. In certain respects, as in the driving diagonal direction of the composition emphasised by the cubical and voluminous slanting rocks and the trees, in swaying movement, in its forward direction from depth to the surface, and in the general fullness of composition, they sometimes surpass even the contemporary sculptural vision and treatment. Only some of the Amarāvatī reliefs can vie with them in aesthetic effect.

The paintings are laid over a fine coat of plaster, finished by another coat of finely polished white priming. The outlines were drawn first in broad sweeps, and details were added afterwards. Natural earth, found locally, formed most, if not all, of the pigments in which red in different tones, green, grey, brown, yellow and white predominate. The compositions are arranged in friezes and panels; while narrating a Jātaka story, scenes are arranged in compartments. The ground is divided, as in the Chhaddanta Jātaka scene of Cave X, by two or three horizontal bands of colour, a principle followed also in later murals of Ajaṇṭā (*e.g.* Cave XVII).

The two important scenes, one a frieze representing superimposed rows of human figures in Cave IX and another representing a group of elephants of the Chhaddanta Jātaka story in Cave X, bring out the main principles of this phase of painting. Both, so far as their forms are concerned, correspond to contemporary relief tradition; indeed they are painted versions of such carved and modelled groups, and in density and relief can stand comparison with similar representations in Sānchī. Both men and animals are modelled in colour in a variety of positions; indeed, they attest to much knowledge and experience in the modelling capacity of both line and colour. The implication of depth and the direction of coming forward to the surface, which in the later Ajaṇṭā phase are brought to consummation, find their full level already in these paintings. The full masses of the figures reach the outermost level where they spread up to their limits. The figures themselves, though densely packed and of smooth movement, betray hardly any emotional state and are unconnected with one another. Sturdy in shape, of distinct ethnic class and sartorial types, the human figures are detached and reticent, and are very near in appearance to figures as carved in Bodh Gayā and Sānchī.

Certain faint traces of early painting are also found in the *Chaitya* cave at Bedsā, but these are obscured by later white-washing. On the whole, despite numerous references to painted halls, palaces, etc., to *lepya, lekhya* and *dhūli-chitras* in early Buddhist literature and in the epics, those that have survived and are known to us are very limited in quality and variety. Nevertheless, it is in these early specimens that we see the beginnings of the later schools which have preserved the continuity of pictorial tradition for more than a millennium.

II. TERRACOTTA

Terracotta was the material for artistic expression of the humbler people to whom stone, not very easily obtainable in the plains of northern India, was a precious and costly material. A large number and variety of finds have been made on various levels of excavations at a number of important city sites, such as Pāṭaliputra (comprising Bulandibagh, Kumrahar and Patna), Buxar, Taxila, Mathurā, Ahichchhatra, Vaiśālī (Basārh), Kauśāmbī, Rājghāt (Banaras), Bāngarh and Mahāsthān (N. Bengal). It seems that the art of terracotta, either fashioned directly out of clay by hand or shaped and modelled by moulds, provided the most popular objects for household worship and decoration, plaques and figures in the round for popular magic and religious purposes, seals for purposes of documentation, children's toys, ornaments for the poor, medals, amulets, and animal figurines of totemistic significance or children's playthings. Much more than their pure aesthetic significance is their value as materials for the history of Indian culture and life of the common people. The terracotta seals, often inscribed, provide most important material for political, socio-economic and religious history, while toys, ornaments and household materials are of great value for a comparative study of our culture at different periods. On the whole, terracotta art of India, though not attaining to the dignity of a major art like sculpture, is nevertheless an important vehicle of human expression of undoubted sociological significance and deserves to be more seriously studied.

Any study of Indian terracottas from a standpoint of historical or chronological sequence is rendered difficult by a large number of finds of supposedly 'archaic' or 'primitive' type and form. Kramrisch has labelled them "ageless" or "timeless", as they remain essentially unchanged by variations of time and perhaps also of locality. This type may occur side by side with the normal one on the same excavation level which is different in principle as well as in form. The products of the timeless type are as numerous and varied, and also as important to the people at large, as those on which sequence of time leaves its impress. The former type, which one can witness from the Sindhu valley onwards up to the present day, is made always and invariably by hand and includes such objects as figurines of the mother-goddess seated or standing (or earth-goddess or goddess of fertility), children's toys, chariots, human images, figures of horse, elephant, ram, humped bull, monkey, dog, bird, lizard, frog, fish and Makara. Figures, whether human or animal, are invariably fashioned in a way that reduces the physiognomical form of the subject to a distribution of the simplest volumes answering the main parts of the body, *i.e.* the head, the trunk and the limbs. Within this principle there are indeed differences in degree as well as in technique. The female figurines are invariably characterised by heavy bulging hips and narrow waists, sometimes also by the navel and the *mekhalā*—all being notions of potential motherhood. Some of the figurines have animal snouts, and the head is either drawn in horn shapes or bulges out in bumps; both are basically the same and have a primitive significance that connects the head with spiritual illumination. This horn or bump shape explains the *ushṇīsha* of the Buddha and the historical terracotta figures of men and women with unicorn or bicornate head-dresses from various sites of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley. The large majority of the ageless types that have come down to us belong mainly to the excavated sites at Buxar, Pāṭaliputra, Taxila, Kauśāmbī and Basārh. Sometimes the date and locality even of such ageless types can be approximately fixed mainly by reason of contemporary fashions in dress and ornaments, form and technique, local traits and peculiarities, etc.

Historical or time-bound terracottas of pre-Gupta date are generally moulded, while head-dresses are affixed; the faces at least are in all cases moulded, registering stylistic characteristics, and they are affixed to bodies modelled by hand (cf. pl. XXXIII, 82). This complex technique gives way to completely moulded—not modelled—figures in the Gupta period. More than stone sculpture or anything else, this enormous *corpus* of terracottas, though only a small fraction of the total output, represents a rich inventory of contemporary Indian art form and style as well as of social tastes and tendencies. The large city-sites, already referred to, along with such widely distributed sites as Lauriyā Nandangarh (Bihār), Sari-Dheri (N.-W.F.), Maski

(Hyderābād), Pawāyā (Gwālior), Saheth-Maheth (old Śrāvastī), Gayā (Bihār), etc. have yielded terracottas that are easily distinguishable by their local features of form and style. But the most representative types and forms hail mostly from Pāṭaliputra, Mathurā and Buxar, all in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley.

Barring one steatite plaque from Pāṭaliputra, inscribed in Mauryan characters, and a few other objects (Patna, Kauśāmbī, Buxar), no regular terracottas that can more or less definitely be ascribed to the Maurya period have yet come to light from any of the early sites. Generally they were baked to various shades of ochre, red, grey or black. But neither the method of baking, nor the quality of clay, nor the shade of colour, is any sure or exclusive index as to date or locality.

In the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period, *i.e.* from about 200 B.C. to about the first century A.D., the major *corpus* seems to have consisted of female figures. These are richly dressed, slim, with a heavy countenance, and have magnificently modelled busts, well disciplined bodies with delicate modelling of the chest, skirts with flutters and extravagant loops, and a rather high and wide head with lateral bumps accentuated further by elaborate hair-dressing or heavy head-wear (cf. pls. XXXIV, 83-84; XXXV, 85-86). To this period may also be assigned some of the finds from Basārh, Buxar, Pāṭaliputra and Mathurā, with definitely Hellenistic heads and faces, Hellenistic modelling and, in a few cases, also Hellenistic drapery.

Terracottas with definitely Śaka-Kushāṇa stylistic impress exhibit a great variety of ethinic types and nomad fashions, especially conspicuous in the male figures from Mathurā, which must have been due to the influx of new racial types and new fashions and tastes. Faces of female figures are characterised by either a smile or at least an animation noticeable on the cheek-bones set below a pair of flat wide-open eyes. Musicians with a great variety of instruments appear for the first time during this period, many of them distinguished by their long noses. Horsemen and riders holding reins, generally in moulded figures, are also seen for the first time. On the whole, both in variety and in design, in sturdiness of form and differentiated modelling, the terracottas of the Kushāṇa period, found in excavations at Pāṭaliputra, Ahichchhatra and Mathurā, provide a rich wealth of material for the study of contemporary art form and design. This can well be supplemented for the Deccan and the South by rich material recently unearthed from Maksi in Hyderābād.

III. COINS, SEALS, INTAGLIO GEMS, ETC. (pl. XXXVII)

Though the history of Indian coinage begins with silver and copper punch-marked coins, datable from about 600 B.C. onwards, their value as aesthetic objects to the historian of art is almost negligible, despite their undoubted importance to the historian, numismatist and anthropologist. Formally and psychologically they are tribal in origin and primitive in conception; the shapes are irregular, the execution rude, and the punches, impressed separately and irregularly and sometimes clumsily, show no artistic design. The symbols never go beyond a representational significance; while human figures are rare, the animal devices are sometimes creatively conceived and executed with considerable spirit, but crude workmanship prevents a refined achievement.[1] Local and tribal coins, equally indigenous in origin and conception, and datable in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era, show a decided advance in shape and design as well as in workmanship and execution. They are either cast or die-struck; a large number of devices are merely symbolical, but the animal devices are at times rendered naturalistically with an eye to plasticity of movement.[2] The type and treatment of the human figure recall either the figure of the gold-plaque earth-goddess from Lauriyā Nandangarh[3] or the average human figuration of early Indian relief sculpture. In the former case, they merely serve a symoblical purpose. Of some of the anonymous tribal coins, datable in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, not only the form and treatment of the human figure but the design and shape as well are clearly inspired by contemporary Kushāṇa and Gupta coins, which in their turn were derived from Hellenistic, Roman and Parthian models. So far as the Indian coinage is concerned, vegetal devices are rarely artistically conceived, but in at least one tribal coin[5] the palm-tree motif has been rendered with singular charm and remarkable concreteness of vision.

But of coins and gems, artistically the most interesting are those that were inspired by Hellenistic, Roman and Parthian models.

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[1] Smith, *CCIM*, pl. XIX, fig. 10.
[2] *Ibid*, pl. XIX, figs. 15, 18; pl. XX, figs. 7, 11, 18.
[3] *Ibid*, pl. XX, fig. 12; pl. XIX, fig. 20; pl. XXI, fig. 15.
[4] *Ibid*, pl. XX, fig. 11.
[5] *Ibid*, pl. XIX, fig. 17.

They are all datable from about the second century B.C. to about the first century A.D. and belong to the Bactrian and Scytho-Parthian kings who held sway for a considerable time in the Punjāb and the North-West.[1] The stylistic history of these coins and gems is clear and coherent; with very few exceptions the coins, and also the intaglio gems, are aesthetically of a high order. Their chaste and elegant execution, their refined workmanship, and their general design are in the best of Hellenistic tradition, particularly in the earliest examples where the legends are invariably in Greek. While the portraits they bear are unmistakably characterised by the refined realism of Hellenistic portraiture, the mythological types are derived from Greek mythology and rendered formally strictly along the lines of those in Hellenistic art. At a slightly later stage, Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage comes into contact with Indian coinage whence they derive some of their peculiarities and result, at least in certain instances, in either square (Apollodotus) or clumsily rectangular shapes (Agathocles and Pantaleon). The Attic standard gradually fades away and is replaced by one of Achaemenian origin; legends become bilingual—Greek and Indian in either Kharoshṭhī or Brāhmī; and with time, as Hellenistic inspiration fades away, the portraits begin to lose their fine realism, the Hellenistic figure-types are steadily replaced by Indian or Scytho-Parthian, and the coins as a whole suffer in the chastity of design and elegance of execution.

Though inspired by Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage both in type and form, the Indo-Parthian coins are generally clumsy in execution and crowded in design, and record the impress of increasingly more Indian feeling and forms, especially in animal and human devices.[2] Certain nomadic barbarian elements are also equally noticeable,[3] which go to show that the engravers were not just mere copyists but were giving expression to their own ideas. Still more increasingly Indian in feeling and figure-types are the early Kushāṇa coins, though in dress and demeanour the portraits retain their northern characteristics. In execution and design these early Kushāṇa coins are much more elegant and refined than the Indo-Parthian ones. Later Kushāṇa coins of about the third century, however, tend to be more and more clumsy and crowded in design; though the execution remains clear and precise, the types

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1. Cf. Chs. VII, VIII, IX.
2. Smith, *CCIM*, pl. XIII, figs. 1. 4. 14.
3. *Ibid*, pl. IX, figs. 1, 4, 8.

and forms are heavily influenced by those of Persian and Sassanian origin. The silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, on the other hand, was based essentially on the Greek hemidrachmae. They are neat, regular, and are very elegantly executed. Formally and historically Gupta coinage takes its cue from early Kushāṇa coins on the one hand and Western Kshatrapa coins on the other. Andhra coins of the second and third centuries A.D., though at times irregular in shape and heavy in design, belong altogether to a different aesthetic form and are essentially indigenous in character. Their symbols and figure-devices have a characteristic local flavour and a tribal conception.

A large number and variety of engraved gems—cornelian sard of different hues, jacinth, sardoine, black garnet, etc.—have been picked up from different sites all over north-western India. They are all invariably Hellenistic in conception and execution, and reveal a highly developed sense of relief and composition. Motifs and subjects are invariably derived from Greek mythology, and some of them are often found repeated from one gem to another. There can be no doubt that these gems were very much in fashion and demand. Athena, seated or standing, fighting warriors, Aphrodite, a spirited lion or elephant, gods and goddesses of Greek legends, etc. are the most common motifs, and the gems bear legends in Greek and early Brāhmī or Kharoshṭhī characters. Towards the beginning of the Christian era, probably due to a lessening of demand, the art began to deteriorate; the delicacy of technique, refinement of execution and elegance of vision seem definitely to have been on the wane. In the first and second centuries A.D. the Greek inspiration was replaced by the Roman, perhaps from Asia Minor, and, borne on the shoulders of Roman trade and commerce, a new type of intaglio work, characterised by a distinctive sensuousness of figure conception, came into vogue. But neither the Greek nor the Roman art of intaglio gems seems to have taken root on the Indian soil.

IV. POTTERY

Objective and systematic study of early Indian pottery is only just beginning, and it is difficult to deal with the subject in correct historical sequence. Pottery is shortlived, but it may on occasion travel very extensively; in fact, recent excavations at Arikamedu near Pondicherry have yielded products that were probably made, as far away as Italy on the one hand and in China on the other. They are thus invaluable material for the history of commerce, chronology and culture.

Recent exploration in a large number of sites in North India has yielded a typical pottery (including dishes and bowls) of fine grey ware with a wide range of black painting. Stratigraphic evidence obtained previously at Ahichchhatra and now at Tilpat near Delhi and Hastināpura, District Meerut, shows that it partly overlapped and largely preceded the northern black polished ware.[1] The pottery of the Mauryan period found at Pāṭaliputra, Kasrāwad, Bairāṭ, Sārnāth, Rājghāṭ and other places includes the well-known polished black ware bowls which in many cases must have travelled from important centres to outlying provinces. Some of the broken fragments found at Bairāṭ and Kasrāwad show repairs being executed locally by means of copper wires and rivets, proving that this pottery was, at that period and in that particular social stratum where the articles were used, considered valuable and was not easily replaceable.

Ahichchhatra potteries of the earlier levels (c. 600-100 B.C.) are limited to few varieties of shape; a large number of these consist of grey wares, and a few with a black slip. These vessels are mostly plain, but there are a few red wares bearing stamped designs. This early group is practically devoid of any painted decoration of any sort, and moulds are never used. Grey and black polished wares are altogether absent in the next phase (100 B.C.-A.D. 350), which is also marked by the absence of any incised and painted decoration or of slip or wash. But they bear stamped symbols the like of which one can find on contemporary coins and sculptures. The evolution of the cooking pot, as shown by the successive stages of such ware from Ahichchhatra, indicates that rimless wares were the earliest which were followed by thin-rimmed ones. Large open bowls of grey colour are conspicuous in the early period (c. 300-100 B.C.). Straight-edged, lipped and broad-mouthed bowls predominate among the grey wares of this period, while among the red wares of the next phase jars with straight necks or no well-defined necks are typical. A few major changes seem to take place in the two centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the

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[1] Mr. A. Ghosh of the Archaeological Department has kindly supplied this information.

Christian era (100 B.C.-A.D. 100); but cooking pans with small lug-handles and jars with no well-defined necks are the more important types in the pottery of this period. Rare and distinctive types, *e.g.* the bowl-shaped stopper, bellied jar with small bottle-neck, etc. are also characteristic of the period. Kushāṇa potteries hail in large numbers from all important sites in the Punjāb and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley including Mathurā. New types and surface decorations with stamped symbols like the *Triratna, Swastika, Nandipāda,* etc. are characteristic features of this phase. Among new types mention may be made of the flat-based drinking bowl, and the wide-mouthed jar with thick walls and beater-marks over the body with its different variants. In Ahichchhatra this period is associated with the glorious days of the Pañchāla kingdom which may account for the variety, originality and abundance of the pottery types; but it is also likely that all over northern India the Kushāṇa culture-complex may have produced a livening effect as well as furnished certain new types.

In respect of the pottery of the Deccan and the south, it has long been known that Buddhist sites of the Kṛishṇā valley have yielded pots which reveal the stages of change from the Iron Age types to those of the Sātavāhana period. In several places dark polished wares found along with the Iron Age cemeteries must approximate in date the typical black polished ware in northern India. Some special wares, such as the painted bowls with grit or cross-lined patterns, are found widely in sites from Hyderābād, Mysore, and Bellary and Anantapur districts of Madras. These can be assigned to roughly about 300 to 100 B.C., but in the absence of systematic excavation, the data afforded by these cannot be considered authentic. Nor has the abundant pottery from such sites as Koṇḍāpur yet been properly studied. But it is clear that in the south, the soft loamy clay, which forms the bulk of the natural soil, was commonly used, while other varieties suitable for special wares, such as China clay, were also to be found in different localities and were naturally responsible for the different shades of colour met with in southern wares. In any case the richness and variety of the productions of the Sātavāhana period in the south are indisputable.

The recent excavations at Arikamedu have furnished a very rich treasure for the study of south Indian pottery. These finds come from what was once a considerable town that comprised, among many other things, a warehouse, a textile manufactory and at least several bead-making establishments. A kind of red-glazed pottery, presumably manufactured in Italy in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era, Roman lamps and glass wares, and two-handled jars or amphorae, characteristic of contemporary Mediterranean wine-trade, are amongst the objects picked up, and they go to prove that Arikamedu was once a prosperous south Indian settlement of Western trading people including Romans. Generally, the imported Arikamedu potteries fall into three categories: (a) red-glazed ware, the glaze varying in degree and kind, called 'Arretine' ware, with imported copies, (b) wine or oil jars with double handles of various shapes or amphorae, and (c) rouletted black ware. There are potters' stamps on a few Arretine wares which help us to identify their place of origin. Copies of Arretine ware were locally made, but they are of a hard greyish buff colour with polished surface. The Arretine type may be assigned to A.D. 1-50. Imported amphorae are of a pink fabric with yellow slip; some of the handles are of a rectilinear and high-shouldered profile. These may be ascribed, on European parallels, to the middle of the first century A.D., when presumably the introduction of Arretine ware had ceased. Rouletted black ware is the characteristic Arikamedu type; it has an incurved and beaked rim with a faceted edge, with a remarkably smooth surface and the flat interior decorated with two or three concentric bands of roulettes; it is thin, brittle and well-burnt, and has an almost metallic ring. This type is also presumably Mediterranean in origin, but varieties of inferior fabric were probably made locally.

Besides the imported ones, there was also a very large mass of local wares, usually turned on the wheel, excepting a class of portable ovens, rings of ring-wells, large-size troughs and local jars. A few of these local products were inscribed in early Brāhmī script. The colour of the fabric is either pink or grey or greyish red, or light red, according to the degree of heat and the chemical composition of the clay. Slips were commonly applied but decorations are rare, and the types are distinctly plain and utilitarian. They may be assigned to about the first and second centuries A.D. Arikamedu has also yielded a small number of Chinese celedon wares but they are invariably late in date and hence outside the scope of this volume.

There are very few affinities between the northern and southern pottery types of India. The southern wares are coarser, and in design have a less sophisticated range, the majority being mostly plain and utilitarian. The north furnishes a highly polished fabric and offers a large variety of design and decoration. One or two types only establish more or less a fundamental traditional affinity. The dish with convex base and incurved side is common to both Arikamedu and Ahichhhatra; its fabric is also more or less common. There are also one or two types from Arikamedu that may be profitably compared with identical types from Ahichchhatra, Maholi near Mathurā, and Taxila.

V. MINOR ARTS

Among the minor miscellaneous arts of this period, the jeweller' art easily occupies the first place of importance. This is evident not only from actual finds of gold and silver jewelleries at different sites, notably Taxila and Pāṭaliputra, but also from representations in stone sculpture, terracotta and ivory from about the second century B.C. to about the third century A.D. A typical terracotta specimen with elaborate jewellery is provided by the terracotta figurine (pl. XXXV, 86) from the Oxford Institute, originally from Tamluk, which exhibits perhaps the most elaborate scheme of ornamentation ever found on an Indian male or female figure. Reference may also be made to a recent find of an Indian ivory Yakshiṇī figure from the ruins of Pompeii, with sumptuous and complicated jewellery and belonging to about the second century A.D. Ordinary men and women wearing ornaments, as seen in the stone reliefs and terra cottas, also indicate the great place the jeweller's art occupied in ancient India. Indeed, in no other field did India maintain her unquestioned skill and resourcefulness throughout the ages as in the art of the goldsmith and the silversmith. The possession of gold and silver ornaments has become part and parcel of the cherished material equipment of an average Indian householder, and this, partly at least, explains the high level of the jeweller's art through the centuries. Excavations carried out at great depths in connection with certain sewage operations in the city of Patna have brought to light a wealth of material for reconstructing the technique of this art by providing the raw materials of every stage, the tools used, finished and unfinished products, etc. The excavations at Taxila also have yielded important hoards of gold and silver jewellery of every sort, utensils of silver and lesser metals and ornaments of inferior metals, all indicating a high level of culture. Some at least of these works were inspired without doubt by Hellenistic models, such as the silver repousse, the bust of Dionysus and the bronze figure of the Egyptian god Hippocrates(?); but broadly speaking, the ornaments (all sorts of ear-ornament, neck-wear, head ornaments, bracelets, anklets, girdles, etc.) were manufactured indigenously with great skill and minuteness of detail. It is quite possible that this jeweller's art was originally introduced into India by the northern nomads, who excelled in this line and whose art was characterised by abstract geometric designs and patterns and also by the flowing linear rhythm of vegetable and animals forms. Indeed, quite a good many forms, patterns and designs of the Indian goldsmith's art of today can directly be traced to northern nomadic forms of Scythian art which were brought into India by West-Asiatic people and the Śakas and Kushāṇas. This is perhaps one of the reasons why goldsmiths and their craft in India from very early times are among the castes and callings that are considered low.

Copper and ironsmiths also held an important place amongst the artisans, and literary references to them are quite abundant from the *Ṛigveda* downwards. In the Jātakas and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra,* frequent references are made to them, and every ancient Indian city site, excavated so far, reveals the considerable attention given to metallurgical works. Indeed, such a monument of wrought iron industry as the great Iron Pillar of king Chandra of the fourth century A.D. at Meharauli near Delhi not only shows the perfection to which the art of Indian metal workers had attained in the fourth century, but indicates the skill and resourcefulness of generations of indigenous metal workers. Similarly in respect of the carpenter's art. Numerous indigenous references to their craft from the *Ṛigveda* downwards, the descriptions of Greek writers of the wooden palaces of Pāṭaliputra, and the remains of early Indian lithic monuments (gates and railings of *Stūpas, Chaitya* façades, halls, etc.), which are but translation into stone from wooden originals, are enough positive evidence of the high level and efficiency of the carpenter's art.

Ivory carving was another art which was highly cultivated and is comparable only with the art of the goldsmith. It is well known that the ivory carvers of the city of Vidiśā imparted something of their fine skill to the reliefs of the Sānchī gates. The recent discoveries in Afghānistān and of the Yakshiṇī figure from Pompeii, referred to above, all of which bear the impress of strong West-Asiatic influences including Hellenistic, are some of the finest workmanship of the Indian *dantakāra* or *dantaghātaka,* and are basically of indigenous initiative and talent (pl. **XXXVI**, 87-90).

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL CONDITION

We possess manifold sources of information for the social, economic and cultural conditions of the period under review. These consist mainly of religious literature (Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain), accounts of foreign travellers and epigraphic records. These different authorities do not always agree, partly because they refer to different periods and localities, and partly because they look at the social condition from different angles of vision. This no doubt causes some confusion and difficulty, but is also a great advantage for the historian, who has no longer to depend, as in the previous period, upon the Vedic texts alone, but is in a position to check and supplement their accounts and draw up a more reliable and comprehensive picture of the society as a whole.

I. CASTE

As in the closing period of the Vedic Age, the *Varṇa* (the classes or the castes) and *Āśrama* (the four orders or stages of life) are the dominent features of society. They gradually become rigid and fixed, but the Hindu society was far from attaining its normal and standardized form in this age.*

As many of the extant Gṛihya-sūtras and Dharma-sūtras were compiled during the first part of this period, we may presume that the rules of castes and orders, domestic rites and ceremonies, and general manners and customs, described above in Vol. I, Chapter XXVII, were prevalent at the beginning of this period also. It is not necessary to refer to them again except by way of further elucidation and the addition of details.

The duties of the different castes, as enumerated in the Dharma sūtras, have been very pithily put in his inimitable analytical manner by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*. He enumerates the duties of the Brāhmaṇa as (1) *Adhyayana* (study), (2) *Adhyāpana* (teaching), (3) *Yajana* (worship), (4) *Yājana* (officiating at worship), (5) *Dāna* (making gifts) and (6) *Pratigraha* (accepting gifts). The *svadharma* or duties of the Kshatriya comprised (1) *Adhyayana,* (2) *Yajana* (3) *Dāna*, (4) *Śastrājīva* (profession of arms as source of livelihood) and (5) *Bhūtarakshaṇa* (protection of living beings). The duties of the Vaiśya are (1) *Adhyayana,* (2) *Yajana,* (3) *Dāna,* (4) *Kṛishi* (agriculture), (5) *Pāśupālya* (cattle-rearing) and (6) *Vāṇijya* (trade). The functions assigned to the Śūdra are (1) *Dvijātiśuśrūshā* (menial service of the three twice-born castes), (2) *Vārtā* (production of wealth), (3) *Kārukarma* (Arts) and (4) *Kuśīlavakarma* (Crafts). It will be seen from the above that Kauṭilya points out the common duties of the three higher castes as Study (*Adhyayana*), Worship (*Yajana*), and Making Gifts (*Dāna*).

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* See Preface.

These ideas are more or less stereotyped in the Dharma-śāstras, which reflect the spirit of the Vedic literature in all respects, especially in assigning the highest status and dignity to the Brāhmaṇas. In *Manu-saṁhitā,* for example, the highest supremacy in every respect is claimed for a Brāhmaṇa, though emphasis is also laid on the superior knowledge and qualifications on which that status rests. He must be well versed in his grasp of the Absolute or Brahma (*Brahma-dhāraṇa*)[1] and his observance of vows (*niyama-dhāraṇa*)[2] and must cultivate universal love. He filled the highest offices of State and society by his character—those of teacher, priest, judge,[3] prime minister,[4] assessor[5] and member of the Dharma Parishad, the standing legal commission in the administration.[6] He was punishable in law, but not by capital punishment.[7]

A Brāhmaṇa lost his status if he violated the restrictions prescribed as to food and gifts, occupation or profession,[8] and sought for livelihood on the strength of his mere birth or caste without its virtues or ideals.[9] But in actual life, specially in times of distress, he was allowed to follow occupations not theoretically prescribed for him. This rule applied to other castes also.

As regards the Śūdra, "service was his portion in life".[10] He was not eligible for sacraments (*Saṁskāras*), nor for hearing sacred texts except their substance.[11] But he was not denied the rites of marriage, cooking of daily food in the *gṛihya* fires, and funeral ceremonies (*Śrāddha*). Manu even mentions Śūdra teachers and pupils,[1] showing that the Śūdra was not denied the right to learning.[2] As representing, however, the lowest level of culture, "a Śūdra majority *in a country*" (*Śūdra-bhūyishṭham*), it was believed "would spell its doom."[3]

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[1] *Manu,* I. 93.
[2] X. 3.
[3] VIII. 9.
[4] VII. 58.
[5] VIII. 10, 11.
[6] VIII. 20; XII. 110 ff.
[7] VIII. 380.
[8] III. 150-166.
[9] I. 103 ff; IV. 2 ff.
[10] VIII. 410, 413.
[11] IV. 99; X. 4.

On the whole the lot of a Śūdra was an unenviable one. The formidable array of regulations in the *Manu-smṛiti* against the Śūdra would make dismal reading. He had few privileges and many obligations. The discriminating laws against him and his social disabilities, uttered with brutal frankness, were an inheritance of the past. But Manu treats him exactly like a slave[4] and prescribes barbarous punishments as already noted above.[5] To crown all, it is laid down that a Brāhmaṇa shall perform the same penance for killing a Śūdra as for killing a cat, a frog, a dog, or a crow![6]

To what extent these regulations represent the actual state of things it is difficult to say. But the Jātaka stories also describe how the Chāṇḍālas were treated as despised outcastes doomed to live outside the city or village, and their very sight was regarded as impure. On one occasion two of them approached the city-gate to sell their wares, where two girls of aristocratic birth chanced to meet them on their way to a festival. They regarded it as a bad omen and returned after washing their eyes with perfumed water. The crowd, angry at the abandonment of a gathering where they would have been served with free food and drink, mercilessly belaboured the two Chāṇḍālas. Subsequently, concealing their birth, they went to Taxila for study. One of them made good progress but, eventually, their identity was discovered and they were again beaten and driven out. They went out into the woods, took to an ascetic life, and died shortly after.[7]

We find in this story the beginning of those ideas of untouchability which have cast a slur on Indian civilization. But as yet the Śūdras were not included in this category. It is, moreover, refreshing to come across some instances in Buddhist literature where men of low caste were distinguished by culture.

Like the Dharma-sūtras, the Smṛitis also sanction intermarriage between males of higher and females of lower castes (i.e. *Anuloma*),

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1. III. 156.
2. II. 238, 240.
3. VIII. 22.
4. VIII. 413-14, 417.
5. See pp. 337 ff.
6. XI. 132.
7. Jātaka, IV. 244.

but not *vice versa* (*Pratiloma*). Though Manu[1] clearly supports the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa male with a Śūdra female, this is expressly condemned in the rules that immediately follow. Such contradictions, which also occur in the *Mahābhārata*[2] and Dharma-sūtras, prove that the practice was looked upon with disfavour and was gradually disappearing.

As regards interdining, Manu lays down that a Brāhmaṇa must not eat cooked food (given) by a Śūdra who performs no *Śrāddhas.*[3] This, by implication, shows that food cooked by a Śūdra was not absolutely prohibited. But elsewhere, in Manu,[4] such food is both permitted and forbidden. Similar contradictions are also found in the Dharma-sūtras.[5] Manu gives a long list of persons whose food is forbidden,[6] but the restriction is based on considerations of personal virtues, not of caste. On the whole the idea of untouchability or impurity, even of the Śūdras as a caste, was gradually growing, but had not yet become a rigid law or practice. No definite statement is made by Manu about changing one caste for another, but possibilities of such change are at least theoretically conceded. For example, it is laid down in Manu[7] that "if the female issue of a Brāhmaṇa male and a Śūdra female bears children to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation. Thus a Śūdra attains the rank of a Brāhmaṇa and (in a similar manner) a Brāhmaṇa sinks to the level of a Śūdra. The same thing happened with the offspring of a Kshatriya or of a Vaiśya." This rule merely expands and clarifies the principle enunciated in *Gautama Dharma-sūtra,*[8] and indirectly supports the view that intermarriage even between Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras was not altogether unknown, and not always so severely condemned as in some rules of Manu and later Dharma-sūtras.

The most significant development in the caste system is the large increase in the number of mixed castes. The existence of these castes in the earlier period, as mentioned in the Dharma-sūtras, has been noted above,[9] but we get the most elaborate account of

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1. III. 13.
2. XIII. 48, 4-5.
3. IV. 223.
4. IV. 253, 211.
5. Cf. *Āp. Dh. S.* II, 2. 3. 4, with I, 6, 18, 13.
6. IV. 205 ff.
7. X. 64-65.
8. IV. 22.
9. Vol. I, pp. 509f.

it in Manu.[1] It first enunciates the principles that there are only four castes and no fifth,[2] and then proceeds to explain the origin of the numerous other castes as due to the marriage between different castes. The issue of parents 'equal' in caste, of course, belongs to the same caste, and 'sons begotten by twice-born men (*i.e.* the first three castes) on wives of the next lower castes' belong to the father's caste, though blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers.[3] But the issues born of women two or three degrees lower than their husbands form a separate caste. Then the intermarriage between these mixed castes themselves and with the three higher castes, and the further intermarriage between the resulting castes multiply the number of castes. The offspring of the *Pratiloma* form of marriage (*i.e.* between a male of a lower caste and a female of a higher caste) as well as of those who are degraded on account of not fulfilling their sacred duties, and called Vrātya,[4] add to the growing number of these mixed castes. Thus, by the twofold theories of Saṅkara, intermarriage, and Vrātya, Manu has sought to explain the origin of all mixed castes or social units in the country including even the Yavanas, Śakas, Chīnas, Pahlavas, Draviḍas, etc.[5] He has also prescribed the occupations by which they shall subsist.[6] Kauṭilya also describes some of the mixed castes as the fruits of intermarriage between different castes.[7]

The above review will make it clear that while the old theory of caste, adumbrated in the Vedic, especially the Sūtra, texts, was developed and elaborated in this age, no new principle was enunciated. Further, though the caste system was gradually becoming more and more rigid, and the lot of the Śūdras was becoming harder and harder, it had not yet reached the stereotyped form in which we find it today.

The picture of the caste system as given above is, however, very different from what we find in the Buddhist and Jain texts, and even in some parts of the epics. Thus the *Mahābhārata*[8] lays down that one does not become a Brāhmaṇa by birth but by his conduct, a theory frequently met with in an elaborate form in

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1. X. 4 ff.
2. X. 4.
3. X. 5-6.
4. X. 20.
5. X. 20-44.
6. X. 47 ff.
7. III. 7.
8. Bombay Edition. III. 313, 108. The Critical Edition regards the passage as an interpolation (Āraṇyaka Parva, p. 1032, note under III. 297, 61).

Buddhist texts. The *Mahābhārata* also declares[1] that the son of a Brāhmaṇa is a Brāhmaṇa, even though his mother be a Kshatriya or Vaiśya. This view is also repeated in Buddhist texts. We are told that when Prasenajit came to learn that his queen was really a slave woman, he reported the matter to the Buddha who said: "Wise men of old have said, what matters the mother's birth? The birth of the father is the measure." He also cited a famous instance in support of this view. When the king of Kosala heard this, he was pleased and treated the queen and her son as suited their rank.

The Buddhist and Jain texts also always openly declare the Kshatriyas to be less superior to the Brāhmaṇas, and name the Kshatriyas first in enumerating the four castes. Thus, although the general framework of the caste system is admitted, the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas is challenged in these texts. This view is also indirectly supported by the *Mahābhārata*. Although in theory priestly power is higher than the royal power, and the king is a creation of the priest, in practice the king often gets the upper hand. This is quite natural, as the whole political organisation was behind the king, whereas the priesthood had not been organised into a worldly power (on the lines, say, of the Church in Europe) independent of the State. In any case the epic, not rarely, indicates that the king dictated and the priest obeyed.

The Buddhist texts and other evidence also leave no doubt that the so-called mixed castes really resulted from organisations, like guilds, of people following different arts and crafts. The general theory of intermarriage leading to the different mixed castes is puerile in the extreme, and hardly deserves serious consideration. It was a desperate attempt to explain existing social conditions on the basis of the orthodox theory of the four castes. But it has one great value. It shows how the different non-Aryan tribes like Khasas and Draviḍas, and even foreigners like Śakas, Yavanas, Chīnas, etc., were gradually incorporated into Hindu society and formed an integral part of it. The gradual absorption of these foreign elements in the Hindu society is one of the most striking features of the period and testifies to the catholic spirit of the Hindus of that age. Even the hordes of nomadic tribes of Central Asia, not to speak of the civilized Greeks and Parthians, who came to India as conquerors, adopted Indian culture and civilization, and were so completely merged in the

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[1] XII, 47, 17.

Hindu society that no trace was left of their individuality or separate existence as a community.

The Buddhist texts also show that caste was not rigidly tied to craft in those days. They tell of a Kshatriya working successively as a potter, basket-maker, reed-worker, garland-maker, and cook,[1] also of a Seṭṭhi (Vaiśya) working as a tailor and a potter,[2] without loss of prestige in both cases. We find Kshatriyas of the Śākya and Koliya clans cultivating their fields.. The *Dasa-Brāhmaṇa-Jātaka* states how Brāhmaṇas in those days pursued ten occupations against rules: as (1) physicians, carrying sacks filled with medicinal roots and herbs; (2) servants and wagon-drivers; (3) tax-collectors who would not leave a household without collecting alms; (4) diggers of the soil in ascetic garb with their long hairs and nails and covered with dust and dirt; (5) traders selling fruits, sweets and the like; (6) farmers; (7) priests interpreting omens; (8) policemen with arms to guard caravans and shops, like Gopas and Niṣādas; (9) hunters in the garb of hermits killing hares, cats, fish, tortoises and the like; and (10) menials of kings who helped them in their baths in the garb of *Yājñikas*. Similarly, the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* refers to Brāhmaṇas working as cultivators, craftsmen, messengers, sacrificers and landlords. The fragment on *Sīlas* mentions Brāhmaṇas following many diverse occupations as physicians, sorcerers, architects, story-tellers, cattle-breeders, farmers and the like. The Jātakas refer to Brāhmaṇas pursuing the following callings: tillage, tending cattle, trade, hunting, carpentry, weaving, policing of caravans, archery, driving of carriages, and even snake-charming; and hold up a Brāhmaṇa peasant as a supremely pious man and even a Bodhisattva.

Both Jain and Buddhist works describe the normal Brāhmaṇa either as a citizen serving society or as a hermit who has renounced society. The second type is called a *tāpasa* or a *ṛishi* living in his *āśrama* in the forest. The first class of Brāhmaṇas served as the king's priests and sacrificers, as well as ministers, ambassadors and military officers.

Besides the four established castes of Hindu society the Buddhist Pāli text-books speak of the peoples ranking socially below them as *hīna-jāti*, "low tribes", marked out by their pursuits of 'low crafts', *hīna-sippa*, and instance the workers in rushes, fowlers and cart-makers, who were aboriginal peoples; as also mat-makers, barbers, potters, weavers and leather workers. Some texts apply the general term Milakkha (=*Mlechchha*) to peoples lying outside the pale of Aryan society.[1] These include the *hīna-jātis*, mentioned as five in the *Vinaya-Sutta-Vibhaṅga*,[2] viz. Chaṇḍāla, Veṇa, Nesāda, Rathakāra and Pukkusa. Some of these counted as Śūdras belonging to Aryan society, while others lay outside its pale. The former are called by Pāṇini[3] *aniravasita* (*abahishkṛita*) Śūdras and the latter, *niravasita*. As examples of the latter, the *Assalāyana Sutta* mentions the Yonas and Kambojas whose society knew of only two classes, employers and employed, or rather master (*ayya*) and slave (*dāsa*).

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[1] Jātaka, V. 290.
[2] Jātaka, VI. 372.

A graphic account of the caste system is given by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. He enumerates seven classes or castes into which the whole population of India is divided, viz. (1) Philosophers, (2) Husbandmen, (3) Herdsmen, (4) Artizans, (5) Military, (6) Overseers or Spies, and (7) Councillors and Assessors. He adds that "no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another or to follow more than one business."

This is undoubtedly a characteristic of the rigid caste system as enunciated in the Brahmanical texts, but it is difficult to believe that the seven categories mentioned by Megasthenes really conformed to this. Neither of the last two classes of officials could really form such a close social corporation, and the fourth class, the artizans, must have included a number of such social units. There is no doubt that Megasthenes confused the castes with the professions or occupations with which he was more familiar than others. It is significant that he makes no mention of the fourfold divisions of caste, and his obvious confusion between castes and occupations probably indicates that the broad division of society was based on this latter factor rather than on the theoretical classification in the Brahmanical texts of the period.

Whatever we might think of the accuracy or otherwise of Megasthenes's observations about the caste-divisions in general, we get interesting glimpses of the social conditions of his time from the particulars he records of them. Special interest attaches to his description of the 'Philosophers' whom he divides into two classes—

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[1] E.g. *Dīgha Nikāya*, III. 264.
[2] *Aṅguttara*, I. 107; II. 85.
[3] II. 4. 10.

Brachmanes and Sarmanes. There is no doubt that the first of these refers to the Brāhmaṇas. The second is generally taken as the Buddhist *Śramaṇas,* but most likely refers to ascetics as a class irrespective of the particular religious sect to which they belonged.

The Brāhmaṇa's life is broadly divided into two stages. In the first he lives in a simple style, in a grove in front of the city; he abstains from animal food and sexual pleasure, and spends his time listening to serious discourses or imparting his knowledge to others. After living in this manner for 37 years he retires to his home where he lives the rest of his days in ease and security. He marries as many wives as he pleases, eats flesh and uses fine dresses and costly ornaments. In this account we may easily detect an attempt to describe the first two stages of a Brāhmana's life, *viz.* those of studentship and householder.

The other class of philosophers, *viz.* the Śramaṇas, are divided into two classes. The more distinguished among them, the *Hylobioi,* lived an ascetic life in the woods, where they subsisted on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wore garments made from the bark of trees. The other class were the physicians, who lived in society and obtained their food, consisting of rice and barley-meal, from the householders for the mere asking, presumably for the valuable medical services rendered by them free of charge. We are told that they effected cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines, among which the most esteemed were ointments and plasters. The Indians were also highly reputed for cure of snake-bites for which no adequate remedy was known to the Greeks.

The Brāhmaṇas and ascetics, whom Megasthenes brings together under one group, formed the highest class in society which, though inferior in point of number to the other classes, was pre-eminent over all in point of dignity. They were engaged by the king and private persons to perform religious ceremonies, and some of them gave a forecast of the weather, health and other topics which might be of use to the public.

It seems to be clear that Megasthenes has described here not so much any particular class or group, far less any caste, as a body of people who struck him as possessing the highest intellectual and spiritual powers and thus forming a class apart. Megasthenes's high estimate of this class of people is fully borne out by the literary evidence referred to above, and the account of individual ascetics by the Greeks, to be referred to later.

It appears from what has been said above that the Hindu society became something like a federation of castes and sub-castes, whose members did sometimes intermarry, more frequently in earlier than in later ages, but which nevertheless retained their separate identity. Society consisted of a large number of groups which had been brought into the same spiritual and cultural framework, but which had been only partially fused together. Caste was not altogether static, for new sub-castes frequently arose from migration, fusion or sub-division. Old sub-castes sometimes lost their identity and rose or fell in status. All the same, the institution acquired a permanent character and coloured all organization, law, custom and social philosophy. Every caste or rather sub-caste, more strictly the local segments of sub-castes, enjoyed a very large measure of autonomy in their social code, cultural tradition and even in judicial matters. This state of things, as we have seen, was reflected at every step in political organization and political thought. Here it may be stressed that caste resolved function into a purpose, into something like an ethical principle, almost a religious conception, and exalted the group to the detriment of individual values. This is one of the reasons why Hindu political theory speaks frequently of the duties, but rarely of the rights of the individual. In society, individuality derives its worth and significance from its contribution of service to the universal whole. Personality is thus taught to transcend itself by giving its devotion to something beyond itself. To everyone, theory prescribes a way of life which accords best with the duties he has to discharge. For instance it inculcates a life of poverty and austerity to priests, scholars and teachers, of whom the Brahmanic order was composed or ought to be composed. Caste furnished an additional incentive to that functional organization and self-government which are natural to all economic occupations, especially to industry and commerce. So arose multitudes of local and functional jurisdictions and intermediate associations in a State. In such a community social control could not be concentrated at a single point. Sovereignty could not be monistic in the rigid Austinian sense of the term. It was pluralistic and was diffused among a variety of groups and associations.

II. ORDERS OR STAGES OF LIFE

We have abundant testimony to the effective part played by the four *Āśramas* or stages in life during the period under review. As noted above,[1] this fourfold division of life dates back to the Vedic age, and we get a fairly comprehensive account of it in the Dharmasūtras. As this was a distinctive characteristic of Indian civilization and accounts for much of the religious development of the age, we may refer to it in some detail. The first stage is that of the *Brahmachārī*, whose is a life of study, of which the characteristic requisite is that he must leave the home of his parents and get himself admitted into the home and family of his chosen teacher with whom he has to live. The *Brahmachārī* might be of two classes known as (1) *Upakurvāṇa*, one who undergoes student-life for a period, after which he marries and becomes a householder, and (2) *Naishṭhika*, one who remains a student and a celibate throughout life, which he consecrates wholly to pursuit of learning.

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[1] Vol. I. pp. 447, 493 ff.

The second *Āśrama* is that of the *Gṛihastha* with his manifold duties broadly marked out as comprising (1) *Yajña* (sacrificial worship), (2) *Adhyayana* (study), and (3) *Dāna* (liberality). The *Gṛihastha* who sets up a home and rears up a family has to recognise three debts which he must repay in his worldly life, *viz.* (1) debt to the gods to be repaid by worship called *Yajña*, (2) debts to *Pitṛis* or ancestors, to be redeemed by his offspring prepetuating his family, and (3) debt to *Ṛishis* or the fathers of learning and founders of religion, to be redeemed by contributions to learning and religious life such as 'observance of continence on *parvan* days.'

The third *Āśrama* is that of the *Bhikshu*, who has to live a life of restraint and denial, marked by the following characteristics: (1) *Anichaya*, not given to hoarding, (2) *Ūrddhvareta* (continence), (3) abstaining from movement in the rains, (4) going to a village for the exclusive purpose of begging, and *that* after the villagers had finished their meals, or when alms were readily given without any blessings in return as inducement to charity, with restraint of speech, eyes, and action, (5) wearing only loin-cloth or old rag, duly washed, to cover nakedness, (6) abstaining from plucking leaves or fruits for eating and thus injuring plant-life, (7) not staying out of season (*i.e.* after rains when movement was permitted) for a second night in the same village, and (8) not destroying seeds for purposes of food (*e.g.* by pounding rice by a pestle) but depending on cooked food if given as alms.

The fourth *Āśrama* carries with it more rigid austerities and abstentions. One belonging to it is called by significant terms—*Parivrājaka*, *Sannyāsī*, or *Vaikhānasa* by Baudhāyana. The *Vaikhānasa* is so called because he follows the rules of the sage Vikhanas. He is to live in the forest and to subsist on roots and fruits (avoiding cooked food) found in the forest and not grown in the village. He must not live on land that is ploughed, nor enter a village, nor store up food for a year. He should allow his hair to grow, and wear only bark and skin.

The *Sannyāsī* or *Parivrājaka* of the fourth *Āśrama* is described as one who "abandoning truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, the Vedas, this world and the next, seeks only the *Ātman.*" He was generally recruited from the *Naishṭhikas*, widowers, childless householders, and persons above 70 years of age having sons to take charge of their home and family.

This account, based on the Brahmanical religious texts, is fully corroborated by Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*,[1] which describes in detail the duties assigned to the four *Āśramas*.

Kauṭilya further points out the virtues which should be cultivated in common in all the four *Āśramas, viz.* non-violence towards all, truthfulness, purity, freedom from jealousy, appreciation of the good points of others, freedom from cruelty, and forbearance.

The scheme of the four *Āśramas* was designed to give wide scope to individuals in the choice of a vocation in life which was best suited to their intellectual capacity and mental inclinations. As remarked before,[2] it was not necessary that one should strictly follow the four stages one after another. Though this might be regarded as a normal procedure by the orthodox section, and one that was largely followed in practice, still the choice was left to every individual, who was not forced either to lead a householder's life or to renounce it against his will. But on the whole the different stages very well reflect the different ideals which inspired society.

This voluntary system worked well so long as there was no preponderating attraction for an ascetic life, for the neglect of household duties on the part of a large section disturbs the economy of society. The great wave of renunciation at the beginning of the period under review, which may be regarded both as the cause and effect of the rise of heterodox sects like Jainism and Buddhism, was a menace to orthodox Hindu society and to the *Varṇāśrama-dharma* upon which it was based. Its integrity was threatened by the growth of various ascetic orders and brotherhoods based upon renunciation of the world and of social obligations. The reaction to this anti-social development is reflected in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra,* which does not at all approve of a premature renunciation of the world and the duties of domestic life without the formal sanction of the legal authorities and without making provision for son and wife. Kauṭilya accordingly goes to the length of banning the entry into villages of such unlicensed ascetics as a disintegrating factor in rural society.

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[1] Bk. I, Ch. III.

[2] Vol. I, p. 493.

There is no doubt, however, that the ascetics or hermits who renounced the world for developing spiritual life formed a unique feature in Indian society. The Greek writers have left an interesting account of some of those whom they actually met. Thus Onesicritus met at Taxila fifteen of them, all given to meditation. When told that the Yavana king wanted to learn their wisdom, one of them replied that "no one coming in the drapery of European clothes—cavalry cloak and broad-brimmed hat and top-boots, such as Macedonians wore—could learn their wisdom. To do that he must strip naked and learn to sit on the hot stones beside them."

More details have been preserved of another hermit named Dandamis "whose home was the woods where he lay on a pallet of leaves." The account, as given by one of the Greek writers, is worth quoting *in extenso.*

"King Alexander, accordingly, when he heard of all this, was desirous of learning the doctrines of the sect, and so he sent for this Dandamis, as being their teacher and president.........

"Onesicritus was therefore despatched to fetch him, and when he found the great sage he said: "Hail to thee, thou teacher of the Bragmanes. The son of the mighty god Zeus, King Alexander, who is the sovereign lord of all men, asks you to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward you with great and splendid gifts, but if you refuse will cut off your head."

"Dandamis, with a complacent smile, heard him to the end, but did not so much as lift up his head from his couch of leaves, and while still retaining his recumbent attitude returned this scornful answer:—"God, the Supreme King, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls. He alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death; and how can such as he be the world's master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberaboas, and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion?........ Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless; but the things I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things, which are amassed with anxious care, are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk. I go wherever I please, and there are no cares with which I am forced to cumber myself, against my will. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the earth to prove whether, when here below, we shall live obedient to his ordinances, and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to his presence, an account of our life, since he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Bragmanes neither love gold nor fear death. Go, then, and tell Alexander this: 'Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, but if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him.'

"Alexander, on receiving from Onesicritus a report of the interview, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who, though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match."[1]

This simple narrative of an eye-witness give us a vivid idea of an Indian hermit—his mode of plain living and high thinking, his easy and graceful manner, complete indifference and aversion to material good, lofty spiritual ideals and practical realisation of the Upanishadic doctrine of Soul and God resulting in utter fearlessness of bodily pangs, even of death. All this gave him courage to defy

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[1] McCrindle, *Megasthenes*, pp. 124-126.

Alexander,—a courage which can come only from an innate spiritual strength. Dandamis's rebuke to Alexander as the instigator of war and perpetrator of slaughter is not without significance to the modern world. Dandamis represents the typical Indian hermit who, irrespective of any particular religious sect or doctrine, is an embodiment of those virtues and spiritual truths which have animated India from the earliest times and have never ceased to play an effective part in her life from the days of Aśoka to those of Mahātmā Gandhi.

III. FAMILY LIFE

The joint family system characterised the society, and we get an ideal picture of it in the epics. Implicit and unquestioned obedience to the father is held up as the highest duty for a son in numerous stories and incidents in both the epics. Rāma cheerfully gave up the kingdom and betook himself to the life of an exile in the jungles, merely to enable his father to keep his word, and Bhīshma voluntarily took the vow of lifelong celibacy and renounced his claim to his father's kingdom, to remove all obstacles in the way of his father's marriage with a fisherwoman. At the same time the fact that Daśaratha, father of Rāma, could not survive his separation from the latter demonstrates how deep a father's love could be. The attitude of respect and devotion to father was but the logical conclusion of the great veneration shown generally towards all elders in the family, especially towards the elder brother, of which we get an ideal picture in both the epics, in the careers of the sons of Daśaratha and Pāṇḍu. There are also numerous instances of cordial and affectionate feelings between different members of the family, especially between a wife and her husband's parents, brothers and sisters. But we have also examples, in other texts, of serious disagreement. There are instances of both daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law seeking refuge in nunnery to escape from the tyranny of the other. One daughter-in-law even connived at a cunning plot to kill her mother-in-law. In one case four daughters-in-law drove the father-in-law out of the house. Lastly, we have the case of a son who refused to marry on the ground that wives generally show scant respect to their parents-in-law and even domineer over them.[1] Such instances are, however, exceptions and only prove that individual temperaments had as much play in those days as at present.

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[1] Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 107-8.

The epics also draw a brilliant picture of conjugal fidelity and ideal relationship between husband and wife which have always formed a distinguishing feature of Hindu society. But here again we have indubitable evidence that the ideal was not unoften far removed from practice. Megasthenes makes a general statement to the effect that "the wives prostitute themselves unless they are compelled to be chaste."[1] This remark of a foreigner would have been lightly dismissed but for the fact that Manu exactly echoes this sentiment, and even elaborates the idea in verses[2] which would not bear repetition in decent society. Megasthenes further observes that "a woman who kills the king when drunk becomes the wife of his successor."[3] He was probably thinking of the last queen of the Śiśunāga dynasty, referred to above. The Jātakas also mention many cases of conjugal infidelity. While these instances do not necessarily imply any general moral lapse in society, they should prove a corrective to those who would fain draw an ideal picture of conjugal faith and love in ancient India.

The family life must have been considerably affected by the growth of intermarriage, and consequently also of polygamy, for the first marriage usually took place with a girl of the same caste, and others were added later. Megasthenes observes that the Indians "marry many wives; some they marry hoping to find in them willing helpmates; and others for pleasure and to fill their houses with children."[4] This is, in a way, corroborated by the Smṛitis and the examples furnished by the epics, for Kṛishṇa, Duryodhana, Bhīma, Arjuna and Daśaratha had each many wives.

The wife who belonged to the same caste as her husband enjoyed special privileges, and the legal status of the sons, at least in the matter of inheritance, depended upon the caste of the mother. This inequality of treatment must have considerably disturbed the peace and harmony of the family and adversely affected the nature of, and normal relation between, husband and wife. This growth of polygamy also led to the frequent supersession of the wife, even on

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[1] This is the translation of McCrindle (p. 71). But the passage is obscure and Mr. Bevan takes it to mean that "where conjugal infidelity in a wife was due to husband's omission to exercise vigorous control, it was condoned by public opinion" (*CHI*. I. 414). Nearchus remarks: "Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace. . ." (McCrindle, *Megasthenes*, p. 222).

[2] IX. 5-6, 14-16.

[3] McCrindle, *op. cit.* p. 71.

[4] *Ibid.*

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flimsy grounds, to which reference will be made later. The bringing together of wives of different habits and types of culture must have not only altered the character of home life, but also degraded the status of the wife, of which the Smṛitis furnish abundant evidence.

The extent to which polyandry prevailed in ancient India is a debatable point. The *Mahābhārata* furnishes an instance of it in the marriage of Draupadī with the five Pāṇḍava brothers. This, and a few other cases cited in the same epic, can only be regarded as polyandry in a limited sense, *viz.* marriage of one woman with several brothers. But it is quite clear, from the various explanations offered, that the custom had ceased to be favoured or even tolerated in Aryan society at the time the epic was put in its final shape. Various attempts have been made by modern scholars to solve what they call the 'Draupadī puzzle'. It is perhaps best to accept polyandry as a custom actually in vogue in ancient times. A passage in Āpastamba[1] seems to refer to the practice of marrying a girl to a whole family which is at present forbidden. Bṛihaspati, however, refers to this practice (*Kule Kanyāpradāna*) as actually prevailing in his time in other countries. It may be noted that the custom of several brothers marrying only one woman is even today more common in India than is generally believed, not only among non-Aryans, but also among the Brāhmaṇas and Rājputs of Kumaun.[2]

IV. MARRIAGE AND POSITION OF WOMEN

Marriage between members of the same caste was preferred, though, as noted above, intermarriage between different castes was prevalent. There were certain restrictions even in respect of marriage within the caste. Thus marriage with a girl of the same *gotra* or *pravara*, and also within a certain degree of *Sapiṇḍa* relationship, was prohibited. The actual meaning and details of these prohibitions are difficult to follow. On the whole they forbid marriage-relation between agnates and cognates up to a certain limit. A remarkable exception to this was the custom of marrying the maternal uncle's daughter prevalent amongst southerners which, though forbidden by Manu[3] and most other Smṛitis, is approved by Bṛihaspati,[4] who also sanctions the marriage of a brother's widow prevailing in north-west India in his time.[1]

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[1] II. 27, 3-4.

[2] Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, pp. 102-3; *KHDS*, II. 554.

[3] XI. 172-173.

[4] *GOS* Ed. I. 128; II. 401.

The eight forms of marriage, mentioned in the Dharma-sūtras. are repeated in Manu.[2] These are:—

1. Brāhma, where the father gives his daughter, decked with ornaments and jewels, to a learned man of good conduct invited by him.

2. Daiva, where the father gives his daughter, decked with ornaments, to a priest who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance.

3. Ārsha, where the father gives his daughter after receiving from the bridegroom a cow and a bull or two pairs.

4. Prājāpatya, where the father gives his daughter after addressing the couple with the text: 'May both of you perform together your duties.'

5. Āsura, where the bridegroom receives a maiden after having given as much wealth, as he can afford, to the kinsmen and to the bride herself.

6. Gāndharva, or the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover.

7. Rākshasa, or the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home.

8. Paiśācha, where a man by stealth seduces a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated or disordered in intellect.

The first three, four, or six are approved by different authorities. The last one is universally condemned and the seventh is generally commended only in the case of a Kshatriya. On the whole, though the authorities differ in their opinion both as regards the number of the forms of marriage as well as their suitability, all of these seem to have been in vogue. It is interesting to note that according to Megasthenes the Indian's marriage is marked by the gift of "a yoke of oxen". This proves the popularity of the Ārsha form of marriage (No. 3) in the fourth century B.C.

The condemnation of the last four forms proves that the basic idea of a proper marriage was that the father or guardian of the girl should freely select the bridegroom on account of his qualifications, and no party should be influenced by any consideration of wealth which the other might give. The difference between the first and the fourth is not very clearly marked. It is held by some that the formula mentioned in the fourth practically forbids the husband to marry another wife or to enter the ascetic life without his wife. But the *Brāhma* marriage also, by virtue of the *mantras* recited, enjoins upon the husband and wife to be inseparable companions of each other in the spheres of religion, love and wealth. On the whole this spirit pervades the first four forms of marriage, which are regarded as a religious sacrament and no mere secular contract.

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[1] II. 403.
[2] III. 27-34.

Examples of the *Āsura* form of marriage, where the bride is purchased with gifts and money, are the marriage of Mādrī, sister of Śalya, to Pāṇḍu, and that of Kaikeyī to Daśaratha. The *Rākshasa* form is exemplified in the marriage of Arjuna and Subhadrā, and that of Vichitravīrya, on whose behalf Bhīshma abducted Ambālikā and Ambikā, daughters of the king of Kāśī. Probably the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa is to be explained as due to a similar marriage custom among the Rākshasas—a tribe of whom Rāvaṇa was the chief. But the most interesting type of marriage described in the epics is the *Svayaṁvara* (self-choice), confined originally to the Kshatriya class, wherein a princess selected her husband of her own free will from among the assembled suitors, or as the result of a tournament or contest in the use of warlike weapons. Formally it may be affiliated to the *Gāndharva* form of marriage. Draupadī and Sītā are both described as won in marriage in this manner.

According to Nearchus the Indians "marry without either giving or taking dowries, but the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise."[1] This probably refers to a modified form of *Svayaṁvara*.

As regards the age of the bride at the time of marriage,[2] the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* is overwhelmingly in favour of the marriage of well-developed and grown-up girls. The cases of Kshatriya women like Draupadī, Kuntī, Uttarā and the Brāhmaṇa Devayānī, as well as the continuance of the custom that consummation was a part of the marriage ceremony, may be noted in this connection. The *Rāmāyaṇa* in one passage[3] states that Sītā was six years and Rāma thirteen years of age at the time of marriage. But other and more reliable passages indicate that she was fully developed at the time. *Mahābhārata* also in one passage[1] mentions 30 and 10 or 21 and 7 as the *proper ages* of the bridegroom and the bride! These, however, must be adjudged as exceptions proving the rule of the marriage of grown-up girls. The Buddhist texts also support this view.

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[1] McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
[2] Altekar, *op. cit.* pp. 58 ff.
[3] Araṇya Kāṇḍa, 47. 10-11.

As noted above, there was already a tendency in the Sūtra texts to lower the age of marriage for girls. While Manu prescribes that a man of thirty shall marry a maiden of twelve, or a man of twenty-four, a girl of eight,[2] he at the same time lays down that a maiden, though marriageable, should rather stop in (the father's) house until death, than that he should ever give her to a man destitute of good qualities.[3] On the whole we may reasonably conclude that while child-marriage was gradually coming into vogue, the older custom of marriage at a mature age was neither uncommon nor regarded with disapprobation. Further, it was considered extremely undesirable, if not a positive sin for the father, to let mature girls remain unmarried, and there is an almost unanimous agreement that in such cases the girl could find out her own husband, after a period of waiting which varied from three months to three years in the different Smṛitis. Later Smṛitis like Yājñavalkya insisted that girls should be married before the age of puberty. But this was merely a foretaste of what was going to happen, rather than any settled or even generally followed rule during the period under review, for Nārada, which is a later work, recommends marriage after puberty.[4] On the whole the insistence on marriage of girls, and that at an early age, is a marked feature of the time and was probably mainly due to an anxiety to maintain their bodily purity.

It has been suggested[5] by some that the rules in the Smṛitis about the marriage of girls at an early age applied only to the Brāhmaṇas and not to the other castes. This is supported by the fact that the heroines in Sanskrit dramas are almost always grown-up at the time of marriage, and the actual historical examples such as that of Rājyaśrī, sister of Harsha-vardhana, also support this view. It is also pointed out that in a late work, *Saṁskāra-prakāśa*, it is expressly laid down that there is no prohibition against marrying a girl who has passed the age of puberty, for Kshatriyas and others. But such restrictions are not even hinted at in the earlier Smṛiti works, and the arguments cited merely prove that the injunction about child-marriage was not scrupulously followed in actual life.

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[1] Anuśāsana parvan. 44, 14.
[2] X. 94.
[3] IX. 89.
[4] XII. 27.
[5] *KHDS*, II. 446.

The lowering of the marriageable age must have affected the general education and culture of women in an adverse way. Extreme emphasis was now laid on the physical chastity of woman and her unquestioned obedience to husband, to the detriment of other aspects of her life. The result was a gradual deterioration in her general status and position. But the final stage in this downward movement was not reached during the period under review. It was rather a transitional period, and we really find two entirely different pictures of women reflected in literary works. In one set of verses in the epics we find women described as fickle, quarrelsome, untruthful—in other words, a veritable pot of poison! She must, therefore, remain (we are told) under control all her life; in girlhood under the guardianship of her father, in youth under the domination of the husband, and in old age in the charge of her sons. In the other set of verses, woman is 'the glory of the home', the symbol of prosperity to the family, (the better) half of the husband, his friend, philosopher and guide, and therefore worthy of all attention and respect. As a mother, she is superior to ten fathers, superior to anything else on earth.

The same sort of contradiction appears in the Smṛiti works. Manu, for example, declares[1] that gods are pleased with (those households) where women are held in honour, and that a husband should be punished by the king if he cast off the wife, who is not guilty of any crime causing loss of caste.[2] At the same time, he lays down that the husband had absolute rights over the wife to the extent of inflicting corporal punishment[3] and could discard her *immediately* she says anything disagreeable to him. It is also declared that "by a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house."[4] A wife was to 'worship, as a god, her husband even though he might be destitute of virtue or seeking pleasure elsewhere, or devoid of good qualities',[5] and is to remain chaste and faithful to him whether he is alive or dead; but a husband, after the funeral of his wife, may marry again.[1] Besides, as already noted, Manu[2] gives expression to some general sentiments about women which are most dishonourable and humiliating to the class as a whole, and to which it is difficult to find a parallel in a book held in respect by a large section of humanity.

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[1] III. 55-59.
[2] VIII. 389.
[3] VIII. 299.
[4] V. 147.
[5] V. 154.

There are, however, clear indications that during the first half of the period under review, at any rate, there were highly educated women, holding an honourable position in society and household.

Two classes of women students are mentioned: *Brahmavādinī* or lifelong students of sacred texts, and *Sadyodvāhā* who prosecuted their studies till their marriage. Pāṇini[3] refers to women students of Vedic Śākhās. Kātyāyana, in his Vārttika,[4] refers to women teachers who were called *Upādhyāyā* or *Upādhyāyī*, as distinguished from *Upādhyāyānīs, i.e.* wives of teachers. The necessity of coining a new term shows that the women teachers were large in number. Patañjali also refers to a special designation for the women scholars who made a special study of Mīmāṁsā philosophy.

The Buddhist and Jain texts also refer to women of the *Brahmavādinī* class, *i.e.* those who remained unmarried to carry on their studies. Most of the Buddhist nuns, whose songs have been preserved in the *Therīgāthā*, were maidens born in well-to-do families, who renounced the world for the sake of spiritual salvation. The Jain texts refer to Jayantī, daughter of the king of Kauśāmbī, who remained unmarried in order to devote herself to religion and philosophy. She carried on discussions with Mahāvīra himself on abstruse questions of philosophy, and eventually became a nun. The *Mahābhārata* has also portrayed an exalted picture of womanhood in Draupadī who is called *Paṇḍitā* (learned) and fearlessly argues with her husband on all topics, not excluding political ones. Her spirited behaviour on many a critical occasion shows a worldly woman at her best.

In addition to, or in place of, higher education, the women generally received training in fine arts like music, dancing and painting. But some of them went in for military training also. This is indirectly proved by the term Śāktīkī, a female spear-bearer, mentioned by Patañjali.[1] But a more direct evidence is furnished by Megasthenes who refers to the Amazonian bodyguard in attendance on Chandragupta Maurya, when he went out to hunt. "Of the women" we are told, "some are in chariots, some, on horses, and some even on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons of every kind, as if they were going on a campaign."[2] The Bhārhut sculptures portray a woman riding a fully caparisoned horse and carrying a standard. The female bodyguard of the king is also mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* which directs that 'the king, on getting up from his bed, shall be received by troops of women armed with bows'.[3]

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[1] V. 168.
[2] IX. 2-19.
[3] IV. 1. 63.
[4] On IV. 1, 48.

Women are sometimes known to have carried on administrative work. According to Megasthenes the Pandaean nation was governed by females. This is not unlikely, as matriarchy prevailed in south India. The Sātavāhana queen Nāyanikā acted as regent during the minority of her son.[4]

As against this bright picture of the high intellectual, moral and physical education of women depicted above, we find also steadily growing disabilities. Formerly the girls went through the *Upanayana* ceremony like the boys, but this gradually came to be merely formal. Manu prescribes[5] that in the case of women *Upanayana* should be performed without the recitation of sacred texts. In the following verse he lays down that the marriage ceremony was equal to the *Upanayana* in the case of women, "serving the husband being equivalent to the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same) as the (daily) worship of the sacred fire." Yājñavalkya[6] took the further and more logical step of prohibiting the *Upanayana* ceremony altogether for girls. This was the signal for the gradual "spiritual disfranchisement" of women. Minor religious rituals like *Jātakarma*, *Nāmakaraṇa*, *Chūḍākaraṇa*, etc. also came to be performed for them without the Vedic *mantras*. The wife, who formerly performed Vedic sacrifices, was denied the right to do so[7] and could not even recite the Vedic *mantras*. Thus was the woman reduced, at least spiritually, to the status of the Śūdra, and this is clearly reflected even in the *Bhagavadgītā*.[1]

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[1] On IV. 1, 15, 6.
[2] McCrindle, *op. cit.* p. 72.
[3] *KAT*. p. 47.
[4] Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 220.
[5] II. 66.
[6] I. 13.
[7] *Manu*, IV. 205-6; IX. 18; XI. 36.

In contrast to this, Buddhism and Jainism offered a more honourable career to women. No wonder a large number of them became nuns, and some of them became famous preachers.

The growing importance attached to physical chastity explains the gradual discouragement of widow remarriage, divorce, and levirate, and encouragement of the system of *satī*. The rules about remarriage in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* closely follow those laid down in the Dharma-sūtras.[2] They permit remarriage of a woman, whose husband is dead, has become an ascetic, or has gone abroad, after a period of waiting which varies according to circumstances. Both Manu[3] and Yājñavalkya[4] forbid the remarriage of widows,[5] but Nārada[6] permits it, and following it, even later texts like *Parāśara-Smṛiti* and *Agni-purāṇa* lay down that a woman can remarry even during the lifetime of her husband if he is lost (*i.e.* unheard of), has become an ascetic, is impotent or is an outcaste. Such a remarried woman was called *Punarbhū*.[7]

As regards divorce or repudiation, we learn from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* that 'if a husband either is of bad character, or is long gone abroad, or has become a traitor to his king, or is likely to endanger the life of his wife, or has fallen from his caste, or has lost virility, he may be abandoned by his wife.' Divorce on the ground of ill-feeling was also possible by mutual consent, but not at the will of one party alone. Kauṭilya, on the whole, places the husband and wife almost on an equal footing in this respect, but Manu places the wife in a decidedly inferior position. He gives a long list of 'grounds' on which one could supersede his wife by another,[8] and then adds that a wife who, being superseded, in anger departs from her husband's house, must either be instantly confined or cast off in the presence of the family.[9] He also propounds the theory that the wife is not released from her marital obligations even if she is sold or repudiated by the husband.[1] A wife showing disrespect to a husband who is addicted to some evil passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture,[2] though for the same, or much less heinous offence, she may be superseded by her husband. Indeed Manu's injunctions regarding a wife are painful reading, and clearly show how orthodox Brahmanical view was deliberately aiming to relegate her to a position of inferiority.

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[1] IX. 32.
[2] *KAT.* p. 201.
[3] V. 156-7.
[4] I. 75.
[5] But both of them sanction such marriages in certain cases (*Manu*, IX. 176; *Yāj*, I. 67).
[6] XII. 45 ff; 96 ff.
[7] *Vas.* XVII. 19-20.
[8] IX. 80-82.
[9] IX. 83.

Nārada is on the whole more considerate towards women. He lays down the general principle that, 'when husband and wife leave one another from mutual dislike, it is a sin.'[3] He, however, recommends the expulsion of the wife not only on the grounds of wasteful expenditure, procuring abortion, adultery or attempt on the husband's life,[4] but also for less serious offences like 'showing malice, making unkind speeches or eating before her husband.'[5] He asks the husband not to 'show love to a barren woman, or to one who gives birth to female children only, or whose conduct is blamable, or who constantly contradicts him.'[6] But it is doubtful whether divorce is meant. On the other hand, Nārada says that "if a man leaves a wife who is obedient, pleasant-spoken, skilful, virtuous, and the mother of male issue, the king shall make him mindful of his duty by inflicting severe punishment on him."[7] Nārada further lays down that 'when faultless maiden has been married to a man, who has a blemish unknown (before his marriage)', she should not only be permitted to leave her husband and 'repair to another', but 'enjoined to do so by her relations.'[8]

The account of the births of Pāṇḍu, Dhṛitarāshṭra and the Pāṇḍavas, considered along with the injunctions in the Dharmaśāstras, leaves no doubt that the system of levirate was in use, though gradually coming into disfavour. Manu, curiously enough, mentions it with approval and lays down detailed rules and regulations for its control in five verses[9] but violently condemns it in the next five.[1] Yājñavalkya, however, does not condemn it,[2] and both Vishṇu[3] and Nārada[4] permit it within certain limits.

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[1] IX. 46.
[2] IX. 78.
[3] XII. 90.
[4] XII. 90, 92.
[5] XII. 93.
[6] XII. 94.
[7] XII. 95.
[8] XII. 96.
[9] IX. 59-63.

The *Mahābhārata* records (probably in its late portions) a few cases of *satī* (widow burning). Mādrī burns herself on the funeral pyre of her husband Pāṇḍu, and the bereaved wives of Kṛishṇa immolate themselves in Indraprastha after his death. The Ādiparvan[5] has a verse recommending the practice, but the epic is strangely silent regarding the fate of the widows of Duryodhana and numerous other kings who died on the battlefield. In view of the testimony of Greek writers regarding the prevalence of this practice in the Punjāb, the possibility has to be conceded that the practice of *satī* was in vogue during this period. It is possible that the practice was confined to the warrior class, as Onesicritus says, and the other Indo-Germanic parallels suggest. It is held by some that the practice was encouraged by the examples of the Scythians who ruled in India during this period and among whom the custom of burning the wife of a chief along with the remains of her husband was quite common.

In spite of the barbarous nature of the custom, it is interesting to note that sometimes it was not only an absolutely voluntary choice, but one that was made by the wife with eager delight. The testimony of the Greek writers leaves no doubt on the point. When the leader of an Indian contingent died in battle in Irān, in 316 B.C., both his wives were eager to immolate themselves on his funeral pyre. The Macedonian and Greek generals prevented the elder wife, who was with child, and gave permission to the younger. What followed may be described in the words of the Greek writer:

"The elder wife went away lamenting, with the band about her head rent, and tearing her hair, as if tidings of some great disaster had been brought her; and the other departed, exultant at her victory, to the pyre, crowned with fillets by the women who belonged to her, and decked out splendidly as for a wedding. She was escorted by her kinsfolk who chanted a song in praise of her virtue. When she came near to the pyre, she took off her adornments and distributed them to her familiars and friends, leaving a memorial of herself, as it were, to those who had loved her. Her adornments consisted of a multitude of rings on her hands, set with precious gems of diverse colours, about her head golden stars not a few, variegated with different sorts of stones, and about her neck a multitude of necklaces, each a little larger than the one above it. In conclusion, she said farewell to her familiars and was helped by her brother onto the pyre, and there, to the admiration of the crowd which had gathered together for the spectacle, she ended her life in heroic fashion. Before the pyre was kindled, the whole army in battle array marched round it thrice. She meanwhile lay down beside her husband, and as the fire seized her no sound of weakness escaped her lips. The spectators were moved, some to pity and some to exuberant praise. But some of the Greeks present found fault with such customs as savage and inhumane."[1]

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[1] IX. 64-68.
[2] I. 68-9.
[3] 15, 3.
[4] XII. 80 ff.
[5] Cr. Ed. I. 116, 31.

This vivid account recalls the description of similar scenes by eye-witnesses in modern age. It is, however, permissible to assume that, as in later days, every case of *satī* was not voluntary. Aristobulus learnt on inquiry that the widow sometimes became a *satī* of her own desire, and that those who refused to do so lived under general contempt.[2] This undoubtedly implies that the public encouragement to the practice accelerated its growth. At the same time we must remember that the practice is not sanctioned either by the Dharma-sūtras or by the Smṛitis. Manu and Yājña-valkya are reticent about it, though Vishṇu seems to commend it in passages which are regarded by many as later interpolation. It is recommended only in the late *Vaikhānasa Gṛihya-sūtra* and later Smṛitis like those of Śaṅkha, Aṅgiras, Daksha, Parāśara and Vyāsa.

No discussion of the position of women would be complete without reference to a class of courtesans who enjoyed a social standing not accorded to them anywhere else in the world, save perhaps in Athens. The great prestige attached to this class of women appears vividly from the story of Āmrapālī in the Vinaya Texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādas.[3] She was a daughter of Mahānāma, a rich citizen of Vaiśālī. Many suitors, including princes, having sought her hand, her father brought the matter to the notice of the Lichchhavi *gaṇa* and it was discussed by the Assembly. When the members saw Āmrapālī, they decided that she was a *strī-ratna* (jewel of a woman), and so, we are told, according to the convention already laid down, she was not to be married to anybody but was to be enjoyed by the *gaṇa*. Āmrapālī agreed to lead the life of a public woman, but asked for five privileges which were granted.

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[1] Diodorus XIX 34, quoted in *CHI*, I. 415.
[2] Aristobulus, Frag. 34.
[3] *B. C. Law* Vol. I. 137.

King Bimbisāra, 'engaged in conversation on *good topics* with his ministers,' asked them what sort of courtesan each of them had seen. Being told that Āmrapālī (or Ambapālī) was exceedingly charming and accomplished in all the sixty-four arts, Bimbisāra decided to visit her at Vaiśālī, even though the Lichchhavis were hostile. His son by her enjoyed a high position in court. The Pāli Vinaya Texts tell us that a merchant, after having described the charms of Ambapālī of Vaiśālī to king Bimbisāra, requested him 'to install a courtesan' in Rājagṛiha, and this was done.

Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* also reveals the same state of things. A prostitute, noted for her beauty, youth, and accomplishments, was to be appointed superintendent of prostitutes on a salary of 1,000 *paṇas* (per annum), together with a rival prostitute on half that salary. Detailed rules are laid down for regulating the profession, and two days' earning every month had to be paid to the State.

The prostitutes had to attend court and were regularly employed in the royal household on a big salary. They held the royal umbrella, golden pitcher and fan, and attended upon the king seated on litter, throne, or chariot. They were also employed in the storehouse, kitchen, bathroom, and the harem of the king.

As to the accomplishments of this class, Kauṭilya tells us that "those who teach prostitutes, female slaves and actresses, arts such as singing, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like lyre, pipe and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing, and the art of attracting and captivating the mind of others, shall be endowed with maintenance from the State."[1]

When Gautama Buddha visited a locality in the neighbourhood of Vaiśālī, Ambapālī paid a visit to him with a number of magnificent vehicles. She sat down near him and, having heard his discourse, invited him and his companions to take their meal at her house the next day. The Buddha agreed, and refused the invitation of the Lichchhavis which almost immediately followed. "Ambapālī," said the Lichchhavis, "give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand." "My Lords," replied Ambapālī, "were you to offer all

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[1] *KAT.* 155-56.

Vaiśālī with its subject territory, I would not give up this meal." After the meal Buddha again gladdened the courtesan Ambapālī by his religious discourse, and she presented a park, named after her, to the Buddha.[1]

It would appear from what has been said above that the courtesans as a class were not held in odium, and neither great kings nor renowned religious teachers looked down upon them. Some of them were highly accomplished and, in point of culture and standing, resembled the Hetairai of Athens.

V. SLAVES

Slavery was a recognised institution of Indian society from the oldest Vedic times. The Smṛitis not only distinguish between different classes of slaves but lay down various rules regarding their status. According to Manu and Nārada, slaves could be acquired by birth in the master's house, by purchase, by gift, by inheritance, by maintenance during famine, by pledge, by release from a heavy debt, by capture in war, by gain in wager, by voluntary surrender of freedom, by apostacy from asceticism, by connexion with a female slave, and by several other processes. Slavery was also the judicial punishment for crime. In keeping with the orthodox view of the gradation of *varṇas* Yājñavalkya and Nārada forbid slavery in the *pratiloma* order. The slaves, according to Nārada, are to perform impure work. Though the disabilities of the slaves according to the Smṛiti law are very great, they are not without personal rights. A slave is not entitled to any property according to Manu and is not to be a judicial witness except in the last resort. According to Nārada a legal act done by a slave is void except when done with the master's permission. On the other hand the master, according to Manu, is to bear without resentment the offence of his slave who is his "shadow". Manu also mentions slaves along with parents, wife, and children with whom a householder should not quarrel. Again, according to Nārada, a debt contracted by a slave for the benefit of a householder is binding upon him. Finally both Yājñavalkya and Nārada lay down liberal rules for the emancipation of slaves. Thus we learn that a slave who saves his master's life when in peril is forthwith released from slavery and becomes entitled to a son's share. Again, persons captured and sold by a robber as well as those enslaved by forcible means are to be emancipated by law. Other clauses lay down specific acts by which different classes of slaves can win their freedom. Even those slaves who are born in the master's house, those who are received as gifts and those who are obtained by inheritance can be released at the master's pleasure. Only an apostate from asceticism and one self-sold are absolutely disqualified for release from servitude.[1]

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[1] *SBE*, XVII, 105-8.

According to Megasthenes "all the Indians are free and not one of them is a slave." He amplifies it by stating that "the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves and much less a countryman of their own." It would be a remarkable feature, indeed, of Chandragupta's times, if it were true. But there are so many references to the system of slavery in the Smṛitis and other Indian literature that it is difficult to accept Megasthenes's statement as true. He probably applied to the whole of India what was true of a particular region, or was misled by the humane treatment generally meted out to the slaves.

As Rhys Davids justly remarks: "We hear nothing of such later (western) developments of slavery as rendered the Greek mines, the Roman *latifundia* or the plantations of Christian slave-owners, scenes of misery and oppression. For the most part the slaves (in India) were household servants, and not badly treated, and their numbers seem to have been insignificant."[2] Such mild treatment, which offered a striking contrast to the system of slavery with which Megasthenes was familiar, probably led him to believe that there were no slaves in India.

VI. DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

In spite of inevitable differences in different localities, we may form a general idea of the dress and ornaments from the literature, sculptural representation and the description of the Greeks. According to Nearchus, the Indians used two garments of cotton, 'an under-garment which reaches below the knee half-way down to the ankles, and an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head.'[3] The nearest approximation to this would be the *dhoti* (or *sāri*) and *chādar* used by the people of Bengal, Orissa, Madras and other parts of India. The upper garment was generally not used inside the house, a part of the lower one being wrapped round the upper part or thrown over

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1. *Yāj,* II. 182-183; *Nārada,* V. 26-43; *Manu,* IV. 180, 185; VIII. 70, 415-17.
2. *Buddhist India,* p. 55.
3. McCrindle, *Megasthenes,* p. 219.

the shoulders. When Draupadī was surprised in her private apartment and dragged rudely to the assembly hall by the Kauravas, she is described as *ekavastrā* (wearing one garment only). Similarly, the servant class probably made shift with a single (lower) garment. Draupadī, disguised as a servant in the palace of king Virāṭa, wore only one garment. Ladies of the upper strata of society normally wore coloured garments, as widows are described as clad in white. The public or the formal dress of the higher classes included a turban or headgear consisting of a longish piece of cloth wrapped round the head in a number of ways according to local custom. Poor people probably made shift with the upper garment wrapped round the head like a turban. Kings, of course, wore crowns.

Ascetics and anchorites were dressed in garments made of *kuśa* grass or rushes. What the texture of the Valkala—the favourite dress of a hermit—was, is uncertain, though it is popularly supposed to be made of the barks of trees.

Although cotton was the material generally used, cloths made of silk, linen and wool were also in great demand, especially among the women and the rich. Kauṭilya[1] refers to an extensive textile industry all over India, and the Vinaya Texts refer to a complete weaving outfit.[2] The cloth was fastened at waist by a girdle, and a variety of girdles are mentioned in the Vinaya Texts,[3] such as those made of many strings plaited together, those made like the head of a water-snake, those with tambourines or beads on them, or those with ornaments hanging from them. The same texts[4] refer to the variety of ways in which undergarments were arranged. All these are corroborated by the sculptural representations.

The difference between the male and female dresses was much less marked than at present. Both used head-dress and ornaments, though gradually the women gave up the former, and the men, the latter. The sculptures of the period, especially those at Bhārhut and Sānchī, give interesting specimens of dress and ornaments. On rare occasions we find women putting on the lower garments in *sakachchha* fashion like the males or Mahārāshṭra women of today, *i.e.* by passing one end of it between the legs and tucking it up behind at the waist. This practice appears to have been confined to the north-west in ancient times.

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[1] *KAT*. 93-4.
[2] *Chv*. V. 28.2.
[3] *Chv*. V. 29.2.
[4] *Chv*. V. 29.4.

The sculptured female figures exhibit two striking peculiarities. They do not wear a veil and, more often than not, the upper part of the body is bare, revealing in full the bosom and the navel. The first is generally accepted as an evidence that the *purdah* system was not in vogue,[1] though some literary references seem to indicate that aristocratic ladies did use a veil when appearing in public. But many scholars refuse to believe that women actually appeared in public without covering the upper part of their body, as it offends against decency and is in conflict with literary descriptions, and they attribute the sculptures to the artistic convention of the age.[2] But it must be remembered that notions about decency and indecency are more or less conventions that differ from age to age. There is abundant evidence that nudity, either of men or of women, was not viewed in the same light in ancient times as in the present. We know from the Vinaya Texts[3] that the Buddhist nuns, together with courtesans, took their bath in a river without any clothing. We are also told that the Buddhist monks "when naked saluted one another, and received salutes; did service to one another, and received services; gave to one another and accepted; ate both hard food and soft; tasted; and drank." It is true that the Buddha forbade these practices. But the very fact that they were prevalent to the extent indicated above proves that nudity was not regarded in those days as indecent, as in modern times. The scantiness of female dress in ancient paintings and sculptures may, therefore, be as much due to convention of art as a reflection of the actual state of things. The realistic description of the female bosom and navel in Classical Sanskrit literature also supports this view. It may be noted in this connection that no upper garment is worn by the women in the island of Bali, which still retains the Hindu culture it received from India.

Foreign rulers like the Greeks and Scythians introduced new fashions of dress. The Kushāṇa kings are represented as wearing trousers and big overcoat, and this was imitated by the Indians. Women, too, began to wear blouses, jackets and frocks in imitation of the Greeks and Scythians, but the fashion did not become a general one. The complete outfit for sewing described in Vinaya Texts[1] indicated that stitched clothes were coming into fashion, although there is no explicit reference to it either in the Sūtras or in the epics.

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[1] This point will be discussed, with references, in the next volume.
[2] Altekar, *op. cit.* 338-44.
[3] *Mv.* VIII. 15. 11.

Megasthenes observes that "in spite of the general simplicity of style the Indians love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin."[2] The ornaments which decorated the bodies of both men and women were also costly and of various types and design. Every part of the body from head to foot had its appropriate ornaments made of gold, silver, pearls, gems and precious stones. It would be tedious to describe them in detail, and one may form a clear notion of them from the numerous sculptures and the actual specimens excavated from ancient sites. We may get an idea of the ornaments in common use, even by the men, from the fact, mentioned in Vinaya Texts,[3] that at first even monks "used to wear ear-rings, ear-drops, strings of beads for the throat, girdles of beads, bangles, necklaces, bracelets and rings". Nearchus says that ear-rings of ivory were only worn by very wealthy people. The only ornaments referred to as worn by women alone were waist-bands and anklets.

Nearchus tells us that Indians "wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated and made of great thickness to make the wearer seem so much the taller."[4] The variety of shoes is also referred to in the Vinaya Texts[5] such as shoes with one, two, three or even more linings; shoes adorned with skins of lion, tiger, panther, antelope, otter, cat, squirrel and owl; boots pointed with horns of rams and goats, ornamented with scorpions' tails, sewn round with peacock feathers; boots, shoes and slippers of all hues such as blue, red, yellow, brown, black and orange. Sometimes the shoes were ornamented with gold, silver, pearls, beryls, crystal, copper, glass, tin, lead or bronze. Poorer people used wooden-shoes, shoes made of leaves of palmyra and date-palm, or of various kinds of grass. Shoes were also made of wool.

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1. *Chv.* V. 11. 2.
2. McCrindle *op. cit.* p. 70.
3. *Chv.* V. 2. 1.
4. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
5. II. 14. ff.

We have elaborate references to toilette in the Vinaya Texts. Hair was besmeared with pomade or hair-oil of bees-wax, and then smoothed with a comb or a special instrument shaped like a snake's hood. Scents, perfumes, garlands and unguents were used, and faces were rubbed with ointment and painted. The body was also painted, and feet were rubbed with sandstone, gravel and seafoam. To keep long hair seems to have been the fashion. A Brāhmaṇa generally shaved his head, keeping a crest lock or two, while an anchorite kept matted hair. Women who had their husbands living parted their hair in the middle, the parting being coloured red with vermilion or other powder. Beards were either removed by razor (as in the case of a Brāhmaṇa) or allowed to grow long (as in the case of hermits). Sometimes they were kept on the chin like a goat's beard, or so cut that they had four corners. The beards were also dyed blue, red, purple or green according to individual taste. The hair on the belly was sometimes cut into figures, and some had whiskers. Nails were polished, or cut with nail-cutters, and tooth sticks were used.

Daily bathing was not a common practice in eastern India according to the Vinaya Texts,[1] though special importance was attached to it in Avanti and the southern country.[2] When bathing, people used to rub their bodies—thighs, arms, breast and back—against wooden pillars or walls. *Chunam* (lime) was also rubbed over the body by means of a wooden instrument in the shape of a hand or a string of beads.[3] Special bathing pools or tanks are also referred to. They were floored or faced with brick, stone or wood, and had walls or steps of the same materials. To prevent water becoming stale, pipes were laid to drain it off. There were also arrangements for hot-bath rooms with chimney and fire-place, and roof covered with skins. The bathers put scented clay over their faces and took their bath seated on stools. There were cells to be used as cooling rooms after the steam bath.[4]

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[1] According to Pātimokkha, Pāchittiya Dhamma V. 57, "Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall bathe at intervals of less than half a month, except on the proper occasions—that is a Pāchittiya".
(Proper occasions are 2½ months of hot weather, sickness, journey, and when there has been wind and rain.)

[2] *Mv.* V. 13. 6.

[3] Massage was evidently very popular. Megasthenes says that the king was "rubbed with cylinders of wood" by 'four attendants' in the open court even when he was engaged in judicial work (McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 72).

[4] *Chv.*, V. 14.

VII. HOUSE AND FURNITURE

An account of the cities and big buildings has been given above.[1] The Vinaya Texts[2] give us an idea of the common dwelling houses, which were made of stone, brick or wood, and had roofing of five kinds—brick, stone, cement, straw and leaves. The walls and roof were plastered within and without. The sleeping rooms were white-washed, the floors were coloured black, and the walls red. They were decorated with paintings and engravings such as human figures, wreath-work and creeper work. Provision was made for windows with shutters and curtains, elaborate doors with key-holes, verandahs, covered terraces, inner verandahs and overhanging eaves, dwelling rooms, retiring-rooms, store rooms, closets, and wells with lids and covered by sheds with skin roofs. Hygienic arrangements were kept in view while constructing privies. The house had sometimes two or more storeys, and it was fashionable to have verandahs supported on pillars with capitals in the forms of heads of animals (like elephant).

The rooms were provided with ceiling cloth, movable screen, curtains that could be drawn aside, cupboards, and bone-hooks for hanging clothes. A long list of furniture is given in the Vinaya Texts. There was a large variety of chairs such as rectangular, cushioned, cane-bottomed, straw-bottomed, the one raised on a pedestal or with many legs, arm-chair and state chair, and sofas with or without arms. There were also different types of bedsteads with legs carved to represent animals' feet, and chairs of the same design. Some bedsteads had lofty supports with arrangements for rocking backwards and forwards, and the bed, comprising mattresses stuffed with cotton and pillows half the size of a man's body, was strewn over with flowers. Bolsters stuffed with wool, cotton cloth, bark, grass or *talipot* leaves, and chairs and bedsteads covered with upholstered cushions to fit them were in use. For poorer people there were mats made of grass and bedsteads made of laths of split bamboo.

For reclining their bodies people used lofty and large things such as large cushions; divans; coverlets with long fleece; counterpanes of many colours; woollen coverlets, white or marked with thick flowers; mattresses; cotton coverlets dyed with figures of animals; rugs with long hair on one or both sides, carpets inwrought with gold or with silk; large woollen carpets with designs such as a nautch girl's dance; couches covered with canopies or with crimson cushions at both ends. There were also rich elephant housings and horse-rugs or carriage-rugs. Sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins were used as coverlets, especially in Avanti and the southern country, and fine skins, such as those of lion, tiger, panther or antelope, were either used for reclining upon or cut into pieces and spread inside or outside the couches and chairs. We also hear of sun-shades, mosquito-curtains, filters for straining water, mosquito-fans, flower-stands, and fly-whisks (*chāmara*) made of tails of oxen and peacocks or of bark and grass.

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[1] See Ch. XX. A.

[2] The description that follows of the houses and furniture is based on *Chullavagga*, Sixth Khandhaka.

Costly utensils were used such as bowls of various kinds made of beryl, crystal, gold, silver, copper, glass, tin, lead or bronze, and some of them were painted or set with jewels. Even circular supports of bowls were made of gold or silver. As most of these utensils and articles of furniture are mentioned in the Vinaya Texts as being used by the monks till some of them were forbidden by the Buddha we may presume that they were used by the middle class people.

VIII. FOOD AND DRINK

It appears from the epics that rice, barley and wheat were the chief foodgrains, rice being very popular. Rich people and the Kshatriyas ate rice mixed with flesh. An interesting verse in the *Udyoga-parvan*[1] says that the food of the rich consists of flesh, that of the middle class, of milk and its products, and that of the poor, of oil preparations. Quite a large number of dainties, delicacies and sweetmeats were known. Milk and its products formed part of the daily diet, and *ghee* was particularly valued as very substantial and nourishing.

The Vinaya Texts refer to many articles of food such as rice, beans, *tila* seeds, fresh honey, rice-milk, honey-lumps, congey, curries, salt, molasses, oil, pot-herbs, fruits, fish, meat and the five products of the cow, *viz.* milk, curds, ghee, buttermilk and butter.

In spite of the growing spirit of *ahiṁsa* (non-injury to animals) fostered by the Jains and Buddhists, and enforced by emperors like Aśoka, various kinds of fish and meat, not excluding beef, were extensively taken by the people. According to Kauṭilya the State maintained preserved forests for animals and birds and also a slaughter-house.

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[1] Cr. Ed. 34. 37.

Among drinks in general use were grape-juice, honey, syrups made from various fruits (such as mango, *jambu*, plantain) and edible roots (water-lily) and the juice of fruits. Drinks were also made from various kinds of pot-herbs and flowers.

Various kinds of liquor were used, and Kauṭilya gives a detailed description of their manufacture, which was a State monopoly. The sale of liquor was regulated by the State, and Kauṭilya directs that it shall be sold to persons of well-known character only and in small quantities. But on festive occasions the people enjoyed to the full the unrestricted right of manufacture of liquor for four days. According to Manu[1] the drinking of spirituous liquor is a *mahāpātaka* (mortal sin), meriting serious punishment, and one who sells it should be banished by the king. Megasthenes also says that the Indians do not drink wine except at sacrifices. But this seems to be an orthodox Brahmanical ideal which did not coincide with actual practice in life; for, even apart from the clear testimony of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra,* there is enough evidence to show that the habit of drink was common, especially among Kshatriyas, the nobility and kings. Arjuna and Kṛishṇa are described as taking wine when exhausted, and the Yādavas were notorious addicts to wine. And yet there are passages in the Great Epic which, like Manu, condemn drinking and class it among the five most heinous sins. These contradictory passages can be explained only by supposing that the teetotalling tendency gradually grew towards the close of the period under review, thanks mainly to the high moral ideals preached by the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists and Jains. The Brāhmaṇas as a class seem to have been comparatively free from the evil.

The Vinaya Texts refer to the practice of taking food lying on decorated divans. According to Megasthenes, 'a table, like a tripod, is set before each person. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice boiled as one would boil barley, and then they add many dainties.' He further observes that the Indians "eat always alone and have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when he feels inclined". This habit, strange to say, has persisted throughout the 2,200 years that have elapsed since Megasthenes wrote, and he rightly remarks that "the contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life."[1]

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[1] IX. 225; 235-7.

IX. GENERAL LIFE

On the whole, compared with the preceding period, social life has become richer in content and far more comprehensive in its outlook and range of activities.

In spite of pessimistic views on life in the religious literature, causing a strong tendency towards asceticism, common people had a liking for the enjoyment of the good things of life. The sculptures of the period show the vivacious side of life, full of bustle and activity and marked by a sense of humour. Literature also reflects this lighter side of life. Apart from singing, dancing, music and dramatic performances, entertainments were provided by buffoons, mimic players, rope-dancers, jugglers, and wandering bards or heralds (*chāraṇas*). Gardening and the art of making garlands by various combinations of flowers provided amusement to many. Various kinds of games, both indoor and outdoor, are mentioned. The former include dice, trapball, guessing other people's thoughts, etc. Among the latter may be noted hunting, chariot-races, archery matches, wrestling, boxing, shooting marbles with the fingers, and ploughing with mimic ploughs. Festive assemblies known as *utsava, samāja* and *vihāra* provided not only entertainment but also dainty dishes and intoxicating drinks, and the kings often arranged such celebrations for the amusement of the people. Apart from such assemblies, delicacies like meat were sometimes freely provided. According to the *Mahābhārata,* a king called Rantideva killed every day two thousand cattle and two thousand kine in order to dole out meat to the people. When Aśoka tells us in his R.E. I, that many hundreds of thousands of animals were every day slaughtered in his kitchen for curry, we can easily infer that a similar practice was followed by the Maurya Emperors. Gambling and drinking wine formed the besetting sins in the life of the people, and the evils of the former are clearly depicted in the *Mahābhārata*.

Aśoka refers in his edicts[2] to some general features of life. Kings, we are told, for a long time past, used to go out on pleasure tours, in course of which there were the chase and other similar diversions. Aśoka also mentions[3] that the people, especially women, performed various rites on occasions of sickness, marriage and birth of children. These no doubt refer to the various religious *saṁskāras* mentioned in the Sūtra literature and referred to before.[1] Aśoka condemns them as useless and trivial, and recommends in their place, the practice of Dhamma, which was really a code of morality as defined above.[2] But there is no doubt that even before the religious propaganda of Aśoka, the people were marked by a high sense of morality. Megasthenes observes: "Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom."[3] The ideal of truthfulness permeates the whole literature of the period, and both the epics preserve many classical examples of unswerving adherence to truth, even at the cost of life. It need not surprise us, therefore, when we are told that "they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses. but make their deposits and confide in each other."[4]

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[1] McCrindle, *op. cit.,* p. 70.
[2] R.E. VIII.
[3] R.E. IX.

Fully in keeping with this high ideal are the humane laws of warfare referred to above.[5]

The Greeks were struck by the fact "that Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life and the songs in which their praises are sung sufficient to preserve their memory after death."[6] This is corroborated by the absence of sepulchral monuments of ancient times. Megasthenes has correctly described in the following passage the spiritual outlook of Indians, which was sufficiently prominent to strike even a casual foreign observer.

"Death is with them a very frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being a dreamlike illusion."[7]

This indicates the real spirit which animated and sustained Indian civilization. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that

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1. Vol. I, pp. 474, 507.
2. See pp. 82-83.
3. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See pp. 317-18; also Vol. I, pp. 302-3.
6. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

the common man in ancient India was averse to wordly enjoyments and material welfare. The need to maintain a balance in life was fully recognised, and *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* (religion or spirituality, wealth and happiness) were regarded as the three ends in life to be simultaneously pursued without giving undue prominence to any of them. This principle is clearly enunciated in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[1] and it is emphasised that any one of these ends, if pursued to excess to the detriment of the other two, "hurts not only the other two but also itself." This threefold end in life, to which a fourth, *moksha* (emancipation), was added later, has been the ideal of life in India throughout ancient times, but, as often happens, in actual practice one or the other has sometimes gained prominence according to individual inclinations or special circumstances of the time. Kauṭilya, for example, insists that *artha* (wealth) was the chief of the three, as the other two, *dharma* (religion) and *kāma* (enjoyment), depend upon it for fulfilment. In religious texts, on the other hand, the main stress is laid upon *dharma*, to the exclusion of the other two. Nevertheless, the harmony of the three pursuits of life may be regarded as the ideal which formed the background of social life in ancient India.

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[1] Ch. VII; *KAT*. p. 14.

CHAPTER XXII

EDUCATION

The Dharma-sūtras carry on the Vedic traditions and practices of education and codify them into regular systems. Education had its own rituals and ceremonies to emphasize its religious aim and character as an aid to self-fulfilment and the *educing* of personality. Education was treated as a matter of growth, a process of life, which was controlled in its totality. The very tenor of life was changed for the pupil who had to leave the home of his parents to live in a new home, the home of his spiritual parent, the *guru* or teacher.

1. PUPILS AND TEACHERS

The first educational ceremony was *Vidyārambha,* to be performed by the pupil at the age of 5, by learning the alphabets and offering worship to the appropriate deities. According to Kauṭilya, the pupil, at *Vidyārambha,* was also introduced to writing (*lipi*) and numbers or arithmetic (*saṁkhyā*).

Next followed the ceremony of *Upanayana,* marking the turning point in the pupil's life. Manu describes it as spiritual birth, *Brahmajanma,* where the mother is *Sāvitrī* and father the *Āchārya.*[1]

The essential features of this ceremony have been described above,[2] but the texts of the period add elaborate details about the life of strict discipline led by the pupil in his teacher's house, as a *Brahmachārī.*

Normally, the pupil was admitted by the teacher without payment of any fee to him. According to Manu[3] a student should not pay any fees to his teacher before he finishes his education. A teacher teaching for fees is condemned as an *Upapātakin.* Uśanas[4] brands him as a *Vṛittika.*

Admission to study depended solely upon the pupil's fitness for it. Studious pupils worked night and day. Some who could not get oil for their lamps would burn dried cow-dung and read in its light in an isolated corner. But there were also indifferent pupils who found study too irksome and difficult, and deserted; or could not stand the strict discipline of the teacher; or would be dismissed by the teacher for an offence; or would leave studentship prematurely for a life of ease and be branded as a *Khaṭvārūḍha*, *i.e.* as one who started sleeping on a cot when he should be sleeping on the ground.[1]

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[1] II. 146, 148.
[2] Vol. I, p. 455.
[3] II. 245.
[4] IV. 24.

Sometimes, a pupil would change teachers and schools too often and earn the uncomplimentary epithet of *Tīrthakāka, i.e.* fickle as a crow that does not stop long at a place of pilgrimage. Other similar terms of opprobrium applied to erring pupils are: (1) *Kumāri-Dākshāḥ,* those who entered as pupils of *Dāksha* for the sake of the girls living with him; (2) *Bhikshā-Māṇava,* a pupil entering upon study for appropriating the proceeds of begging; (3) *Odana-Pāṇinīyāḥ,* those who seek the study of Pāṇini for the advántage of getting free food like boiled rice; (4) *Ghṛita-Rauḍhīyāḥ,* the Rauḍhīyas seeking after ghee; and (5) *Kambala-chārāyaṇīyāḥ,* those hankering after blankets.[2]

A famous teacher is called *Yaujanaśatika, i.e.* one whom students would seek from a distance of hundreds of miles.[3]

Manu mentions two classes of teachers: (1) *Upādhyāya* who took to teaching as a profession for his livelihood and taught only a portion of the Veda or Vedāṅga,[4] and (2) *Āchārya* who taught the Veda with its Kalpasūtras and Upanishads[5] without charging fees. The pupil after completing his education was to give him such presents as he could afford—field, gold, cow, horse, umbrella, shoes, grain, vegetables or clothes.[6] The paid teacher and the paying pupil were condemned as unworthy of invitation to an important social cermony like *Śrāddha.*[7] Besides the ordinary teachers, Manu mentions educational experts[8] who were proficient in pedagogy.

The ancient educational system evolved its own appropriate methods of study. Kauṭilya enumerates the following steps of Vedic study: (1) *Śuśrūshā* (eagerness to listen to the words of the teacher as they fall from his lips), (2) *Śravaṇam* (grasping by the ear the lessons of the teacher), (3) *Grahaṇam* (apprehension of the teacher's words), (4) *Dhāraṇam* (retention), (5-6) *Ūhāpoha* (discussion), (7) *Vijñāna* (full knowledge of the meaning conveyed by the teacher's words or lessons), and (8) *Tattvābhinivesha* (comprehension of the underlying truths of the teacher's lessons). A stray verse puts the position in a nutshell thus: "The student learns a fourth from his *Āchārya*, a fourth by his own intelligence by himself, a fourth from his fellow-pupils, and the remaining fourth in course of time by experince."

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[1] Patañjali on II. 4.32, and III. 1. 26(2); I. 4.26, 28; II. 1. 26.
[2] Patañjali on II. 1.41, and I.1. 73(6); *Kāśikā* on VI. 2. 69.
[3] Patañjali on V. 1. 74(2).
[4] II. 141.
[5] II. 140.
[6] II. 246.
[7] III. 156.
[8] IV. 102.

2. ART OF WRITING

The art of writing was now fully developed. The oldest alphabet, known as Brāhmī, is employed in the majority of the records of Aśoka, and from it have been derived the various scripts used today all over India. The Aramaic script was introduced into the Punjāb by its Achaemenian conquerors. From it was derived the Kharoshṭhī alphabet, written from right to left. It was confined to north-western India, and was thence carried to Central Asia, but it went out of use after the third or fourth century A.D.

The knowledge of writing might have been expected to introduce a great change in the system of education, but this does not appear to have been the case. There is abundant evidence to show that the teaching continued to be mainly oral, and the study of manuscripts was positively condemned. Certain passages in the Buddhist canonical literature indicate that, although the art of writing was in vogue, the sacred books were not written but committed to memory, even though the monks realized the danger that a portion of the canon might thus altogether be lost. Similar notions prevailed among the Brāhmaṇas and the followers of other religious sects. It is difficult to explain this attitude. It has been suggested that the art of "writing was introduced into India at a late period in the intellectual development of its people—so late that, before they knew of it, they had already brought to perfection another and a very excellent method (*i.e.* learning by heart) of handing down literary productions."[1] In other words, being accustomed to preserve massive literature by stupendous feats of memory, they would not realize the use or necessity of writing it down. The advantage of the latter course is, however, so obvious that the explanation cannot be regarded as very satisfactory. Another argument advanced is that even when the Indians came to know of writing. they had not the necessary materials for writing lengthy records.

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[1] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 112-13.

Both these assumptions are based on the view that the art of writing was introduced into India, from western Asia in about the ninth century B.C. But the correctness of this view, which was once generally held, can no longer be regarded as beyond dispute.[1] Even if it were true, it would indeed be very strange that materials like birch bark, for writing lengthy records, were not thought of during the next three or four hundred years, or that although these were known, people could not realize the obvious utility of books even as a supplementary aid to oral teaching. In the case of the Brāhmaṇas, the growing desire to withhold the sacred *mantras* from the people and retain teaching as an exclusive privilege for themselves might act as an incentive to oral teaching to the exclusion of books. But the same motive could not possibly operate in the case of the heterodox sects like the Buddhists. When we remember the vast mass of literature, even in the fourth or fifth century B.C., and the extensive use of writing for administrative purposes in the time of Aśoka, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that books were much more extensively in use than is now commonly believed, or was admitted by priestly writers and monks. They emphasized perhaps rightly, the rôle of the teacher in an educational system which sought not merely to impart knowledge to but also to develop the personality of, the pupil, and hence insisted that the teacher, rather than the books, should be the main source of instruction.

3. SUBJECTS OF STUDY

It appears from the *Manu-smṛiti* that the subjects of study in those days comprised, besides the entire Vedic literature, *Dharmaśāstras* or *Smritis*;[2] *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*;[3] *Vaikhānasa-sūtra* for recluses;[4] heretical Śāstras;[5] Economics and allied subjects,[6] *Ānvīkshikī* (Dialectics), and *Daṇḍanīti* or Politics.[7] The last two, with the Vedic study (*Trayī*) and *Vārtā* (economics, etc.), are referred to as the four important subjects of study in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*.

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[1] See Vol. I, Ch. XIX § 4.

[2] II. 10; III. 232.

[3] III. 232.

[4] VI. 21.

[5] XII. 95.

[6] IX. 329 ff.

[7] VII. 43.

The education of the prince followed other lines. In addition to the four important subjects mentioned by Kauṭilya,[1] he had to receive military training relating to the operation of the different elements of the army such as elephants, horses, chariots and weapons of war (*praharaṇa*). He had also to study history or *Itihāsa* which included (1) *Purāṇa,* (2) *Itivṛitta* (history), (3) *Ākhyāyikā* (tales), (4) *Udāharaṇa* (illustrative stories), (5) *Dharmaśāstra* and (6) *Arthaśāstra.*

The Buddhist text *Milinda-pañha* also gives a long list of the subjects of study for a Brāhmaṇa, which comprised the following: the four Vedas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, lexicography, prosody, phonology, verses, grammar, etymology, astronomy, astrology, and the six Vedāṅgas; knowledge of auspicious marks (on the body); interpretation of omens, dreams, and signs; prognostications from comets, thunder, junction of planets, fall of meteors, earthquakes, conflagration and signs in the heaven and earth; study of the eclipses of the sun and moon, of arithmetic, of casuistry; interpretation of the omens to be drawn from dogs, deer and rats, and mixtures of liquids and the sounds and cries of birds. The Kshatriyas had to acquire knowledge of elephants, horses, chariots, bows, rapiers, the art of war, documents and currency,[2] while the Vaiśyas and Śūdras had to learn husbandry, merchandising and the care of cattle.[3] Elsewhere, king Milinda is said to have a knowledge of 19 arts and sciences, *viz.* Śruti (Vedas and Smṛiti; Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeshika systems of philosophy; arithmetic; music; medicine, archery;[4] Purāṇas; Itihāsa; astronomy; magic; causation; spells; the art of war; poetry; and currency.[5]

The *Mahābhārata* gives some interesting information about education. It contains the singular injunction that persons of all the four castes should listen to discourses on Vedas or to Vedic recitations (*śrāvayet chaturo varṇān*).[6] An interesting fact is that

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[1] "After investiture with the sacred thread, he shall study the triple Vedas, the science of *Ānvikshikī* under teachers of acknowledged authority (*śishṭa*), the science of *vārtā* under government superintendents, and the science of *daṇḍanīti* under theoretical and practical politicians (*vaktṛiprayoktṛibhyaḥ*)" *KAT*. p. 11.

[2] *Muddā,* which is translated in SBE (XXXV, 247) as "law of property", probably means a knowledge of coins or currency.

[3] IV. 3, 26.

[4] *SBE* (XXXV, p. 6) has 'four Vedas'. But as there is already a reference to Śruti the reading *dhanur-veda* in the Edition of R. D. Vadekar (p. 4) is to be preferred.

[5] I. 9.

[6] XII. 327, 49.

Brāhmaṇa teachers gave instruction not only in all academic subjects, including politics, but also in non-academic ones like archery, the science of war in general, and other arts and crafts. This was so probably because they were credited with occult knowledge of charms, spells and incantations, which turned, as though by a miracle, the ordinary arrow into a weapon of the most devastating type. Not only astrology and medicine but agriculture was also taught by the Brāhmaṇas. Among the subjects of study, in addition to the Vedāṅgas, were the training of elephants and horses, the driving of a chariot, engineering, etc.

A glimpse of industrial education is given by Nārada[1] who explains the rules relating to apprenticeship and admission to an industrial school. The young man must first secure the consent of his guardian before he is apprenticed to his master. He will then settle with him the period of apprenticeship. He is to live with his master, whose home is his workshop, and is to be treated and instructed by the master as his son. He is not to be exploited and employed on work not connected with his chosen craft. He cannot leave his master before the stipulated period of apprenticeship even if he has completed his training, the gains from which are to go to the master. An apprentice deserting a master, not lacking in character or as a teacher, deserves corporal punishment and confinement. At the end of his pupilage, the apprentice must reward his master as best as he can, or may accept service under terms settled. It was this efficient industrial training which gave ancient India the palm in handicrafts, feeding her rich export trade for centuries from Pliny to Tavernier. The *Chatuḥshashṭi-Kalās*, the traditional 64 arts and crafts in ancient India, were also the products of this industrial system and training.

We may conclude this section by a reference to the story of medical education given in Buddhist canonical texts. The story centres round the early education of Jīvaka, who was the physician-in-ordinary to the Magadhan emperor Bimbisāra, and was also deputed by the emperor as physician-in-attendance on Buddha, as the best medical expert of the times. He was of obscure origin and the son of a courtesan of Rājagriha, a foundling thrown on a dust-heap from which he was rescued by Bimbisāra's son, prince Abhaya, who brought him up till he repaired to Taxila to learn an art as a source of livelihood without depending upon the uncertainties of royal patronage.'

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[1] V. 16-21.

He studied medicine at Taxila under a "world-renowned physician" for the prescribed period of 7 years. But before he was given the licence to practise medicine, he had to undergo a sort of practical examination prescribed by his teacher, who directed: "Take this spade and seek round about Takkasilā a *yojana* on every side, and whatever plant you see which is not medicinal, bring it to me." After a good deal of botanical investigation, Jīvaka could not discover any plant that was devoid of medicinal properties. The teacher was satisfied and gave him a little money with leave to go home and practise as a physician. His money sufficed for his journey up to Sāketa where he was forced to earn. His first earning came from his successful treatment of a rich *Seṭṭhi's* wife who had a chronic disease of the head which no physician could cure. Jīvaka had one *pasata* (handful) of *ghee* boiled up with various drugs and had it administered to the patient through the nose. She was at once cured and gave Jīvaka the princely fee of 16,000 *Kahāpanas*, together with a present of a coach, horses and 2 servants.[1] These earnings Jīvaka tendered to his patron, prince Abhaya, as a return for bringing him up.

Next, he treated emperor Bimbisāra himself and cured him of a fistula. His third important case and call came from Banaras, where a merchant's son had a strangulation of the intestines, caused by a gymnastic feat. It was a surgical case. He "cut through the skin of the belly, drew the twisted intestines out and showed them to his wife;" then "disentangling the twisted intestines, he put them back into their right position, stitched the skin together, and anointed the wound with a salve." Very soon the patient was cured, and his father paid the surgeon a fee of 16,000 *Kahāpanas*. King Pradyota of Ujjayinī was his next important patient. He was suffering from jaundice, and asked Bimbisāra for the loan of the services of his physician. Jīvaka cured this royal patient by medicated *ghee* and was rewarded with costly gifts of textiles. Once he cured the Buddha of constipation by making him smell three medicated lotuses, bathe in warm water, and live on liquid food for some days.

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[1] *Chv.* V. 27. 4. Many other similar stories, with minute details of treatment, are given in the first section of the Chīvaravastu of the Vinaya Texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādas (Gilgit Manuscripts III. 2, pp. 1-52).

The texts speak of medicines prepared from roots, leaves, fruits, gums (*e.g. Hingu*) and salts, from which were also made astringent decoctions; *chunam* as a remedy against itches and boils; dried cow-dung and some kinds of clay against skin-diseases; eye-ointments; medicated oils; and the like. They also testify to progress in surgery. We read of a lancet operation to cut off proud flesh; of compresses, bandages and oils for the treatment of wounds; of a fistula cured by lancing and treated by ointment; and of the use of a clyster.[1].

4. ĀŚRAMAS OR HERMITAGES

The *Mahābhārata* tells of numerous hermitages where pupils from distant and different parts of the country gathered for instruction around far-famed teachers. A full-fledged *Āśrama* is described as consisting of several departments which are enumerated as follows:—

(1) *Agni-sthāna*, the common hall for prayer and worship of Agni; (2) *Brahma-sthāna*, college of divinity, the department of Vedic study; (3) *Vishṇu-sthāna*, taken to mean the department for the study of *Rāja-nīti*, *Artha-nīti* and *Vārttā;* (4) *Mahendra-sthāna*, the Military School; (5) *Vivasvata-sthāna*, department of astronomy; (6) *Soma-sthāna*, department of botany; (7) *Garuḍa-sthāna*, dealing with transport and conveyances; and (8) *Kārttikeya-sthāna*, for study of military organization, methods for forming patrols, battalions, and armies.

A most famous *Āsrama* or hermitage of the time was Naimisha, located in a forest named after it. Its principal was Śaunaka, called a *Kulapati* as teacher of 10,000 pupils. He performed a twelve years' sacrifice which attracted a vast concourse of learned men, who carried on constant discussions of religious, philosophical and scientific topics.

Another such hermitage was that of Ṛishi Kaṇva, on the Mālinī, a tributary of the Sarayū, a centre around which grew up numerous other hermitages representing a wide variety of subjects and academic interests. In that assemblage or federation of hermitages were to be found specialists in different branches of knowledge, including physical sciences and arts, such as the art of constructing sacrificial altars of different dimensions and shapes (on the basis of a knowledge of solid geometry); knowledge of the properties of matter (*Dravya-guṇa*) of physical processes and their results; and zoologists who had special knowledge of monkeys and birds.

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[1] *Mahāvagga*, VI. 22.

Ayodhyā figures as a noted seat of learning in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us of its unique institution called *Mekhalinām Mahā-saṁgha,* a federation of the *Saṁghas* or Brotherhoods of *Brahmachārīs,* who approached the king with their grievances and views on public questions. Students are also mentioned as residents of *Āśramas* and *Āvasathas,* which were like the licensed lodging-houses recognized by modern universities. The *Āśramas* were situated outside the city, whose citizens flocked thither to hear the learned discourses and discussions held there chiefly by the *Lokāyatas,* notorious for their zeal for debate and casuistry. There were also Puranic schools of Sūtas and Māgadhas at Ayodhyā, which were crowded by the bards and chroniclers of the country, of whom the chief in those days was Ārya Chitraratha. Ayodhyā had also its ladies' clubs called *Vadhū-Saṁghas,* dramatic societies called *Nāṭaka-Saṁghas,* which organized festivities called *Utsavas* and *Samājas* at the suburban parks, with the main programme consistin of acting and dancing. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to educational institutions conducted by private citizens in the city which offered lectures and lessons attended by various bodies of students. These citizens included the Sūtas and Māgadhas, king's officers, artists and craftsmen of all kinds, and merchants who had travelled widely.

The biggest *Āśrama* of the times was that of Bharadvāja at Prayāga, which accommodated prince Bharata and all his royal retinue in its stables for elephants and horses (*chatuḥ-śālās*), mansions (*harmyas*), palaces (*prāsādas*) and royal guest-house (*rājaveśma*), provided with beds, seats, coverlets, carpets, stores of food and vehicles.

5. BUDDHIST VIHARA

Interesting information about the educational system is also furnished by typical Buddhist canonical texts as well as the Jātakas. Buddhist texts knew of two classes of teachers, *Upādhyāya* and *Achārya,* but rank the former higher, unlike the Brahmanical texts. Buddhaghosha, commenting on *Mahāvagga,* V. 4, 2, states that the *Upādhyāya* was to be of 10 years' and *Achārya* of 6 years' standing as a monk. The former took charge of the pupil's study of sacred texts and doctrines, and the latter of his life and conduct, like the modern tutor, and was aptly called *Karmāchārya.*

The duties of teacher and pupil follow the same lines in Buddhist and Brahmanical systems. The main difference between them lies in the character of the educational institution. In the Brahmanical system, it was the *Guru-kula* or hermitage, based upon individual relationship between the teacher and the pupil. This individual treatment of the pupil limited the number of pupils whom a teacher could admit and instruct by himself. In the Buddhist system, education was imparted in the *Vihāra* or monastery, giving scope to a collective life and spirit of brotherhood and democracy among the many resident monks, who came under a common discipline and instruction. The Buddhist *Vihāra* was built up as a self-sufficient colony, growing its own food by agriculture and dairy-farming in its own grounds, which came into its possession as gifts from its supporters. Thus there was need of more external organisation and machinery in the Buddhist system. The Brahmanical *Āśrama* or hermitage, on the other hand, was a home that hardly called for any organization to deal with the problems created by large numbers and a congregational life. It has, however, to be noted that even the collective monastic life in a Buddhist *Vihāra* gave scope for an individual life of study and meditation, provided for in the cell assigned to a monk, and also in the particular group to which he was assigned, under the personal direction of his tutor or *upādhyāya.* What, however, was absent from the monastery was the domestic touch of the Brahmanical system of education.

Monks were graded for study in the monastery. Their instruction comprised "giving of recitation, holding examination, making exhortation, and explaining Dhamma."[1] There was also specialisation in different branches of Buddhist canon. The different classes of monks were lodged in separate hostels lest their mixing up should cause disturbance to their different studies.[2]

6. EDUCATION IN THE JĀTAKAS

The Jātakas are full of stories giving interesting glimpses of ancient Indian education. A story full of significant details is given as follows in *Jātaka* No. 252:

"Once on a time, Brahmadatta, king of Banaras, had a son named prince Brahmadatta. Now kings of former times, though there

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1. *Chv.* VIII. 7, 4.
2. *Chv.* IV. 4.

might be a famous teacher living in their own city, often used to send their sons to foreign countries afar off to complete their education, so that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness, and endure heat or cold, and be made acquainted with the ways of the world. So did this king. Calling his boy, then sixteen years old, he gave him a pair of one-soled sandals, a sun-shade of leaves and a thousand pieces of money, with these words: 'My son, get you to Takkasilā, and study there.'

"The boy obeyed. He bade his parents farewell, and in due course arrived at Takkasilā. There he enquired for the teacher's dwelling, and reached it after the teacher had finished his lecture and was pacing up and down at his front door. When the lad set eyes upon the teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade, and with a respectful greeting stood still where he was. The teacher saw that he was weary, and welcomed the new-comer. The lad ate and rested a little. Then he returned to the teacher and stood respectfully by him. After a few preliminary inquiries about his home and parentage the teacher asked: 'Have you brought the teacher's fee? or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you?' 'I have brought a fee with me', said the prince, and laid at the teacher's feet his purse of a thousand pieces. The resident pupils attend on their teacher by day and at night they learn of him; but they who bring a fee are treated like eldest sons in his house, and thus they learn. And this teacher, like the rest, gave schooling to the prince every night and auspicious day.[1] Thus the young prince was taught."

This and other Jātaka stories show that Taxila was then a prominent centre of learning and education, to which flocked scholars from distant parts of India. The richer students paid in advance the entire fee for the course of education which, in the case of medical education, extended even up to 7 years. The amount of the fee was fixed at 1,000 pieces. The majority of the students were, however, poor and rendered service to their teachers in lieu of fees. They "attended on their teacher by day" and received instruction from him at night. Sometimes the expenses of a poor school were paid by a philanthropic public. Thus there is a case of a school of 500 Brāhmana boys at Banaras whose charitable "folks used to give day by day commons of food to poor lads, and had them taught free" by their teacher who was of "world-wide fame."[2] Sometimes the householders would invite the poor schools of their neighbourhood to meals,[1] and such invitations, coming by turns, would work like a permanent provision of food for the schools. There were also available State scholarships for supporting students for study at a distant place like Taxila.[2] Sometimes, students might accompany princes as their companions to receive education at their expense. The sons of the royal chaplains at the court of Banaras[3] and of Rājagṛiha[4] thus accompanied their respective princes to Taxila.

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[1] Cf. Translator's note. *Jātaka*, Vol. II, p. 194.

[2] I. 239.

There were day-scholars along with resident pupils in the schools of those days. Mention has been made of prince Juṇha of Banaras keeping house for himself as a student of Taxila. Some of these day-scholars might be married and regular householders. The Jātakas mention cases of some whose studies were hindered by their wives, one of whom always feigned sickness when her husband was about to go to school.[5]

The Jātakas tell of the standard number (500) for a school and of the different castes and ranks of students making up that number —Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya, princes from distant kingdoms, sons of magnates or magnificos, some of whom were Brāhmaṇas, sons of merchants and tailors and even fishermen; and also of a teacher who admitted to his instruction all castes equally—"fishermen and the like."[6] Chaṇḍālas, however, were not admitted to study.[7]

Studies were chosen freely and not according to caste. We read of Brāhmaṇa students learning divination at Taxila, but settling down as hunters in the forests of Banaras,[8] studying magic charms,[9] archery,[10] science,[11] the three Vedas and 18 accomplishments or crafts.[12] Princes at school had to share a common, simple, democratic life of equality with their poorer comrades. The food of the boys at school was very simple. Rice-gruel was served for breakfast by the maid of the teacher's house,[13] while at invitations they were given a meal of sugar-cane, molasses, curd and milk.[14]

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1. I. 317; III. 171.
2. V. 127.
3. V. 263.
4. III. 238 and V. 247.
5. I. 463: I. 300-302.
6. III. 171.
7. See above, p. 538.
8. II. 200.
9. II. 99.
10. III. 219.
11. III. 18.
12. II. 87; III. 115, 122.
13. I. 318.
14. I. 448.

There were both public schools and community schools. We read of schools confined only to Brāhmaṇa students[1] or to Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya pupils[2] or only to princes, "to the number of 101."[3]

The Head Master of a school was helped in his work by a staff of assistant masters who might be also his pupils.[4]

A school kept a cock to serve as a clock or alarm-bell to rouse students early from their bed.[5] It had also *tittiri* birds trained to recite Vedic *mantras* and help the boys to remember them. Thus birds were tamed as aids to study![6]

Taxila, as a centre of education, attracted students from far and near, even scholars from distant Greece if we are to believe in the story of Apollonius of Tyana. According to the Jātakas, the students came to Taxila to complete their education in the three Vedas on the one hand, and in the 18 *Sippas* or crafts on the other. Taxila thus offered the highest education in humanities and the sciences, arts and crafts. It had special schools of law, medicine and military science. It also offered courses of study in elephant-lore,[7] hunting,[8] animals' cries,[9] archery[10] and the like. There is an interesting story of a Brāhmaṇa boy named Jotipāla, a native of Banaras, whose king sent him at his expense to Taxila for education in archery. When he finished his education and was returning home, his teacher presented him with his own sword, a bow and arrow, a coat of mail and a diamond, and asked him to take his place as the head of a school of 500 pupils, to be trained up by him, as he was himself old and about to retire.[11]

The Jātakas tell of Banaras as another centre of learning. It was to some extent built up by the graduates of Taxila who set up there as teachers.[12] Banaras also produced its own teachers of world-wide fame with their schools of 500.[13] The son of a Brāhmaṇa magnate worth 80 crores was educated at Banaras,[14] which was evidently good enough for his education. Banaras was noted for its school of music under an expert who was "the chief of his kind in all India."[15]

GENERAL REFERENCES

1 R. K. Mookerji—*Hindu Civilization.*
2 R. K. Mookerji—*Ancient Indian Education.*

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[1] I. 317, 412, etc.
[2] III. 158.
[3] V. 457.
[4] II. 100; V. 457.
[5] I. 436.
[6] *Tittira Jātaka*, III. 536.
[7] *Hatthi-Sutta*, II. 47.
[8] II. 200.
[9] III. 415.
[10] III. 219, etc.
[11] V. 127.
[12] Nos. 130. 185, etc.
[13] I. 239; III. 18, 233.
[14] IV. 237.
[15] No. 243.

CHAPTER XXIII

ECONOMIC CONDITION

The period under review witnessed an all-round development of agriculture, industry and trade. This was due partly to private enterprise, and partly to State-control and State-management. This latter aspect is delineated in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and forms a special feature of the economic system of the period.

1. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture was the mainstay of a large section of the people. Rural economy had its centre in the *grāma* or village, a collection of *grihas* (houses) and *kulas* (families) numbering from 30 to 1,000. It was enclosed by a wall or stockade provided with gates. Beyond this enclosure lay the arable land of the village, the *grāma-kshetra,* which was protected by fences and field-watchmen against pests like birds and beasts. This land was distributed among individual holdings separated by ditches dug for co-operative irrigation. Usually these holdings were small enough to be cultivated by their owners and families, with the help of hired labour, if necessary. The landless labourer, hiring himself out for work, ranked below the slave. The sorry spectacle of sturdy peasants leaving at home their own empty barns and toiling as hirelings on the estates of the royal capitalist is deplored as a symptom of social decadence.

Large holdings were not unknown. We read of estates of 1,000 *karīsas* (probably acres) and more, farmed by Brāhmaṇas, and of one large enough to require for its cultivation as many as 500 ploughs and a host of hired labourers to ply these ploughs with their oxen.

Beyond the arable land of the village lay its pastures, which were common for the grazing of its cattle, and also those belonging to the State, under a common neatherd called *Gopālaka,* whose duty was to pen the flocks at night or to return them to their owners by counting heads. Besides pastures, villages had their suburban groves like the Veluvana of king Bimbisāra at Rājgṛiha, Añjanavana of Sāketa, or the Jetavana of Śrāvastī. Kauṭilya's scheme of village-planning had also a place for these sylvan retreats for purposes of religious study and practices.

Kauṭilya gives a very graphic and realistic view of the village of those days.[1] The land of the village was made up of the following parts: (1) *Kṛishṭa* (cultivated), (2) *Akṛishṭa* (uncultivated wastes or fallow land), (3) *Sthala* (high and dry ground), (4) *Kedāra* (fields sown with crops), (5) *Ārāma* (grove), (6) *Shaṇḍa* (plantations of fruits like plantains), (7) *Mūla-vāpa* (fields for growing roots like ginger, turmeric and the like), (8) *Vāṭa* (sugarcane plantations), (9) *Vana* (forest for supply of firewood and other needs), (10) *Vivīta* (grazing ground for the village cattle), and (11) *Pathi* (area covered by roads).

Besides these, the village proper as a human settlement must be marked by the following features or fixtures: (1) *Vāstu* (area covered by houses), (2) *Chaitya* (sacred trees), (3) *Devagṛiha* (temples), (4) *Setubandha* (embankments), (5) *Śmaśāna* (cremation grounds), (6) *Sattra* (alms-house), (7) *Prapā* (storage of drinking water), (8) *Puṇyasthāna* (sacred spots), and (9) halls for public amusements such as music, dancing, theatrical performances (*Prekshā*) and public dinners (*Pravahaṇa*).

Among the crops, vegetables and fruits grown in those days are mentioned the following: Rice of different varieties; *Kodrava,* coarse grain; *Tila,* sesamum; *Priyaṅgu,* pepper and saffron; Pulses, like *Mudga, Māsha,* and *Masūra; Kuluttha, Yava, Godhūma* (wheat), *Kalāya, Atasī* (linseed); *Sarshapa* (mustard); vegetables called *Śāka* and *Mūla;* fruits such as plantains, pumpkins, gourds and grapes (*Mṛidvīka*); and sugarcane (*Ikshu*).[2]

Agriculture depended upon cattle comprising cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, pigs and dogs.[3] The State maintained cattle-, stud-, and dairy-farms, and employed on their staffs the following workers: (1) *Gopālaka,* the cowherd, (2) *Piṇḍāraka* in charge of the buffaloes, (3) *Dohaka* or milker, and (4) the *Manthaka* or churner, assisted by a body of hunters (*Lubdhakas*) and keepers of hunting hounds (*Śvagaṇinaḥ*) to keep the pastures clear of wild animals and beasts of prey.[4] The cattle-farms reared calves, steers, draught oxen, stud-bulls and buffaloes. Wild cattle were also tamed. There was also the Government poultry farm.[5]

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1. *KA,* Book II. Ch. 35; III. 10.
2. *KA,* Bk. II, Ch. 24.
3. V. 2.
4. II. 34; 29.
5. V. 2.

The importance of cattle-breeding, which occasionally meant also cattle-lifting, is stressed in the *Mahābhārata*. It is possible, however, that in very early times, before the extensive pursuit of agriculture and the development of trade, the masses of people as such were employed as ranchmen who tended cattle. In the epic they have become partly cattle-raisers and partly farmers, and the occupation of ranchmen seems to have fallen into the hands of the aborigines or barbarians who could not understand Aryan speech. In the *Mahābhārata*[1] Duryodhana went to see his herd of cattle in Dvaitavana and marked them by signs, and then held sports, heard the singing, and watched the dancing of the cowherds. In the *Virāṭa-parvan* the king of the Matsya country goes out into the country to enjoy a royal picnic on the occasion of 'cattle branding', when the ears of the cattle are marked for the year.[2] Here, however, the barbarians are shown merely as cow-boys who are in charge of the royal cattle. It is on this occasion that the Kurus lift the cattle of the Matsyas. Such cattle-lifting was fairly common. The *Mahābhārata*[3] tells us that these cow-boys and herdsmen were paid in kind (in the shape of cows or their milk) for tending the herd, according to the number of cattle tended by each. The breeding and tending of cattle almost developed into a science in the epic days. Sahadeva, who takes service under king Virāṭa as a *tantipāla,* describes how, under his fostering care, cows multiply in a short time and are free from disease.[4]

The village administration employed a paid staff of workers, *Grāma-bhṛitakas,* among whom are included (1) *Kuṭṭaka* (carpenter), (2) *Karmāra* or *Ayaskāra* (blacksmith), (3) potter, (4) the inevitable *Nāpita* (barber),[5] (5) washerman,[6] (6) *Medaka* (digger of earth), (7) *Rajjuvartaka* (rope-maker), (8) *Anīkastha* (trainer of elephants), and (9) *Aśvadamaka* (trainer of horses). The purely administrative staff included (1) the *Adhyaksha* (superintendent), (2) *Saṁkhyāyaka* (accountant), (3) *Gopa* and (4) *Sthānika,* together with (5) the medical officer (*Chikitsaka*), and (6) postman or courier (*Jaṁghakārika*).[7]

The village had its own police force recruited from the following classes of people: (1) *Vāgurikas* (Trappers), (2) *Śabaras* (Bhils),

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[1] Cr. Ed. III, 229, 1-13.
[2] *Mbh.* IV. 10; cf. *CHI*, I, p. 269.
[3] XII. 60, 25.
[4] Cr. Ed. IV. 9. 8-13.
[5] II. 1; V. 2.
[6] V. 3.
[7] II. 1.

(3) *Pulindas* (Kirātas), (4) *Chaṇḍālas* and (5) *Araṇyacharas* (foresters).[1]

The State levied on agriculture a variety of impositions such as (1) tithe on raw produce, (2) forced labour, (3) special levy on produce for State granaries against emergencies like war or famine, (4) occasional contributions to the king, like 'milk-money' *e.g.* at the birth of his heir. Hindu law fixes the State's share of agricultural produce at one-sixth down to one-twelfth. Aśoka reduced this share (*bhāga*) to one-eighth at the village Lumbinī, as the birthplace of the Buddha.

Kauṭilya describes the taxes on agriculture as comprising (1) *Bhāga,* State's share of produce; (2) *Bali,* an undefined cess over and above *Bhāga;* (3) *Kara,* a tax on property levied periodically; (4) *Vivīta,* a levy on pastures; (5) *Rajju,* the cess payable for survey and settlement; and (6) *Chorarajju,* police cess or chowkidari tax.[2]

The village ended in the uncleared jungles from which were derived its supply of firewood and litter. They were the haunts of wild animals and brigands preying on the caravan traffic passing through them.

Kauṭilya's scheme contemplates different kinds of forests to be cultivated for their economic uses. There would be (1) a reserved forest for royal hunt, which was rendered safe by stocking it with wild animals like tiger, bison and elephant, with their teeth and claws cut off; (2) ordinary forests as the abode of all animals (3) plantations of forests producing timber, bamboo or bark; creepers like cane; fibres like hemp; roping material like Muñja; leaves for writing, such as palm-leaf; flowers as material for dyeing, such as Kiṁśuka, Kusumbha, or Kuṅkuma; medicinal herbs, roots, and flowers. The State also took charge of the forests of the country producing these materials. There were model Government agricultural farms, where were collected the seeds of various crops to be grown. Government also maintained flower-, fruit-, and vegetable-gardens, and raised commerce crops like cotton (*Kārpāsa*) and jute (*Kshauma*). Forests were also grown for the breeding of elephants so necessary for economic and military purposes, under a special conservator of forests called *Nāgavanādhyaksha.*[3]

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[1] II. 1.

[2] Ghoshal, *Revenue System,* pp. 34, 36, 41-2, 53.

[3] II. 2.

The forests also yielded other valuable animal products such as hides, skins, sinews, bones, teeth, horns, hoofs, and tails of such creatures as leopard, tiger, lion, elephant, buffalo, yak, crocodile, tortoise, snake and birds.

Out of the forest products were also manufactured articles like plough, pestle, mortar, implements, weapons and carts, by qualified artisans in the forest factories (*Dravyavanakarmāntāḥ*).

2. TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Remarkable progress in trade and industry is noticeable during this period. A large number of arts, crafts and occupations are not only referred to in literature and epigraphic records, but also represented in the sculptures. The Jātakas are always referring to the standard number of 18 important handicrafts such as those of wood-workers, the smiths, leatherers, painters, workers in stone, ivory-working, weaving, confectionery, jewellery, work in precious stones, pottery, making of bow and arrow, and the like. The mining industry had grown very important, and Megasthenes states that gold, silver, copper and iron were extracted in large quantities, and articles of utility and ornament as well as implements and accoutrements of war were made of them. The carpenter was much in evidence for constructing carts of different kinds, called *yāna*, *ratha* and *śakaṭa;* furniture; the woodwork of buildings; and seagoing ships.

The lower crafts (*hīna-sippas*) were, as already indicated, those of hunters and trappers, fishermen, butchers and tanners, whose work was tainted by destruction of life; snake-charmers, dancers, musicians, rush-weavers and the like—the usual occupations of aboriginal folks.

There was localisation of industries. We come across mention of villages of potters, woodwrights, or ironsmiths producing articles like razors, axes, ploughshares, goads, and needles; of trappers supplying game, skins, ivory and the like. The same localisation was seen in towns where different handicrafts were settled along their own streets or in their own areas. Thus we have mention of ivory-workers' street (*vīthi*), the dyers' street, the *vessas*' street or the weavers' locality (*ṭhāna*).

Markets for perishable foods were located outside the towns at their gates. We read of a market for fish at a gate of Śrāvastī, of greengroceries at the four gates of Uttara-Pañchāla, and of venison at the cross-roads outside Banaras; of four *nigamas* or market-towns located at the four suburbs of the city of Mithilā and called *Yava-majjhako,* an example of which is figured on a sculpture at Bhārhut.

With the towns were located workshops and bazaars. We read of *Āpaṇa* or shop, stocking for sale goods like carriages or arrows, and of *Antarāpaṇa* or stores. We read of bazaars for sale of textiles, groceries, oils, grain, greengroceries, perfumes, flowers, works of gold and jewellery and of taverns for sale of liquor. Trade in strong drinks, poisons, flesh, daggers and slaves was disapproved for people who care for morals. It appears from the Jātaka stories that the prices were left to be settled by haggling, competition and custom. The State did not control prices except for its own purchases. It had its own valuer who had a difficult task in buying at the cheapest rates and declining bribes offered by tradesmen to secure higher rates, while he might still fail to please the king who would grant him a niggardly bonus for all his pains![1]

Barter prevailed along with money economy. A vagrant buys a meal from a forester with his gold pin. A dog is bought for a cloak or coin. But money used to indicate prices and measure the values of "fees, pensions, fines, loans, hoarded treasure, and income."

Buddhist texts use the term *Kahāpaṇa* (= *Kārshāpaṇa*) for a coin. They know of its varieties called *Nikkha* and *Suvanna* of gold, and bronze and copper pieces called *Kāṁsa, Pāda, Māsaka* and *Kākaṇikā.* Their values varied with time and place. For instance, we find it stated in the *Vinaya*[2] that "at that time (of Bimbisāra or Ajātaśatru), at Rājagṛiha, 5 *Māsakas* were equivalent to 1 *Pāda.*"

Loans were given on security of gold like a ring or debtor's personal guarantee. We read of one's wife or children being pledged or sold for debt, of IOU's or schedules of debt.

Loans carried interest called *Vṛiddhi.* Money-lending is approved as an honest calling along with tillage, harvesting and trade.

Wealth or treasure was stored up in a variety of ways; under the ground or river bank in brazen jars, or as deposit with friends, with its particulars recorded on gold or copper plates. In palaces, it was hoarded in a niche above the doorway. Money was lent for interest on promissory notes to be renewed every year.[1] Debtors were protected by law which disallowed (1) compound interest, (2) interest above customary rate, (3) interest equal to the amount of the principal, (4) personal service in lieu of interest, and (5) exorbitant interest agreed to under coercion. The usual rate of interest was 15% per annum. Higher rates were given for unsecured loans.[2]

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[1] *Jātaka,* I. 124; II. 31; IV. 138. *Psalms of Brethren* 25, 212.
[2] III. 45.

Both trade and industry were highly organised. The term *Śreṇī*, which frequently occurs in the literature and inscriptions of this period, is defined as a corporation of people belonging to the same or different castes but following the same trade or industry. It thus corresponds to the guilds of mediaeval Europe. The Jātakas refer to eighteen guilds which, though a conventional number, show the extensive character of the organisation. There are scattered references in literary texts to such organizations of various branches of trade and industry which, together, considerably exceed the number 18. It would appear that almost every important art or craft in a locality formed a guild-organisation. The craftsmen, who were mostly hereditary and settled in a well-defined region, organised themselves under a *Jeṭṭhaka* or *Pamukha*, an officer who was something like an alderman or a president. The guild possessed both executive and judicial authority,[3] and had for this purpose a body of executive officers who were held in high respect in court and were entitled to arbitrate between its members.

According to Buddhist canonical texts, the sanction of the guild was necessary for the ordination of the wife of any of its members. Many passages in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* indicate the great wealth and importance of the guilds, for which separate quarters are reserved in an ideal planning of a town. The guilds worked as banks and received permanent deposits, undertaking to devote the annual interest for specific charities. Some of the guilds also maintained a regular army, and it is included among the various classes of troops which the king might call upon to serve under him. Different guilds also federated under a common President, called *Bhaṇḍāgārika*, to check their internal disunion.

There were also merchant-guilds under their chiefs called *Seṭṭhis*. One such chief was Anāthapiṇḍika, who was the *Mahā-*

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[1] *Manu-smṛiti*, IX. 333, X. 115, VIII, 154-55.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII. 140-153. This will be more fully discussed in the next volume.
[3] See above. p. 313.

seṭṭhi, the president of a commercial federation, with numerous *Anuseṭṭhis* under him.[1]

Caravan traffic, with the special dangers and difficulties to which it was exposed, called for a similar co-operative organisation. Different merchants, with their carts loaded with their goods and their men, made up a company under a common captain called *Satthavāha*, who gave them directions as to halts, watering, routes. fording and danger-spots. There was also another common officer called *Thala-niyyāmaka* or land-pilot who conducted the caravans safely against the dangers and difficulties of travel from "drought, famine, wild beasts, robbers, and demons".

The texts also tell of partnerships which were permanent, temporary or occasional. We read of traders of Banaras combining in work and play; of concerted action in freights between dealers; of merchants chartering a common vessel.

Trade was both foreign and inland, sea-borne and river-borne, export and import. We read of prince Mahājanaka sailing from Champā to Suvarṇabhūmi; of a whole village of defaulting woodwrights escaping at night in a ship down the Gaṅgā from Banaras out to the sea; of passengers safely brought by ships from the sea by river up to Banaras; of traders coasting round India from Bharukachchha on the west to Suvarṇabhūmi in the east, and touching on the way at a port in Ceylon; of a newly arrived ship laden with cargo which was bought up at the landing place by a hundred waiting and competing merchants; and of ships large enough to carry 500 and 700 passengers. The eastern sea-borne trade was extended as far as China, and led to an extensive colonization, as will be described in Chapter XXV.

The history of Indian trade with the West will be dealt with in the next chapter. As will be noted there, the earlier centuries of the Christian era witnessed the growth of a brisk foreign trade between India and the West, with the Roman Empire as its chief customer. There was a great demand in the West for Indian manufactures and articles of luxury, such as precious stones and pearls, scents, spices and perfumes, silks and muslin. Roman dames, decked in seven folds of Indian muslin, paraded the streets and became such a menace to the city's morals that the Senate intervened and laid an embargo upon the import of that fine stuff from India.

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[1] For guilds cf. *CLAI*, Ch. I. The Smriti rules on the subject will be discussed in the next volume.

According to Pliny, India in those early centuries was annually draining the Roman Empire of its gold valued at fifty million *sesterces* and established a favourable trade balance in the foreign markets. Traces of this profitable sea-trade are left in hoards of Roman coins found at several places close to the south Indian coast on which also grew up several port towns. Kāverīpattanam, the capital of the Chola Kingdom at the mouth of the Kāverī, was frequented by Yavana (Ionian) merchants, as stated in Tamil works.

One of these Yavana merchants has given a very interesting account of the inland and foreign trade of India in his book called the *"Periplus of the Erythraean Sea"*.[1] The name of the author is unknown, but he was an Egyptian Greek and a merchant in active trade who personally made the voyage to India in the second half of the first century A.D. He has given a detailed account of his voyage noting the names of the harbours and the articles of import and export in connection with each of them. The first harbour of importance was Barygaza, a Greek corruption of ancient Bhṛigukachchha, the modern Broach, at the mouth of the Narmadā river. Merchandise from Ujjayinī and other remote places in the north, as far as Kāshmir and the Hindu Kush mountains, were brought here for export to foreign countries. Beyond Barygaza were many inland market-towns such as Pratishṭhāna (Paithān)[2] and Tagars (Ter), and many harbours such as Sopārā and Kalyāṇa on the Bombay coast which are still well known. Further south were 'Naura and Tyndis', the first markets of Damirica, and then Muziris and Nelcynda; all these were on the Malabar coast, between Cannanore and Cochin.[3] The last two are Greek renderings of Muchiripattanam and Nīlakaṇṭha, mentioned in literature and inscriptions of south India. Muziris, we are told, "abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia and by the Greeks."

Passing round Cape Comorin, the Greek merchant came across many harbours on the eastern coast, of which two alone can be located with some certainty, *viz.* Masalia near Masulipatam, and Gangé at the mouth of the Gaṅgā. Indians loaded ships with merchandise from these harbours and sent them to Arabian and African harbours. A colony of Indians also settled in the island of Socotra for purposes of trade.

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[1] Edited by Schoff, with notes and identification of places named in the text.
[2] See above, pp. 192, 201.
[3] See Map.

The chief articles of export from India were spices, perfumes. medicinal herbs, pigments, pearls, precious stones like diamond, sapphire, turquoise and lapis lazuli, iron, steel, copper, sandalwood, animal skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn, muslin, indigo, ivory, porcelain and tortoise-shell. The principal imports were cloth, linens, perfumes, medicinal herbs, glass vessels, silver, gold, tin, lead, pigments, precious stones and coral.

The development of trade and industry is reflected in the general economic condition of the people. We have abundant references to very rich merchants—millionaires of these days—both in literature and inscriptions. One of them Anāthapiṇḍika, is said to have purchased the Jetavana park for Buddha by covering the whole surface of it with gold coins.[1] Another defrayed the entire cost of construction of the great Chaitya cave at Kārle. Many others made costly gifts to different religious sects. The wealth of the middle classes appears clearly from their dress, ornaments, houses and furniture described above.[2] There is no reference to extreme poverty or paupers as a class. On the whole people lived happily in peace and prosperity.

According to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* there was considerable State-control in both trade and industry.[3] The State had a monopoly of industries which depended upon risky, costly and pioneering enterprise. Mines were nationalised as the main source of the State's revenue. There were mines of gold, silver, diamond, gems, precious stones, copper, lead (*sīsa)*, tin (*trapu*), iron (*tīkshṇa* or *ayas*), and bitumen (*śilājatu*). The State explored the ocean mines to obtain their precious products like *Muktā* (pearl), *Śukti* (mother of pearl), *Śaṅkha* (conch-shell) and *pravāla* (coral). The State also worked the oil-fields (yielding *rasa* like mercury). It also engaged in extracting minerals from ores. It had a monopoly in the manufacture of salt for which it granted licences to private lessees of salt-fields. It had its own cotton, oil, and sugar factories and controlled the manufacture of wines and liquors and their sale. The armament industry as well as the building of boats and ships was a government monopoly. Coining was a monopoly of government whose officers under the Mint Master called *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* received from the public bullion to be struck into coins on payment of seigniorage charges.

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[1] This scene is illustrated in a Bhārhut sculpture.

[2] See pp. 571 ff.

[3] The statements that follow are based on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Book II.

Prisons had factories worked by penal labour. The State spinning house turned out yarns of cotton, silk, wool and jute, and manufactured clothing of all kinds, mail-armour (*varma*), ropes, blankets (*āstaraṇa*) and curtains (*prāvaraṇa*). It employed helpless and purdah women who were given orders through its women-staff for spinning yarn.

The State controlled trade and prices. Goods were not to be sold where they were produced, at field or factory, but only at the appointed market where the dealer had to declare their particulars as to quantity, quality and price, which were examined and registered in the official books. A trader had to get a licence, and a foreign trader, a passport in addition. The Superintendent of Commerce fixed the wholesale prices of goods as they were entered in the customs house, and the retail prices with a margin of profit. Smuggling or adulteration of goods was severely punished. Speculation and cornering to influence prices were not allowed. Strikes of workmen to raise wages were declared illegal. The State protected the public, customers and consumers against unauthorised prices and fraudulent transactions and had to employ for the purpose an army of spies and market-inspectors.

The State also controlled weights and measures. The official standard was fixed a little lower than the public so as to yield some revenue amounting to a *vyājī* of 5 per cent.

Trade was taxed all along its way by export and import duties, octroi and excise. Its progress through the country was punctuated by halts, enforced for payment of taxes at different stages. The foreign merchants were mulcted of their profits on the frontier by transit duties (*vartanī*) and tolls (*śulka*), and by octroi at the gates of cities, which were carefully guarded by officers in charge of the customs houses, provided even with a place for detention of merchants found guilty of evading the law.

But if trade was thus taxed, it had its compensation in the security granted to it. It was guarded all along its way. Losses in transit were made good by government through its agents concerned; the village head-man was held liable for the loss suffered in the village; beyond the village, the *Vivītādhyaksha,* beyond his jurisdiction, the general rural police, the *chora-rajjuka,* and, farther on, was the *Sīmā-svāmī,* the warden of marches, similarly liable.

Trade had to be protected in those days against gangs of professional dacoits at large called *chora-gaṇas,* the turbulent *Mlechchha* tribes such as the Kirātas and the wild forest-folks (*Āṭavikas*), who were all out to prey upon trade and for plunder.

3. TRADE-ROUTES AND TRANSPORT

Inland trade was carried on by carts and caravans, as we have seen. Its principal routes are indicated by the old Pāli texts. The caravan of the merchant-prince Anāthapiṇḍika, going south-east from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛiha, passed along the foot of the hills up to Kuśinārā, between which and its end at Rājagṛiha there lay 12 halts including one at Vaiśālī, with only a single crossing of a river—Gaṅgā at Patna—as will appear from the itinerary of the Buddha. Another route led from Śrāvastī south-west to Paithān with six intermediate halts and frequent crossings of rivers. A third route led westward to Sind, the home of horses and asses, and to Sauvīra and its ports, with its capital called Roruva or Roruka.

We read of caravans going overland towards east and west and across deserts, requiring days to cross (the deserts of Rājputāna), steering in the coolness of nights by the stars, under their guide.

Lastly, there was the old Grand Trunk Road leading from Rājagṛiha through Banaras, Sāketa and Śrāvastī towards Taxila and the frontiers, linking India with central and western Asia.

As regards trade-routes of later times, there is the interesting evidence of Megasthenes testifying to the Royal Road leading from the North-West Frontier up to Pāṭaliputra with a length of 10,000 *stades* (= about 1,156 miles).[1] Apart from these arterial routes, the whole country was connected by a network of roads, some of which at any rate had milestones to indicate distances. Amenities were provided for travellers in the shape of shady trees, rest-houses and wells on the roadside. The establishment of the Maurya Empire brought the different parts into closer contact, and the same language was understood all over the great subcontinent. According to Kauṭilya, 'Passes' were necessary for crossing the boundary, where toll, carriage-cess and transit duties were collected. Permission was also necessary to ford or cross rivers, "lest traitors may cross them (and escape)."

As means of conveyance we hear of litter, sedan chair, horse-carriage, and carts drawn by two cows with a bull between them or two bulls with a cow between them. The very rich rode on elephants, and the animals used by the ordinary people were camels, horses and asses.

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[1] Strabo, XV. 1, 11.

According to Nearchus,[1] the conveyance which ranked next in honour to elephants, used by the king and the wealthy, was the chariot and four; the camel ranked third, while to be drawn by a single horse was considered no distinction at all. The ass was used by the common people for riding. Ships and boats, both large and small, were used for navigation, and rivers were crossed by either boats or rafts of wood or basket work. The State maintained boats for hire and took steps to destroy pirate ships.

4. COINAGE[2]

One of the most remarkable features of the period is the introduction of a regular coinage in business transactions. The old system of barter had not altogether passed away, as noted above,[3] but gradually coins came into use and became the chief currency.

Herodotus tells us that the Achaemenian emperors received 360 talents in gold dust as annual tribute from their Indian province. This shows that even in the sixth century B.C. the dust or ingots of gold and other metals, calculated by weight, served the purpose of the higher currency. It is not long, however, before we find the transition from this stage to that of the coin proper, *viz.* a piece of metal of recognized weight and fineness guaranteed by the stamp of authority, for we have extant specimens of Indian coins—ingots of silver marked with three dots or bent bars of silver with some symbols—which probably go back to the sixth century B.C., if not earlier still. They were replaced by "rectangular or circular flat pieces cut from a hammered sheet of metal and clipped to the proper weight." From the fact that one or more devices or symbols were marked on these coins by punches, they are called punch-marked coins. Some cast coins with devices are, however, also known. Many thousands of punch-marked coins have come to light in different parts of India.

The most ancient coinage of India was based on the system of weight as given in Manu.[4] Its unit was the *rati* or gunja-berry, weighing approximately 1.83 grains or .118 grammes. The standard gold coin was the *suvarṇa* of 80 *ratis* of which no actual specimens are known, but numerous specimens of silver *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa* of 32 *ratis* and of the copper *Kārshāpaṇa* of 80 *ratis*, as well as their various multiples and sub-divisions, have been discovered all over India. These coins were issued by rulers, merchants, and corporations who stamped on them a symbol of their authority guaranteeing the correct weight and purity of the metal. There is a large variety of these signs or symbols, more than three hundred in number, and sometimes several of them are found on one or both sides of the coins.

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[1] McCrindle, *Megasthenes*, p. 222.

[2] Rapson, *Indian Coins;* C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India.*

[3] See p. 600.

[4] VIII. 152 ff.

The Indian system of coinage was influenced by the foreigners who established their rule in India. The most important of these were the Bactrian Greeks who issued a fine series of coins with the name and portrait of the ruler engraved on them. Some of these portraits and other symbols—mostly figures of deities—show a standard of artistic excellence which has never been approached in Indian mints. The Graeco-Bactrian coins and the large influx of Roman coins[1] profoundly influenced those of the Śakas, Parthians, and Kushāṇas, and through them, the coins of the later Indian rulers which became gradually more and more abundant. Not only the form, character and the standard weight of the Indian coins were changed, but even foreign names like *dīnāra* (denarius) and *dramma* (drachma) were applied to them. The fashion of issuing a circular coinage bearing superscription of the ruler in whose name they were issued was derived from the West though, except in the case of the Guptas, it never seems to have taken root. Hence, although we do not possess any coins bearing the name of the Nanda and Maurya Emperors, far less powerful kings, even local rulers and small tribal states, of later periods, issued coins with their names. We presume that only the punch-marked coins, with symbols and devices but no royal names, served as the currency up to the end of the Mauryan period. They were probably in use even in later times. It is not unlikely that along with them cowrie-shells also served as currency for smaller transactions. They must have been used as currency from very early times and we can trace their use down to the eighteenth century A.D.

5. INFLUENCE OF CANON LAW UPON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In conclusion some reference should be made to the effect of the canonical view of life on the economic condition of the age. The

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[1] See Ch. XXIV.

Smṛiti rules relating to the occupations of castes have an important bearing upon the problems of production. The Smṛiti law in general looked upon agriculture as well as industry and trade with high disfavour. The extreme view on this point is illustrated by the epithets *pramṛita* ('what causes many deaths') and *satyānṛita* ('mixture of truth and falsehood') applied by Manu to agriculture and trade respectively. It is also reflected in Bṛihaspati's description of wealth acquired by agriculture, trade and crafts as occupying an intermediate grade between wealth earned by Vedic learning, valour, ascetic practices and so forth and that obtained by dice, gambling, robbery and the like. With this may be compared Manu's rule which included the practice of handicrafts, pecuniary transactions, trading in cows, horses and carriages as well as agriculture among the causes leading to the destruction of families.[1] The general attitude of the Smṛitis is reflected in the fact that while allowing Brāhmaṇas to live in times of distress by a Vaiśya's occupation, they expressly prohibit him from following various specified branches of industry and trade.[2] According to the general Smṛiti law, again, the worker in many branches of trade and industry was liable to serious social, religious and even legal disabilities.[3] The list of such forbidden or despised occupations comprises agriculture, pasturage and various kinds of industry and trade. It is characteristic of Manu's attitude that he declares trade to be the best of occupations open to a Vaiśya, while he condemns agriculture as involving injury to the earth and the beings living therein.[4] The attitude of the Buddhist and Jain canonical law was hardly less unfavourable to economic progress than that of the Smṛitis. By the fundamental rules of Buddhist monastic discipline, comprised in the *prātimoksha*, monks were forbidden to cultivate land. The Jain canonical law forbade laymen to live by agriculture and agricultural operations as well as a large number of trades and industries.[1] Above all it must be remembered that unlike the canonical law of the Brāhmaṇas, that of the Buddhists and the Jains habitually exalted the houseless state of life above that of the householder.[2]

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[1] *Manu*, IV. 5-6, II. 64; *Nār*, Ṛiṇādāna vv. 45-48; *Bṛi*, p. 70, vv. 2-5. cf. *Par*, II. 2, 8-13.

[2] *Manu*, X. 83 f; *Gaut*, VII. 8-15; *Āp*, I, 7, 20; I, 11, 30; *Baudh*, II. 24-29; *Yāj*, III. 35-39.

[3] *Manu*, VIII. 102 (Brāhmaṇas who tend cattle or are traders or mechanics or usurers to be treated at law-court like Śūdras); XI. 70 (traders unworthy to receive gifts); IV. 84 (gifts not to be received from oil-manufacturers); IV. 210, 214-16, 218-20 (food given by carpenter, usurer, tailor, blacksmith, goldsmith, basket-maker, leather-cutter, washerman, dyer, dealer in weapons and artizans in general not to be eaten by a *snātaka*). For similar lists of despised occupations, cf. *Manu*, III. 152f, XI. 64; *Yāj*, I. 161-165, III. 234, 240; *Bṛi*, p. 373 vv. 4f.

[4] *Manu*, X. 80, 83.

Although, as noted above, these rules were often violated in practice, their general tendency is sufficiently obvious. The Brahmanical as well as Buddhist and Jain sacred law, by placing agriculture as well as a number of basic industries and trades under a ban, could not but retard the application of capital and enterprise to their development. Again, the Smṛitis, by confining the productive occupations to the Vaiśyas, could not but restrict the free movement of labour and capital. On the other hand it must be admitted that apart from the reference to ethnic groups following particular occupations, the Smṛitis do not support the restriction of separate crafts and trades to different sub-castes. On the contrary, we find in Manu and his successors a growing recognition of the Śūdra's right to productive occupation.[3]

GENERAL REFERENCES

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[1] *SBE.* III. 33 (rule in *prātimoksha*); *Uvāsagadasāo* I, 51, expanded in Haribhadra's *Yogaśāstra* III. 98 f. (fifteen ways of earning livelihood forbidden to a layman include those concerned with making and selling charcoal and plants, making, selling or driving carts, hoeing and ploughing fields, digging wells, draining lakes, rivers and tanks for preparation of agricultural land, crushing by machinery, trafficking in ivory, lac, juice and so forth).

[2] *Gaut,* III. 3; *Baudh,* II. 6. 21 f; *Vas,* VIII, 14-17; *Manu,* III. 77-78, VI. 89-90 (house-holder's life is highest, according to Gaut. and Baudh. the only *āśrama*).

[3] Śūdras unable to live by personal service to practise handicrafts (*Manu,* X. 99-100), and in addition, trade (*Yāj,* I. 120). Śūdras normally to live by practising as artizans, rearing cattle and carrying on trade (*Mārk, Pur,* XXVIII. 7-8). Occupations of Śūdras are agriculture, pasturage, carrying loads, trade, painting, dancing, singing and playing musical instruments (Devala quoted by Vij. on *Yāj,* I. 120).

CHAPTER XXIV

INDIA AND THE WESTERN WORLD

I. INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN COUNTRIES

1. *The Pre-Achaemenid Period*

The remarkable discoveries at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have unmistakably shown that there was intercourse between this region and western Asia in the third millennium before Christ. As has been noted above, Mohenjo-daro was probably a great port carrying on trade by sea with Ur and Kish, and perhaps also with Egypt. It has also been indicated that there was intercourse by land between the Sindhu Valley and western and central Asia.[1]

Whether the intercourse between India and the West continued unbroken since the epoch of the Sindhu Valley civilization down to the historical period for which we have positive evidence, it is difficult to say. But evidences, both philological and archaeological, exist to prove such connection at a later period. Indeed, on the strength of these evidences it was generally held, even before the discovery of Mohenjo-daro, that there were trade relations between India and the western world from times immemorial. It is not necessary to discuss such evidences at length, but they may be briefly stated.[2]

According to the Jewish chronicles, during the reign of Solomon (c. 800 B.C.) a navy equipped by Hiram, king of Tyre, made a triennial voyage to the East, bringing back with it "gold and silver, ivory, apes, peacocks and great plenty of Almug trees and precious stones." The port at which they shipped these goods is named Ophir. Many scholars have proposed to locate this port in India and looked for its equivalent in such place-names as Ābhīra or Suppāra. For 'Ophir' also appears as Sophara in the Septuagint, and Sophir is a term applied in Coptic to southern India. It is, of course, also possible to recall other well-known Indian names such as Sauvīra, which corresponds to the name Sophara. But such phonetic resemblance cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence of identity, and some scholars are inclined to locate the famous port on the Arabian coast. But apart from this location, it has been urged that the names of most of the articles of commerce are derived from Indian originals. "Thus 'ivory' is in the Hebrew text *shen habbin*, 'elephant's teeth', a literal translation of the Sanskrit *ibha-danta*. The 'almug' is in Sanskrit and Tamil *valgu*, and the Greek *santalon* (sandal) is obviously derived from Sanskrit *chandana*. The word used for 'ape' is not the ordinary Hebrew one, but *koph*, most probably the Sanskrit *kapi*. 'Peacocks' are *thuki-im*, the Tamil *tokei*." The use of these Indian names for merchandise raises a strong presumption in favour of their Indian origin. Similarly, the word Sindhu, found in the library of Assurbanipal, is used in the sense of Indian cotton, and the Hebrew *karpas* is obviously derived from the Sanskrit *karpāsa*. It is possible to add to the list of such loan-words.

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[1] Cf. Vol. I, Ch. IX.

[2] The evidences are not always very definite or convincing and naturally there are wide differences of opinion among the scholars. For a good summary, Cf. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, pp. 10 ff; Kennedy in *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 250 ff. Kennedy seeks to prove that the sea-trade between India and the West flourished from the seventh century B.C. but did not exist earlier. He has discussed in detail the various evidences on which such an early trade was presumed by older writers.

On the Indian side, we have allusions to sea-voyages even in the *Ṛigveda*,[1] but these are vague and uncertain. Of greater importance are the references in Buddhist literature of distant sea-voyages, in which sailors going far into the sea made use of shore-sighting birds.[2] One Jātaka makes a particular reference to a trading-voyage to the kingdom of Bāveru,[3] and scholars have recognised it as the Indian form of Babylon. This story undoubtedly preserves an interesting reminiscence of Indian trade with Babylon, but as the date of its composition is not known with certainty, we can hardly use it as evidence for commerce with Babylon in the very early ages.

As regards archaeological evidence, reference may be made to the figures of apes, Indian elephants and Bactrian camels on the obelisk of Shalmaneser III (860 B.C.). Next in point of time is the presence of logs of Indian teak found in the Temple of the Moon at Mugheir (the Ur of the Chaldees) and in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, both belonging to the sixth century B.C. On the basis of these evidences we may certainly push back the beginning of intercourse between India and western Asia to a date at least as early as the ninth century B.C.

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[1] I. 116. 3. Above, Vol. I, pp. 244, 396 f.
[2] *JRAS*, 1899, p. 432.
[3] Cowell, Eng. Transl. *Jātaka* III. 83.

The most important archaeological evidence is furnished by the Boghaz Köi inscriptions of the fourteenth century B.C.[1] These records contain the names of deities, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the heavenly twins, the Nāsatyas,—names well known in Vedic mythology. Numerals and other words which appear to be Aryan in origin have also been identified. It is noticeable that the words do not exhibit the changes which distinguish Iranian from Indian forms. The words, therefore, must date back to a period when the Aryan-speaking people were not yet distinguished as Iranians and Indians. If we accept this view, we find here remarkable evidence of very close contact between India and western Asia before the fourteenth century B.C.

But we must admit that, beyond indicating in a very general way the existence of trade relations, and to some extent cultural contacts, between India and the Western countries, the available evidence does not throw much light on the precise nature and extent of international relationship. It is possible, however, to give some indication of the trade-routes through which merchandise passed between India and the West.

From remote antiquity India had trade relations with western countries both by land and sea. The overland route ran through the Khyber Pass and across the Hindu Kush to Balkh, to which converged all the principal highways from Central Asia and China on the east[2] and the Mediterranean and Black Sea ports on the west. One of the western routes went down the Oxus across the Caspian, and then along the Kur and Phasis to the Black Sea ports.[3] The other passed through (or near) Herāt, the northern border of the Karmanian desert, and the Caspian Gates to Antioch by way of Ctesiphon and Hecatompylos.[4] Reference is also made to two other routes, via Kandahār, one joining the above-mentioned route at Herāt and the other proceeding through Persepolis and Susa.[5]

Sea-going vessels generally kept close to the coast and made the long voyage along the shores of India, Baluchistān, Persia and

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1. *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1094-1109; *CAH*. II. 13.
2. These have been described in Vol. I, p. 92.
3. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, p. 211. The Caspian Sea and the Aral were joined by one or more salt water connections (*ibid.* 210).
4. These routes are described both by Pliny and Strabo. (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 96, 99, 100, 110).
5. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 204-5.

Arabia, through the Red Sea, to its head near Suez. From this point merchandise was carried by land to Egypt on the west and to famous ports like Tyre and Sidon on the north. The same ship or set of traders, however, did not always go all the way from the beginning to the end of these routes, for the goods often changed hands at important towns and harbours. Sometimes the ships from India made the coastal voyage only up to the head of the Persian Gulf, and then proceeded along the Euphrates until they touched the overland route as will be noted below.

Relations between India and the western world, before the Achaemenid rule in Persia, were mainly commercial. No political relationship is known, stories like the invasion of India by Semiramis being hardly credible. Some amount of cultural influence is a natural effect of commercial intercourse, but this seems to have been very meagre. Names of Indian articles found a place in the languages of the West, as already noted above. Some common folk-tales current in India and the West might have been the result of such intercourse. But the Babylonian origin of the story of the flood in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* or the influence of Chaldaean astronomy and Babylonian weights and measures upon India is more problematic. The theory that India owes its alphabet to Semitic sources has also considerably lost its importance after the discovery of the picture-writing in Mohenjo-daro. On the whole, while it is unreasonable to deny the possibility or even great probability of such reciprocal influence, it would be unwise to accept superficial resemblance and partial analogy as evidence of such influence.

2. *The Achaemenid Period*

The rise of the Achaemenids in Persia definitely broke the barriers that shut off India, at least politically, from the rest of the world. By a series of conquests within a quarter of a century (549-525 B.C.) they created a vast empire that embraced nearly the whole of Irān, Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia and the ancient kingdom of Egypt. It was not long before the Persian suzerainty was extended to the Sindhu valley and probably some territory to the east of that river.[1]

The common subjection to the great empire must have brought India into closer contact with the western world. A Greek mercenary, Scylax, was sent by Darius to explore the Sindhu, and an

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[1] *Cf.* Ch. III, Section I; also *IHQ*, XXV. 153.

Indian contingent formed part of the Persian army which led the memorable expedition against Greece. These are the earliest positive evidences we possess of the close contact between Indians and the Greeks to any considerable extent. It is reasonable to infer that in spite of the failure of that expedition India and Greece came directly into each other's view, and this intimacy was not altogether lost in subsequent times. This is partly borne out by the account of India left by Herodotus (born in 484 B.C.), the first reliable Greek account of India that has so far come down to us. Another Greek, Ctesias, wrote an account of India, but though he lived for twenty years (418-398 B.C.) as royal physician in the Persian court and had thus ample opportunity of gathering information about India, the portions of his book, which have survived in quotations and abridgments of later writers, are full of marvellous stories and contain little of historical value. An Indian philosopher is said to have visited Socrates some time before 400 B.C.[1]

3. *India and Greece*

The next important stage in the contact between India and the West was inaugurated by the invasion of Alexander the Great. The large number of Greeks and Indians who formed the retinue of Alexander must have given a unique opportunity to both for a proper understanding of one another, and even the short-lived Greek rule in India must have contributed to the same end. Even when the Indian dominions were lost by Alexander's successors, India had a close touch with the western world through the Seleucidan kingdom which reached its border.

The first three Mauryan Emperors had intimate connection with the Greek kingdoms of the west. Even if we leave aside the story of Chandragupta's marriage with a daughter of Seleucus, which is at best very doubtful, we have other evidences to prove that India and the western world came to a much closer relation than before. In the first place we know that first Megasthenes and then Daïmachus lived in the Mauryan court as ambassadors of the Seleucid king, and Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent an envoy named Dionysius to the same court. All the three wrote valuable accounts of India, though they are now mostly lost; and it is highly probable that there were other Greek envoys. That the Mauryan kings also sent similar ambassadors admits of little doubt. The anecdote concerning Bindusāra that he had requested Antiochus Soter, successor of Seleucus, to send him some figs and sweet wine and also a Sophist, may not be regarded as credible, but even such a story presupposes cordial relations between the two courts. But the best evidence of this is furnished by the thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka in which five Greek rulers are specifically named, and it is claimed that on account of the activities of Aśoka's missionaries his *dhamma* or the Law of Piety was followed in their dominions. The names of these rulers—Antiochus (of Syria), Antigonus Gonatas (of Macedonia), Alexander (of Epirus or Corinth) Ptolemy (of Egypt) and Magas (of Cyrene)—show that India had at this time intimate intercourse with the western world. The fact, stated by Megasthenes, that there was a special department in the city of Pāṭaliputra (and probably in other big cities) to look after foreigners indicates an influx of them into India about this time. Diodorus also refers to the admiration of a king of Palibothra (probably a Mauryan king) for the Greeks.

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[1] *IAL.* X. 58.

4. *India and Egypt*

Some interesting evidence is available regarding the growing intimacy between India and Egypt. Athenaeus tells us that in the processions of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.) were to be seen Indian women, Indian hunting dogs and Indian cows, among other strange sights; also Indian spices carried on camels. The same authority tells us that Ptolemy Philopator's yacht had a saloon lined with Indian stone.[1]

It is difficult to judge of Aśoka's claim that his *dhamma* was followed by the peoples of the kingdoms mentioned by him. Greece knew nothing about Buddhism previous to the rise of Alexandria in the Christian era. Buddha is first mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 150-218). Centuries later Alberuni observed that 'in former times, Khorāsān, Persia, Irāq, Mosul and the country up to the frontier of Syria was Buddhistic'.[2] That Indian culture spread to these regions during this period can hardly be doubted, but its extent cannot be estimated till more positive evidence is available.

The foundation of the kingdom of Parthia shut off India from any direct political contact with the Greek world of the West. Antiochus the Great of Syria, who made a final but unsuccessful effort to re-assert his authority over the eastern provinces about

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[1] Rawlinson, *op. cit.* 93-4.

[2] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p. 21.

206 B.C., was the last Greek ruler of the West to maintain any direct contact with India. The Parthian, and its successor-state the Sassanid, empire served for more than eight hundred years as a buffer-state between India on the one hand, and the kingdoms of the West, including the mighty Roman empire, on the other.[1]

Several other circumstances, such as the inroads of the Scythians and the Yueh-chis into Bactria, and the growing anarchy in Syria considerably curtailed the facilities of the land-route and naturally increased the popularity and importance of the sea-route between India and the western world.

The all-sea route was not, however, much in vogue in the earlier days. The more important route, followed in the third century B.C., was by sea to the Persian Gulf and then up the Tigris to Seleucia, where it joined the overland route from India and other eastern countries. From Seleucia the old road, east of the Tigris, crossed the river at Jeizireh or Libba, and proceeded to Nisibis and Edessa, whence one road led to Damascus and Tyre, and the other, crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma, which superseded Thapsacus, led to Antioch. There was also a new Seleucid road from Seleucia, up the Euphrates, to Antioch. From Antioch a great through route ran by Tarsus and Apamea in Phrygia to the sea at Ephesus.[2]

As this land route ran through the territory of the Seleucids, the Ptolemies of Egypt were naturally eager to develop the all-sea route to India, particularly after they had lost possession of Syria and the supremacy in the Aegean, at the beginning of the second century B.C.

Egypt, unlike other parts of the Hellenistic world, was directly accessible by sea, and the maritime intercourse between India and Egypt was facilitated by two important acts of Alexander, *viz.* the destruction of Tyre and the foundation of Alexandria, the famous port on the Mediterranean.

At first Egyptian ports were not much favoured by Indian mariners owing to the serious difficulties of the journey through trackless desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea. The merchants preferred the alternative route through Petra, to be described later.

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1. It is difficult to say how far the establishment of the Parthian and the Sassanid kingdoms affected the trade between India and the Western countries. Cunningham held the view 'that the strong Sassanian government from A.D. 230 to 450 formed a very effectual barrier to intercourse between Rome and N.-W. India' (*JASB. LVIII*. p. 149).
2. Tarn, *op. cit.* 211-12.

The famous town of Petra was the converging ground of trade routes from all parts of Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and the Levantine ports. From these last, Indian goods travelled to Egypt by land, and to other western countries by sea.[1]

Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.) built a port at Berenice on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea and connected it with the trading section of Coptos, on the Nile, by a desert-road, 258 miles long, furnished with convenient bases. Goods were carried along this road to Coptos, and then floated downstream to Alexandria. The desert road was furnished with watering places and the journey from Berenice to Coptos took about eleven or twelve days. In 274 B.C. Philadelphus built a new port at Myos Hormos. It was 180 miles north of Berenice and the journey to Coptos took about a week. Being also a much safer harbour than Berenice, it soon cast the latter into shade and became the most important centre for Indian trade.[2]

It is probable that in the early days a large part of the Indian trade with Egypt was indirect. Merchantmen, before the first century A.D., kept close to the shore and dared not sail direct from the mouth of the Red Sea straight across the ocean to the Indian coast. Consequently Indian and western merchants met half way, probably at Muza or Aden, two ports at the mouth of the Red Sea, and transhipped one another's goods. Most likely, the Arabs were the principal intermediaries of this trade. Agatharcides (second century B.C.), speaking of the great riches of Arabia Felix (*i.e.* Aden), says that they were partly due to the Indian traders who came in great numbers from Potana (Patala), founded by Alexander on the Sindhu.[3] The same information is conveyed in the following passage of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* which refers to Arabia Eudaemôn or Aden:—"It was called Eudaemon, because in the early days of the city when the voyage was not yet made from India to Egypt, and when they did not dare to sail from Egypt to the ports across this ocean, but all came together at this place, it received the cargoes from both countries, just as Alexandria now receives the things brought both from abroad and from Egypt. But not long before our own time Charibael destroyed the place."[4]

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[1] McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
[2] *Ibid*, 6, 101, Rawlinson, *op. cit.* 91.
[3] Rawlinson, *op. cit.* 94.
[4] Schoff's Transl. p. 32.

We would not, however, be justified in assuming that direct voyages between India and Egypt were altogether unknown. As early as the sixth century B.C. Scylax of Caryanda, being deputed by Darius to explore the Sindhu, sailed down this river to the Indian Ocean and ultimately reached Egypt. Strabo's statement that 'in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and commerce with the Indies'[1] implies that at least some did it. The famous explorer Eudoxus twice made the voyage to India in the latter part of the second century B.C. His story, known from the writings of Poseidonius, and preserved in Strabo's book,[2] shows that he owed the idea of this voyage to a ship-wrecked Indian who had set out from India but lost his course and drifted for months till the companions had perished, one by one, of hunger. He was found in the ship by the coast-guards alone and half-dead, off the entrance to the Red Sea, and brought to Alexandria. These incidents prove that direct voyages up to the end of the second century B.C. were not unknown, though extremely rare. But the next century saw a great change in this respect.

The Ptolemies secured the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb by refounding Deine on the straits as the southern Berenice, and their ships sailed direct to India. "By 78 B.C. the general of Thebaid had become also general of the Red Sea and the 'Indian Sea', a new name which points to regular connection with India. Indian traders on their side began to come direct to the Somali ports, and Indians appeared in Egypt; one, Sophon, travelled over the caravan route to Coptos", and this visit is recorded in an inscription found in the ruins of a shrine at Redesiye on the route between Edfu, on the Nile, and Berenice.[3] The existence of an Indian colony at Memphis has been presumed by the discovery of Indian figures.

The close of the century witnessed still further development in this direct trade relation between India and Egypt. Strabo, who lived in the reign of Augustus, himself visited the port of Myos Hormos and found that about one hundred and twenty ships sailed from that port to India (probably in a single season). A few bold sailors, we are told, even reached the mouth of the Gaṅgā.[4] On the other hand we hear of Indians, sailing for the purpose of

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1. McCrindle, *op. cit.* p. 98.
2. *Ibid,* 97.
3. Tarn, *op. cit.* 216; Rawlinson, *op. cit.* 99; *JRAS*, 1904, p. 402.
4. *Anc. Ind.* 9.

commerce, being driven by storms into Germany.[1] This was a striking change in comparison with the state of things a century earlier.

5. *India and the Roman Empire*

The active part taken by Indians in trading with the western countries, in the first century A.D. and earlier, is proved by certain statements in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.* In the first place, the author of this work refers to the island of Dioscorida (Socotra) as inhabited by foreigners, 'a mixture of Arabs and Indians and Greeks who have emigrated to carry on trade there.' Secondly, he states that large vessels are regularly sent from Barygaza (Broach on the Bombay coast) to the market-town of Persia called Ommana.

There are also some grounds for the belief that the Hindus had active trade intercourse with Madagascar and also settled there, as in Socotra. The Indonesian language, mixed with Sanskrit vocabulary, was current in Madagascar. The ancient name of this island was Malay, and her people have a tradition that their ancestors came from Mangalore.

Thus there is ample evidence to show that there was a large volume of sea-borne trade between India and the western countries, as far as Africa, before the beginning of the Christian era.

The policy of the Roman Empire during the first two centuries of the Christian era was to encourage direct sea-trade with India. and diminish as far as possible the overland trade through the hostile land of Parthia. An expedition was sent by Augustus in 25 B.C. to secure the command of the sea-route to India, and Aden was soon after occupied by a colony of Egyptians and Greeks.

As already noted above, the direct sea-voyage was a long and tedious one, as the sailors had to keep close to the coast. This state of things was changed by the great discovery which Hippalus made about A.D. 45. He noted the "existence of the monsoon winds, blowing regularly across the Indian Ocean," which would enable the ships to sail right across the Indian Ocean.[2] With the help of these monsoon winds, a ship, starting from Okelis, the port at the mouth of the Red Sea, would reach Muziris (Cranganore on the Malabar coast) or other south Indian ports in forty days or even less. Thus in less than three months' time Indian goods could reach Alexandria, the great emporium of the western world.

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[1] These Indians were presented by the king of the Suevi to Q. Metellus Celer, the Pro-Consul in Gaul (*Anc. Ind.* 110). Metellus became Consul in 60 B.C. Some scholars discredit the story. Cf. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 6, f.n. 10.

[2] This is the general view (cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.* 109); but Kennedy maintains that 'the monsoons must have been known from the earliest times to all who sailed along the African and Arabian coast and that the normal trade-route from the Persian Gulf to India can never have been along the inhospitable shores of Gedrosia' (*JRAS*, 1898, pp. 272-3). The direct voyage across the sea

Apart from shortening the duration of the journey, the direct voyage across the sea reduced the danger from pirates. The result was a great increase in maritime trade. Whereas before Hippalus's discovery hardly twenty ships a year made the voyage, after it, on an average, a ship a day left the ports of Egypt for the East. The whole of the western coast of India was well known to the sailors of these ships.[1]

In addition to Hippalus's discovery, two other circumstances favoured the growth of trade between India and the western countries. The first and foremost was the foundation of the Roman Empire, which gave peace, facilitated communications and secured the trade routes. Secondly, as already noted above,[2] articles of luxury from India were in great demand in Rome. The result was an unprecedented increase in the volume of trade. We learn from a Chinese notice of the Roman province of Syria in A.D. 125 that the gain from trade with India and Parthia was ten to one. As has already been mentioned, Pliny estimated that nearly fifty million *sesterces* (half a million sterling) flowed every year from Rome to India to pay for the balance of trade.[3] That this statement is no mere rhetoric is proved by the actual discovery of a very large number of Roman coins in India. An idea of how large this number is may be formed from the following account of the discovery of Roman coins belonging to the period from Augustus to Nero alone (31 B.C. to A.D. 68).

'In northern India some *denarii* of Augustus and Tiberius were found in the Hazara district of the Punjab, and the smallness of their number is due to the melting and re-striking of these coins by the Kushāṇas.

'In southern India, we have in actual number 612 gold coins and 1,187 silver, besides hoards discovered, which are severally

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is described in detail by Pliny (McCrindle, *op. cit.*, 111) and in the *Periplus* (Schoff's Transl. 45).

[1] Oakeshott, W.F., *Commerce and Society* (Oxford, 1936) p. 32.

[2] See p. 602.

[3] Rawlinson, *op. cit.* 103.

described as follows:

'Of gold coins "a quantity amounting to five cooly-loads"; and of silver coins, (1) "a great many in a pot," (2) "about 599 in an earthen pot," (3) "a find of 163," (4) 'some,' (5) "some thousands" enough to fill "five or six Madras measures," *i.e.* perhaps a dozen quart measures; also (6) of metal not stated, "a pot-full." These coins are the product of fifty-five separate discoveries mostly in the Coimbatore and Madura districts.'

After a minute analysis of these and other coins Sewell, who has made a detailed study of these coins,[1] arrives at the following conclusions:—

1. There was hardly any commerce between Rome and India during the Consulate.

2. With Augustus began an interchange which, enabling the Romans to obtain oriental luxuries during the early days of the empire, culminated about the time of Nero, who died in A.D. 68.

3. From this time onward trade declined till the date of Caracalla (A.D. 217).

4. From the date of Caracalla it almost entirely ceased.

5. It revived again, though slightly, under the Byzantine emperors.

And as regards the object of the trade:—

(*a*) Under the early emperors there was a great demand for pepper, spices, fine muslins, perfumes, unguents, pearls and precious stones, especially the beryl.

(*b*) In the declining period between Nero and Caracalla, there was little or no demand for mere luxuries, and the activity of merchants was directed towards cotton and industrial products.

(*c*) Under the Byzantine emperors the trade was mostly with Travancore and the south-west coast, commerce with the interior and the Deccan having declined.

Dr. Sewell also concludes from the discovery of a very large number of Roman copper coins in different parts of Madura, including a class minted locally, that in all probability Roman merchants continued to reside in Madura and also in other parts of southern India either permanently or temporarily.[1] The Peutingerian tables, which appear to have been copied from fresco paintings in Rome executed in the second century A.D., place near Muziris a temple of Augustus, but no traces of this are known to survive, and it is impossible to say to which emperor it was dedicated. Dr. Caldwell considered that these geographical tables or maps were prepared at a date somewhat earlier than Ptolemy.

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[1] *JRAS.* 1904, p. 591 ff.

The evidence of coins is fully supported by the south Indian literature of the Saṅgam age which may be placed in the early centuries of the Christian era. Reference is thus made to 'Yavanas of graceless harsh speech' who possessed many precious utensils and a large quantity of diamonds. Mention is also made of seaport towns like Māmallapuram, Puhār and Korkai. Many foreign merchants lived in these towns and reference is made to the "activities of busy customs officials and those engaged in loading and unloading vessels in the harbour." Poetical description is also given of the ships in the harbours, the flags waving on their masts being compared to huge elephants chafing at their posts.[2]

We must therefore conclude that there was a large volume of trade between India and Rome during the first century A.D. As to the condition of trade in subsequent periods, it is difficult to accept the findings of Sewell as they are rejected by other authorities and are based merely on negative evidence, for, besides these coins, mostly discovered in south India, others are also known,[3] and a large number must have been lost or still lie hidden underground. Further, the coins in southern India are merely evidence of maritime trade, and we must remember that there was also a large volume of overland commerce which, in spite of the rise of the Parthian and Sassanid kingdoms, continued as an important factor for several centuries. That the trade between India and the western countries flourished even in the fourth century A.D. is proved by the fact that "silk worth in Aurelian time its weight in gold, and a luxury of the rich and noble, was in the reign of Julian sold at

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1. Hultzsch also thinks that there was a Roman settlement and mint at Madura (*JRAS*, 1904, p. 403).
2. *NHIP*, VI, 225-28; cf. also p. 603 above.
3. Cunningham observes: "Roman gold coins are plentiful down to the time of Severus and Caracalla (A.D. 217). They then disappear until the time of Justin (526 A.D.), Marcian (A.D. 450), Leo (A.D. 474) and Anastasius (A.D. 491-518)." *JASB*. LVIII, 1889, p. 149. Reference may be made to the discovery of two Roman coins from Bilaspur (C.P.) and two from Vizagapatam districts. Of the former one is of Commodus (A.D. 189-90) and the other an imitation of a coin of Macrinus (A.D. 236-38) (*JNSI*. V. 171).

a price which brought it within every man's reach."[1]

The famous emporia of Palmyra and Petra had now become the chief centres of Indian trade. Palmyra was reached by land from Vologesia on the Euphrates to which Indian goods were brought by sea. Similarly, goods were carried by land to Petra from the Red Sea through its two ports on the Arabian coast, *viz.* Aelana (ancient Ezion Geber) and Leuke Kome. At first Petra was the chief centre of distribution of goods to the Mediterranean ports of Ghaza and Rhinokolura. These consisted, among others, of fine muslins, pearls, beryls, precious stones, incense and drugs. When Petra was destroyed in A.D. 105, Palmyra gained commercial pre-eminence. After it was sacked by Aurelian in A.D. 273, Indian trade was diverted to Batne, near the Euphrates, and a day's journey from Edessa. About the same time or somewhat later, Alexandria, too, fell into decay and the Indian trade of the west passed into the hands of the Arabs. Adulé, a petty village on the African coast, developed into the principal port of Ethiopia and became a great centre of commerce. Even when Roman trade with the East revived under Constantine, Roman vessels proceeded only up to Adulé, beyond which the trade was carried on by the Indians and the Arabs. The trade between India and the western world continued in this way, and it was in a flourishing condition even so late as the sixth century A.D.[2]

It would appear from what has been said above that active commerce between India and the Roman empire, through Palmyra and Alexandria, flourished till the third century A.D. We cannot therefore agree with Sewell that its decline commenced after the reign of Nero or that it ceased altogether after A.D. 217. Priaulx argued 'that it was during the reigns of Severus, his son Caracalla, and the pseudo-Antonines, that Alexandria and Palmyra were most prosperous, and that Roman intercourse was at its height.'[3] Sewell rejects this view, but it was fully endorsed by V. A. Smith.[4] Priaulx further remarks, in support of his contention, that during this period "Roman literature gave more of its attention to Indian matters, and did not, as of old, confine itself to quotations from the historians of Alexander or the narratives of the Seleucidan ambassadors, but drew its information from other independent sources."

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1. G. B. Priaulx, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Indian Embassies to Rome* (London, 1873), p. 252.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 330 ff, 244.
3. *Ibid.* 132.
4. *JASB.* LVIII (1889), 158.

The correctness of this observation will be demonstrated later, and the position of Priaulx is further strengthened by the accounts of Indian embassies to Rome.

It has already been noted above that one or more Indian states sent embassies to Augustus. We also hear of other Indian embassies to Rome during the first four centuries of the Christian era. There are specific references to Indian embassies visiting Trajan (A.D. 98-117), Hadrian (117-138), Antoninus Pius (138-161), Heliogabalus (218-222), Aurelian (270-275), Constantine (323-353) and Julian (361-363).[1] Two more Indian embassies were probably sent to Justinian in A.D. 530 and 552.

One important result of the development of this commercial and political intercourse was that an increasingly large number, both of Indians and Roman subjects, visited each other's country.[2] Alexandria, according to all accounts, was the great meeting ground between the East and the West, and must have been visited by a large number of Indians, mostly traders.[3] Dio Chrysostom (c. A.D. 117) refers to Indians as forming part of the settled population of Alexandria and notes that they came by way of trade. A gravestone with wheel and *triśūla* (trident) attests the presence of Indians in Alexandria.[4] It is interesting to note that some Brāhmaṇas who visited Alexandria in A.D. 470 were the guests of Consul Severus.[5] By means of this personal contact both India and the Roman world gained a more correct and intimate knowledge of each other.

6. *India in Western Literature*

The great increase in the West's intercourse with India is reflected in its literature. Mention has already been made of Strabo, an Asiatic Greek who lived in the reign of Augustus. But Strabo derived much of his information from Eratosthenes (240-196 B.C.), the learned President of the Alexandria Library, and considered his account of India as superior even to that of Megasthenes. Eratosthenes on his part relied mostly on the data supplied by Patrocles, an officer who held an important command over the eastern provinces of the Syrian empire under Seleucus Nicator and Antiochus I. Strabo's account was thus largely based on older writers, and adds little that was true of his own times. The same thing is also true of the *Indika* of Arrian written about 150 B.C. Far different was, however, the work of Pliny. His *Natural History*, completed in A.D. 77, not only contains a fairly detailed account of the voyage from Egypt to India, but also a very interesting list of Indian animals, minerals, plants and drugs.

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[1] For the political embassies to Rome, *cf. Anc. Ind.* pp. 212-3; Priaulx, *The Indian Embassies to Rome;* Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 35-7. 77, 95, 99, 103, 124, 137-9. Orosius (A.D. 420) says that one of the embassies from India "reached Caesar (Augustus) at Tarraco in Hither Spain, having thus traversed the world from end to end." (*Anc. Ind.* p. 213). Priaulx thinks that there was only one Indian embassy to Augustus (*op. cit.*).

[2] Priaulx (*op. cit.*) refers to a large number of such visits and incidental notices of India by Western writers down to the sixth century A.D.

[3] The presence of Indians in Alexandria is noted both by Dio Chrysostom (c. A.D. 117) and Ptolemy (*Anc. Ind.* p. 177; JRAS. 1904, p. 611). For the visit of Egyptians to India, cf. *JRAS*. 1904, p. 402.

[4] Tarn, *op. cit.* 216.

[5] Priaulx, *op. cit.* 189.

About the same time was published the *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*, to which a detailed reference has been made above. Next comes Ptolemy, the great Alexandrine geographer (*c.* A.D. 150), who wrote on the basis, mainly, of information collected by Marinus of Tyre. He showed greater knowledge of the Asiatic coast than his predecessors, but his object was not to describe the localities, but to determine their latitude and longitude. His view of the configuration of India was unfortunately very faulty, and his calculation is therefore often wrong. But, in spite of these drawbacks, his book contains much valuable geographical data.

There were a few other writers of less repute who have left some interesting account of India. Dio Chrysostom (*c.* A.D. 117), who has already been mentioned, states that the poetry of Homer had been translated into the Indian languages. This, however, merely refers to the general resemblances between the *Odyssey* and the Indian epics.

A Greek farce composed in the second century A.D. is contained in a unique papyrus discovered at Oxyrhynchus. It contains the story of a Greek lady named Chrition, shipwrecked on the Kanarese coast, and the people of the locality actually use Kanarese dialect in the drama.[1] Aelian, who flourished about the middle of the second century, noticed a number of Indian animals in his famous zoological work.

The western literature of the third century A.D. shows a more comprehensive knowledge of India. The account of Clement of

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[1] For a detailed account cf. *JRAS*. 1904, pp. 399 ff. Some scholars, however, deny that there are Kanarese words (Barnett in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XII, 1926, pp. 13-15). For other views cf. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 6, f.n. 10.

Alexandria, who died about A.D. 220, contains a fairly accurate account of the Brahmanical doctrine of transmigration and the Buddhist worship of *stūpas*. Bardesanes, the Babylonian, who lived in the third century A.D., also possessed an intimate knowledge of India. His work on the Indian Gymnosophists is lost, but the few quotations that can still be traced contain interesting information of both Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists. Among other writers may be mentioned Archelaos of Carrah (A.D. 278), St. Jerome (A.D. 340), Philostratus (*c.* A.D. 180-250) and Dion Cassius (*c.* A.D. 155-230). The first two refer to Buddha and give the traditional account of his birth.[1]

Different views have been held about the legendary history of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus. Rawlinson calls Apollonius a 'prince of imposters' and regards Apollonius's account as purely fictitious.[2] But Priaulx thinks it may be a genuine account, in its main parts, though containing mistakes here and there.

Like literature, the Greek and Roman art also reflects a knowledge of India. Callistratus describes the statue of a drunken and reeling Hindu.[3] An ivory statuette, discovered amid the ruins of Pompeii, is a typical product of ancient Indian art and belongs probably to the first century A.D. or a somewhat earlier date.[4] In a silver dish at Lampsacus India is represented as a woman.[5]

II. EFFECT OF THE INTERCOURSE[6]

It may be regarded as almost a universal law that two countries which come into contact in course of trade or conquest borrow ideas from each other. Neither India nor western countries, even including Greece, can be regarded as an exception to this rule. It would be as much ridiculous to suggest that India was altogether impervious to the influence of the West, as to hold 'that Indian civilization was a bye-product of the Macedonian or Achaemenian Invasion'.

1. *Influence of the West on India*

It is, however, very difficult to estimate even the probable effect of the intercourse between India and the western countries, as described above. But some of its aspects can be broadly stated. Reference has already been made to the probable influence of Babylonia and Chaldaea. The contact with the Achaemenids led to more definite results. There can hardly be any doubt that Mauryan India was affected by Persian ideas, and this can be particularly traced in the system of administration, the introduction of a number of Iranian and Greek words and of the Aramaean script and its derivative the Kharoshṭhī, and in court etiquette and manners.

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[1] For an account of the writers named cf. *Anc. Ind.* pp. 184-5.

[2] *Op. cit.* 146.

[3] Priaulx, *op. cit.*, 136-7.

[4] *ABIA*, 1938, p. 1.

[5] *JUPHS*. XVI. Part II, p. 3.

[6] Cf. Smith, *JASB*, LVIII (1889), p. 107 ff; Rawlinson, *JBBRAS*, XXIII. 217 ff; and the authorities referred to in these articles.

More doubtful is the influence upon art and religion, of which too much has been made by some scholars. The Graeco-Roman influence is more obvious. Indian art and coinage bear strong marks of Hellenistic influence. Indian astronomy was also considerably influenced by western systems. This is freely admitted in the following passage in the *Gārgī Saṁhitā:* "The Yavanas are indeed barbarians, but astronomy originated with them and for this they must be venerated as gods". Of the five Siddhāntas (Indian astronomical works) *Romaka Siddhānta* and *Pauliśa Siddhānta* (named after Paul of Alexandria, c. A.D. 378) are evidently of western origin. More doubtful is the claim that 'Indian medical science shows distinct traces of western influence', for although Vogel finds in the works of Charaka strong traces of a knowledge of Hippocrates, his view is not shared by all. The Greek influence on Indian drama is also a very debatable point. Little reliance can be placed on the statements of some classical writers that Homer's epic and the Greek tragedies were known in India, and the view of V.A. Smith that Kālidāsa could read not only Menander but Terence is now hardly credited by any scholar.

It is difficult to estimate the influence of western religion on India. There is no doubt that a large number of deities worshipped in Greece, Rome and western Asia were known in India, for we find their names and portraits on the coins of the Indo-Greek and Kushāṇa kings. But there is little to show that they influenced Indian religion in any way. The date of the introduction of Christianity in India is a disputed point. The legend that the Apostle Thomas visited the court of an Indian ruler (usually identified with the Indo-Parthian king Gondophernes, mentioned above[1]) cannot be traced earlier than the third century A.D. But it may be admitted that Christian missionaries visited India, and small Christian communities were established there before the end of the second century A.D.[1] The Christian Church was firmly established in south India during the two succeeding centuries, and we have references to it in the *Romance History of Alexander* of the Pseudo-Kallisthenes (fifth century A.D.). But there is no evidence that Christianity exercised any influence on Indian religion. A great deal was at one time made of the parallelism between the Kṛishṇa legend and the Gospel story, and of the supposed resemblances between the Gospels and the *Bhagavadgītā*. But the discovery of the Heliodorus pillar at Besnagar has proved the existence of the Kṛishṇa cult long before Christ, and no one would now seriously contend that early Vaishṇava doctrines and legends were influenced in any way by Christianity. In view of the prevalence of the Brahmanical religion in western Asia before, and at the time of, the rise of Christianity, its striking resemblances, if any, to Vaishṇavism should rather be ascribed to the influence of the latter. It is not necessary to discuss other views based on similarly vague data.

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[1] See p. 130.

2. *Influence of India on the West*

We may now consider the influence of India on the West. We need not attach great importance to the introduction of oriental luxury in food, clothing and ornaments as evidenced by the great demand for spices, aromatic articles, fine fabrics and precious gems, which were regularly exported from India; nor need we emphasise such isolated elements as the use of elephants in wars by Hellenistic rulers and by Hannibal, which must undoubtedly be traced to Indian influence. These are comparatively minor matters; of far greater importance is the influence exerted in the domains of literature, science, philosophy and religion which was more abiding in character.

In view of the great influence exerted by Indian science and literature upon western countries in the subsequent periods as will be described in the next volume, it is legitimate to assume that such influence must have already been at work during the period under review, but it is not possible to give any precise account. It is held by many scholars that Greek physicians had a knowledge of

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[1] According to the story of St. Thomas, Christianity was preached in India as early as the first century A.D. But it is difficult to believe the story (*EHI*^{3}, p. 231 ff). Eusebius (third cent. A.D.) says that Pantaenus (second cent. A.D.), who went to India to preach Christianity, found that the Gospel had already been introduced there and some Indians had embraced Christianity (*Anc. Ind.* pp. 214-5).

Indian medical science. According to Parsi tradition, the Sassanid king Shapur I (A.D. 241-272) "caused to be included among the holy books secular works on medicine, astronomy and metaphysics found in India, Greece and other countries."[1] It is said also that king Shapur had an Indian medical man resident in Susa. The doctor not only treated the patients but also taught medical science. After his death his pupils provided the whole of Iran with professionals in medicine.[2]

It has been claimed that Indian philosophy exercised a certain influence upon Greek philosophy.[3] Clement of Alexandria even went so far as to say that the Greeks 'stole their philosophy from barbarians.' Sir Willian Jones was the first to point out the analogies between the Sāṅkhya system and the Pythagorean philosophy, and many eminent scholars hold that the latter was derived from the former. These may, however, be mere coincidences. As Pythagoras lived in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., doubts have been expressed about the accuracy of this view on the ground that there was hardly any intercourse between India and Greece at this period.[4] It must be remembered, however, that the establishment of the Achaemenian empire, which touched the borders of India and Greece, made Persia an admirable centre for such contact. A fact recently brought to light definitely proves that, even long before the invasion of Alexander, there was cultural contact between India and Greece. Rawlinson has drawn our attention, for what it is worth, to a statement of Eusebius which runs as follows:[5] 'Aristoxenus, the musician, tells the following story about the Indians. One of these men met Socrates at Athens and asked him what was the scope of his philosophy. 'An enquiry into human phenomenon', replied Socrates. At this the Indian burst out laughing. 'How can a man enquire into human phenomena', he exclaimed, 'when he is ignorant of divine ones'?

Aristoxenus was a pupil of Aristotle and lived in 330 B.C. He might therefore have heard of the interview between Socrates and the Indian philosopher, from some of their contemporaries. The dialogue is highly characteristic of the difference in the Indian and

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1. *CAH*, XII. 112.
2. *PIHC*, V. 248.
3. For a brief but comprehensive treatment of this subject cf. Richard Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India* (Chicago 1897) pp. 32-56.
4. For this and other grounds against the theory cf. Keith in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 569-606.
5. *IAL*. X, p. 58.

Greek attitude of mind. But whatever we might think of it, the anecdote quoted by Aristoxenus leaves no doubt that even in the fifth century B.C. Indian philosophers travelled in the West and learnt Greek language and philosophy sufficiently well to be able to hold discourses with eminent philosophers like Socrates.

We have no reason to believe that there was any material improvement furthering the prospects of such contact during the interval between the foundation of the Achaemenid empire and the Indian invasion of Alexander the Great. There is thus no inherent impossibility that either in Greece, or somewhere in Persian empire, if not in India, Pythagoras could have come into contact with the Indians and derived his main philosophical ideas from them. As Schroeder[1] has pointed out, not one or two chance ideas, but almost all the doctrines ascribed to Pythagoras, both religio-philosophical and mathematical were current in India. As the most important of them appear in Pythagoras without connection or explanatory background, whilst in India they are rendered comprehensible by the intellectual life of the times. Schroeder definitely pronounces India to be the birth-place of the ideas. The same view was emphatically asserted by Colebrooke[2] and is shared by Garbe.[3] The last-named scholar has further pointed out the numerous coincidences between Indian and Greek philosophy. He has referred to the most striking resemblance between the doctrine of the One in the Upanishads and the philosophy of the Eleatics, and between the theory of Thales, the father of Greek philosophy, that everything sprung from water, and the Vedic idea of the primeval water out of which the universe was evolved. He has also traced fundamental ideas of the Sāṅkhya philosophy among the Greek physiologers such as Anaximander, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus and Epicurus.

It has been argued that these resemblances do not necessarily indicate Indian influence, for it is possible that the Greeks and the Indians reached similar conclusions independently of each other But the same argument cannot be urged in the cases of similar resemblances noticed in some mystery cults and the teachings of Pythagoras and Plato. For, these show a great departure from the Greek tradition of rationalism and humanism. In mystery cult associated with the name of Orpheus, faith in the immortality of soul is a cardinal feature, and the idea of transmigration is fully worked out, the wheel of birth going on until the soul escapes from it by attaining release. "Orphic religion is different from the anthropormorphic worship of the Greeks, and Orphic cosmogony and eschatology are foreign to the Greek". But Professor Burnet has shown that it has some striking resemblances to the beliefs prevalent in India about the same time such as rebirth, the immortality and godlike character of the soul, the bondage of the soul in the body and the possibility of release by purification. If we add to them metaphors like the wheel of birth and the world egg, the Indian influence seems to be the only reasonable explanation. For it is difficult to explain all these resemblances in doctrines novel in the Greek world as due to mere natural coincidence".

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[1] *Pythagoras und die Inder* (Leipzig, 1884).
[2] *Miscellaneous Essays,* 2nd Ed. I. 436-37.
[3] *Op. cit.* 390 ff.

There was a close analogy between these mystic cults and the doctrines of Pythagoras who lived in the second half of the sixth century B.C. He enjoined asceticism and abstention from meat, believed in re-births and is said to have remembered his previous births.

The mystic tradition finds its full expression in Plato (427-347 B.C.). Attention may be drawn to a few characteristic traits of his doctrines.

1. Truth cannot always be proved. It appeals to the whole nature of man and not simply to the intellect.

2. The soul is unperceived, simple, indissoluble, immortal and has been many times reborn. It is purified by these rebirths and ultimately escapes when completely purified.

3. Body is a fetter to which we are chained and we must look forward to a future world in which we will be freed from the body.

All these and many things more are fundamentally opposed to the Greek spirit, which was more concerned with all that pleased the senses and satisfied the emotions.

Lassen denies Indian influence upon Greek philosophy in the pre-Christian period. He, however, adopts it for Christian Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism,[1] and there is a general consensus of opinion in support of this view. Barthelemy Saint-Hailaire[2] has traced the ideas of the Sāṅkhya philosophy in Plato and believes the analogies to be too numerous to be explained away as mere coincidences. Professor Weber has traced the influence of the Indian conception of *vāch* upon the idea of the Logos, which appears in Neo-Platonism and passed from there into the Gospel of St. John.[1] Garbe has pointed out that the conception of the Logos did not first appear in Neo-Platonism, but may be traced through Philo and the Stoics ultimately to Heraclitus. This corroborates the view, noted above, of Heraclitus's indebtedness to Indian philosophical views.

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[1] *Indische Alterthumskunde* III. 379.

[2] *Premier Memoire sur le Sāṅkhya* (Paris 1852), pp. 512-22.

That the interest in Indian philosophy continued in western countries for many centuries is proved beyond doubt by many positive evidences. Reference may be made in this connection to Scythianus, a Saracen, born in Palestine, who traded with India. During his visits to India Scythianus acquired a knowledge of Indian Philosophy and settled afterwards in Alexandria.[2] There is no doubt that Alexandria was a great international centre, where not only commercial products but philosophical and scientific ideas were exchanged between the East and the West.

The influence of Indian religion in the western countries cannot also be doubted. Reference has been made above to the spread of Buddhism in western Asia, Africa and Europe as early as the days of Aśoka. The existence of Buddhism on the Persian borderland is demonstrated by the ruins of a Buddhist monastery in the terminal marshes of the Helmund in Seistān. That Buddhism had a strong hold in Parthia is shown by many references in the Chinese annals. As will be noticed later, even a Parthian prince abdicated the throne and became a Buddhist monk in the second century A.D. Alberuni has definitely stated that in former times Khorāsān, Persia, Irāq, Mosul and the country up to the frontier of Syria was Buddhistic.

There are unmistakable traces of Buddhist influences on the Manichaean religion, which was preached in the third century A.D. A Manichaean treatise written in the form of a Buddhist *Sūtra* speaks of its founder Maṇi as the Tathāgata, and mentions Buddha and the Bodhisattva. Curious parallels are also noticeable between Buddhism and Orphism.

We have also very interesting evidence that the Brahmanical religion prevailed in western Asia. According to the Syrian writer Zenob there was an Indian colony in the canton of Taron on the Upper Euphrates, to the west of Lake Van, as early as the second century B.C.[3] The Indians built there two temples containing images of gods about 18 and 22 ft. high. When, about A.D. 304, St. Gregory came to destroy these temples, he was strongly opposed by the Indians. But he defeated them and smashed the images, thus anticipating the iconoclastic zeal of Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

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[1] *Indische Studien,* IX.

[2] *Anc. Ind.,* p. 185, f.n. 1.

[3] *JRAS.* 1904, p. 309.

The facts stated above leave no doubt that, when Christianity arose, Indian culture and religion was already an important factor in the region of its early activity. The similarities which undoubtedly exist between the two may not therefore be mere coincidences. Thus resemblances between the internal arrangements of the Christian church and a Buddhist Chaitya Hall, the rigorous asceticism pursued by some early Christian sects such as Thebaid monasticism, metempsychosis, relic-worship and the use of the rosary, might all have been borrowed by Christianity from Indian religious ideas. There is hardly any doubt that the Gnostics were profoundly influenced by Indian ideas. It is also a well-known fact that several religious leaders in the West took the name of Buddha,[1] and that Gautama Buddha, under the title of St. Josaphat, is still recognised as a Christian saint.

We may conclude this brief sketch with the observation that the facts definitely known are few, and hence the picture drawn is necessarily vague and incomplete. But one thing is certain. India did not, as many fondly believe, lead an isolated life, but maintained a close and intimate contact with the great civilizations of the West through trade and commerce. This led to cultural, and occasionally even political, relations, which began in hoary antiquity and continued right up to the middle of the first millennium of the Christian era and perhaps even later still.

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[1] Priaulx, *op. cit.*, p. 174. According to Archelaos (A.D. 278) Terebinthus declared himself to be a new Buddha (McCrindle, *Anc. Ind.* 185).

CHAPTER XXV

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION

A. CENTRAL ASIA AND CHINA

As we have seen in the last chapter, India's contact with the western world was mainly inspired by trade and commerce, though it brought in its train some cultural influence on either side. Far different, however, was the case with the countries in the north, east and south-east. Although original intercourse might have been inspired by commercial enterprise, it was soon overshadowed by missionary activity leading to a more or less complete cultural conquest over extensive regions. Besides, the Indians set up colonies and established political influence in many of these countries, which brought into existence what may properly be called Greater India.

China is the only country in this region which can boast of an ancient civilization. Broadly speaking, there were three routes in ancient times which connected India with China. The first was the great overland route which ran across Afghānistān over the passes of the Hindu Kush to Bactria and thence, through Central Asia to the western border of China. The second, also an overland route, passed from eastern India through upper Burma to the south-western provinces of China. The third, an all-sea route, passed along the coasts of Indo-China and the islands of the East Indies. The cultural and colonial expansion of India proceeded along these three routes.

I. *Afghānistān*

The territory between the Sindhu and the Hindu Kush mountains may be regarded culturally as a part of India during almost the whole of the Hindu period. The reference in the *Ṛigveda* to the rivers Kubhā (with its tributary the Suvāstu), the Krumu and the Gomatī, which have been identified respectively with the Kābul, the Swāt, the Kurrum and the Gomal rivers, and the tribes like the Alinas, Bhalānases and the Pakthas who played a prominent part in the battle of the ten kings[1] leaves no doubt that the Indo-Aryans in the Punjāb were intimately associated with Afghānistān. Their progress towards the east gradually lessened the bond between the two countries. But the eastern regions of Afghānistān were always regarded politically as parts of India, and the rest of the territory remained Indian in culture and predominantly within the political orbit of India, although subjected, like the Punjāb, to the influence of the Persians, the Greeks, the Parthians, the Scythians and the Kushāṇas. The Mauryas exercised effective rule over the whole of Afghānistān and Baluchistān, and both Buddhism and Brahmanism had a strong influence over the whole area until the advent of Islam. Most of the dynasties that ruled in Afghānistān and Baluchistān came under the influence of Indian culture, which had taken deep root in the soil. Their coins and inscriptions, works of art. religion and literature are Indian in character and, so far as recorded evidence goes, we can hardly distinguish eastern Afghānistān and Baluchistān from India from either a political or cultural point of view. Even in the second century A.D. Ptolemy included this region in India. We learn from Isidor of Charax (first century A.D.) that Arachosia (Kandahār region) was called "White India" by the Parthians. How strong this conviction has been throughout the ages is proved by an old saying quoted by Abul Fazl that Kābul and Kandahār were the twin gates of India. The great French scholar James Darmesteter inferred from the Iranian scriptures that 'Hindu civilization prevailed in those parts (Kābul and Seistān), which in fact, in the two centuries before and after Christ, were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Musulman conquest.'[1]

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[1] See Vol. I, p. 246 ff.

II. *Central Asia*

The territory beyond the Hindu Kush mountains was also profoundly influenced by Indian culture. The Mauryan Empire, which included a part of these territories, and the missionary zeal of Aśoka must have contributed directly to this end. The Greeks, the Śakas, the Yueh-chi and the Parthians, who ruled later in this region, adopted Indian religion and used Indian scripts and language. As these peoples extended their rule over parts of India, the peoples beyond the Hindu Kush came into more intimate contact with Indian culture.

We have evidence to show that Buddhism, and along with it Indian culture, was spread among the Parthians, the Yueh-chi, the Sogdians and various other peoples of Central Asia before the beginning of the Christian era. Even the Sassanians of the third century A.D. regarded Bactriana as virtually an Indian country and the Oxus, a river of Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas. The Greek writers always cite Bactriana with India and state that thousands of Brāhmaṇas and *Samanas* (Buddhist monks) reside there. The recent explorations in Chinese Turkestān have revealed the existence of a large number of flourishing cities with rich sanctuaries, and introduced us to a new world of Indian culture which calls for a more detailed study.

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[1] *SBE* (2nd Ed.) IV, 2. Also cf. *CHI*, I, 326-7.

In order to understand properly the expansion of Indian culture in this region, we must have a clear idea of the different routes between India and China passing through Central Asia. The main route proceeded along the valley of the Kābul river and reached the Hindu Kush mountains through Purushapura (Peshāwar), Nagarahāra (Jalālābād), Bāmiyān and other cities. Beyond the Hindu Kush lay Bāhlīka (Bactriana, modern Balkh). From this region three well-known roads led to the Tārim basin. The one, which was mostly used by the ancient caravans, "ascended the Qizil Su or Surkh Ab to the Pāmir-like valley of the Alai and thence crossed the saddle above Irkeshtam to the head-waters of the river of Kāshgar and thus down to the oasis itself". Another, and more northern, route crossed both the Oxus and the Jaxartes and, passing by Tashkend and Lake Issiq Köl, debouched through the passes of the Tien Shah mountains to Uch Turfān or Aqsu to the northwest of the Tārim basin. The third, and the southernmost, route went at first almost due east from Balkh, *via* Badakhshān and Wakhān, and then crossed either by the Wakhjir Pass or other passes over the Pāmirs, into Sariqol, south of Muztāgh Āta. From Tāsh Qurghān, the ancient capital of this region, different tracks through very confined gorges led down to the utterly barren foothills on the sides of the Tārim basin and so on to the oases of Kāshgar and Yarkand on its western border. There was also a much shorter and direct, but difficult, road from Kāshmir, along Gilgit and the Yasin valleys, and through the Darkot and Baroghil Passes, to the last-mentioned route in the Wakhān valley.

The Tārim basin, to which all the three routes led, is popularly known as Chinese Turkestān, and corresponds to the modern province of Sinkiang. This region lies immediately to the west of China, and was for long under her political control both in ancient and modern times. It is almost entirely surrounded by mountains.

To the north is the mighty Tien Shan, and to the west the Pāmir mountains. In the south the snowy Kun-lun range separates it from the plateau of Tibet. To the east the Nan Shan range, the marshes of Lop-Nor and the border of the Gobi desert separate it from China proper.

Although this region is about 900 miles long from east to west, and about 330 miles from north to south at its widest part, it is almost entirely occupied by the "huge central desert of bare sand-dunes which is popularly known as the Taklamakān. Its borders to the west, north and east are marked by the belts of vegetation accompanying the Tiznaf, the Yarkand and the Tārim rivers". To the south of the desert lies a string of oases, mostly small, fed by the streams descending from the Kun-lun. Only one of these rivers, the Khotan, succeeds in making its way through the desert during a few summer months. For the rest, they are lost in the sands of the desert at a greater or less distance. It may be observed, however, that this distance has been systematically reduced in course of ages, for modern explorations have proved the existence of cultivated grounds further north than the corresponding 'terminal oases' of the present day.

On account of the lack of rain or snow-fall, cultivation was only possible by canal irrigation and was confined to a comparatively very small area between the desert and the mountain ranges encircling it. The ground capable of settled life was thus confined to strings of oases of which only a few could sustain even a moderately small community. To this may be added the extremes of climate, the sands rising to boiling point in summer, and every drop of water being frozen in winter. No wonder that the Tārim basin could never be the permanent home of a large population. But this very evil was a blessing in disguise, for it kept the region comparatively free from the depredations of the great migrating tribes of Wusun, Śakas, Yueh-chi, Hūṇas, Turks and Mongols, to whom the big open grazing grounds on the northern slopes of the Tien Shan held far greater attraction than the narrowly circumscribed life of a cultivator in the Tārim basin. Though ready to make occasional raids, they could never think of making this region their permanent or even temporary home.

It was mainly for this reason that this inhospitable region attained an importance quite out of proportion to its resources. For more than two thousand years it served as the great highway of commercial, cultural and political intercourse between China on the one hand and India and western Asia on the other. It was subsequently a meeting ground of diverse peoples and cultures, such as Indians, Persians, Turks, Chinese, Tibetans, Buddhists, Jews, Christians and Manichaeans. Two roads passing along its northern and southern fringes led from the west of China. Kāshgar, on the western border, may be regarded as the starting point of both these routes which met on the Chinese frontier in the east at a place called Yu-men-kuan or the Jade Gate, not far from the hills of Tunhwang which contain the caves of the thousand Buddhas.

A few sites on both the roads from Kāshgar to China have been explored by various parties in recent times. The antiquities and archaeological remains discovered in course of these explorations have revealed almost a new world. They include ruined cities with hundreds of sanctuaries, images, wall-paintings, etc. and clearly demonstrate that Indians settled in large numbers in various localities all over this region and introduced their art, religion, language, script and system of political administration. It is almost certain that they also set up small kingdoms, some of which flourished for a fairly long period. It is not possible to write a continuous or connected history of the Indian settlements in this region, but we may give a brief account of some of the localities which can be definitely included within the zone of Indian culture and colonisation.

Along the southern route there were Indian colonies at Shule or Śailadeśa (Kāshgar), So-Khiu or Chokkuka (Yarkand), Khotaṁna (Khotān), and also at Domoko, Niya, Dandān-Oilik, Endere, Lou-lan, Rawak and Miran; and along the northern route at Po-lu-kia or Bharuka (Aqsu district, near Uch-Turfān), Kuchi (modern Kucha), Yen-ki (or Yen-chi) or Agni-deśa (modern Qara Shahr), and Turfān, in addition to various other localities. Future exploration would no doubt considerably add to this number.

Buddhism was the prevailing religion in all these localities. This is proved not only by the discovery of images and the remains of Buddhist *stūpas,* shrines and *vihāras* built after Indian models, but also by a large number of Buddhist texts, written in Sanskrit and Prakrit as well as in local languages of Central Asia, and in Indian scripts, both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī. Large numbers of secular documents have also been discovered. These are written in Indian languages and scripts on wooden tablets, leather, paper and silk. The wooden tablets were used for short communications of an official character, such as instructions to the local officials by the *Mahanuava Maharaya* (Mahānubhāva Mahārāja or the high-souled great king) or information of a personal or official nature issued by one official to another. We find therein reference to law-suits, inventories, list of provisions or presents, arrangements of guards, appointments, transport of arms, etc. Some of them contain the names of ruling princes, officials and their relations. The documents on leather and paper are similar in character. A short text on a silk strip contains fragments of a letter or order. Another document on silk contains nine inscriptions in Prakrit containing a prayer for the health of an individual and his family. It is interesting to note that some of the phrases used in the prayers are almost identical with those found in the Indian inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. It may be added that many documents in non-Indian languages were written in Indian script, and tables containing complete alphabets of the Brāhmī script have been found in Central Asia.

Most of the documents are in the form of letters with the names of the addressees written on the covering tablet. Many of the persons who wrote them, or to whom they were sent, bear names which are either purely Indian such as Bhima, Baṅgusena, Nandasena, Shamasena, Sitaka, Upajiva, etc. or else look like Indian adaptations such as Aṅgacha, Kushanasena, etc. Some of the official designations are also Indian, for example, *chara* (spy), *dutiya* or *dūta* (envoy). Stein has pointed out how the style of writing in these records follows closely the instructions given in the Kāshmirian manual *Lekhaprakāśa*.

These documents were probably written during the first four centuries of the Christian era. The use of Indian language, style and script for purposes of administration, as far as the Lop-Nor region to the extreme east of the Tārim basin, at the very threshold of China, shows the extent of the political influence of Indian colonists.

Khotān seems to be a particularly important centre of Indian colonisation. A Kharoshṭhī inscription refers to the Khotanese king Mahārāja Rājātirāja deva Vijita-Siṁha. About forty coins were found here bearing Chinese legends on the obverse and Indian Prakrit ones in Kharoshṭhī characters on the reverse. Like the documents mentioned above, these also indicate that the language and scripts used by the local administration were Indian.

The archaeological evidence certainly lends some colour to the tradition that Khotān was colonised by Indians and ruled by Indian chiefs. This tradition, with a long list of Indian kings, is preserved in Tibetan literature. Sen Konow has critically examined the different versions of this tradition and his provisional conclusions may be summarised as follows:[1]

'Kustana, the son of Aśoka, is said to have founded the royal dynasty at Khotān. But Kustana's son Ye-u-la, who is said to have founded the capital of the kingdom, is most probably identical with the king Yü-lin mentioned in the Chinese chronicles as ruling over Khotān about the middle of the first century A.D.

'Ye-u-la was succeeded by his son Vijita-Saṁbhava, with whom begins a long series of Khotān kings whose names all begin with Vijita.[2] If there is any truth in the Chinese statement that Wei-chi or Vijita was the family name of the kings, it is of interest to note that this 'Vijita' dynasty, according to Tibetan tradition, begins where the Han annals place the foundation of the national Khotān kingdom.

'Buddhism was introduced into Khotān in the fifth year of Vijita-Saṁbhava. Eleven kings followed, and then came Vijita Dharma who was a powerful ruler and constantly engaged in war. Later, he became a Buddhist and retired to Kāshgar. We know from Chinese sources that Kāshgar had formerly developed great power, but that it became dependent on Khotān during A.D. 220-264. It is then probable that this was the time of the powerful king Vijita-Dharma.

'Vijita-Dharma was followed on the throne by his son Vijita-Siṁha, and the latter by his son Vijita-Kīrti. Vijita-Kīrti is said to have carried war into India and to have overthrown Sāketa, together with king Kanika (or the king of Kanika) and the Guzan king. Guzan here evidently stands for Kushāṇa.'

So much for the Tibetan version. According to the other Buddhist traditions, the colonisation of Khotān is connected with the well-known story of Kuṇāla, son of Aśoka and viceroy of Taxila, who, disgusted with the machinations of his step-mother, left the country, went to Khotān and set himself up there as king.[3]

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[1] Sten Konow in *JRAS*. 1914, pp. 344 ff.

[2] Sten Konow at first took this word to be Vijaya (*ibid*), but later (*IHQ*. XVI. 259) definitely held that the dynastic title was *Vijita* and not *Vijaya*.

[3] A slightly different account is given by Hiuen Tsang who also adds other traditions. *HTB*, II. 309.

We need not attach much importance to these attempts to associate the ruling family of Khotān with the great Maurya dynasty, but everything indicates that it migrated from India and introduced Indian culture and civilization in this region. This probably took place in the first century A.D. and was facilitated by the extensive Kushāṇa empire which formed a sort of connecting link between India and Central Asia.

Khotān was a very important centre of Buddhism. Its famous monastery, Gomatī-vihāra, was one of the biggest institutions of Buddhist learning in Central Asia. A number of able Indian scholars lived there, and many Chinese pilgrims, instead of coming to India for special instruction, stayed in Khotān. The learned monks of Gomatī-vihāra composed texts which were regarded almost as canonical.[1]

There were other Indian colonies on the southern route like Khotān but, beyond archaeological remains, we have no historical information about any of them.

On the northern route, Kuchi (modern Kucha) was the leading centre of Indian culture.[2] Its ancient rulers bore Indian names such as Suvarṇapushpa, Haripushpa, Haradeva, Suvarṇadeva, etc. It was a flourishing city with a number of large Buddhist monasteries and splendid buildings. Kuchi had received Buddhism from India at a very early period and the whole of the local civilization was Buddhist. The literature discovered at Kuchi throws interesting light on the method of studying Sanskrit, the sacred language taught in the local monasteries. The students began with learning the alphabet, and many alphabetical tables have been dug out, traced by more or less skilled hands.

Sanskrit grammar was then studied according to the Kātantra system, presumably because it was more fitted than Pāṇini for non-Indians. Then the students made *verbatim* translations from Sanskrit into Kuchean. In addition to famous religious texts like *Udānavarga*, we have actual examples of astronomical and medical texts treated in this manner. This incidentally shows how, in addition to religion and its handmaid art, Indian astronomy, or rather astrology, and medicine were spread in this region. There was an extensive Kuchean literature, but all the works are based upon Sanskrit originals. At Ming-Öi, west of Kuchi, Brāhmī fragments in

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[1] Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 14-15.

[2] Cf. S. Lévi's account of Kucha in *JRAS*. 1914, pp. 959 ff.

Sanskrit have been found which belong to the second century A.D.[1] Kuchi was also an important centre for the propaganda of Buddhism in other countries.

Beyond Kuchi, Qara Shahr was also an important Indian colony. It was known as Agnideśa and its kings had Indian names like Indrārjuna, Chandrārjuna, etc. Like Kuchi it also played an active part in the spread of Buddhism to China and other countries. Another important site is Bazaklik. It was an important Buddhist centre with hundreds of temples which had wall-paintings of Indian monks in yellow robes with names written in Brāhmī to distinguish them from other monks in violet robes, with names written in Chinese and Tibetan.

It is not possible here to refer in detail to all ancient sites which were colonised by the Indians and the antiquities discovered in them. Taken as a whole, the artistic remains—architecture, sculpture and painting—and the large number of written texts, discovered in Central Asia, constitute a massive and most enduring monument of Indian culture and civilization which must have been widely spread all over the region in the early centuries of the Christian era. Although Buddhism was the prevailing religion, Brahmanical culture was not altogether absent. This is proved by the seals with effigies of Kubera and Trimukha, discovered at Niya, and the painted Gaṇeśa at Endere. Both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism were prevalent, but by far the largest number of paintings and sculptures belong to the latter.

Among the numerous texts discovered, only a few may be noted here. A text of the *Dhammapada* was found in a place about 13 miles from Khotān. It is written in the Kharoshṭhī character of the first or second century A.D. and contains verses of the Pāli *Dhammapada* in a Prakrit dialect which has not been found hitherto in any other Buddhist literary work. Dr. Bühler was of opinion that the text was written in India and taken to Chinese Turkestān by a Buddhist monk. According to Sten Konow, it was composed in a dialect of north-western India but was written down in Khotān where it was discovered. He is of opinion that the language of the text has peculiarities of its own, not noticed in any other Prakrit dialect in India, and they must be due to the influence of the local dialect of Khotān.

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1. *CII*, II, Part 1. p. lxxiii.

Fragments of some important Sanskrit texts, now lost in India, have been found in Central Asia. One is *Udānavarga*, a work of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism, which had probably the same place in the canon of that school as the Pāli *Dhammapada* in that of the Theravāda school. The work was very popular and was translated into Chinese, Tibetan and various languages of Central Asia. The work was known only in translations before the discovery of the original Sanskrit in various fragments found in Central Asia, the oldest of which from Tunhwang belongs to the Kushāṇa period. To the same period belong the palm-leaf manuscripts from Turfān which contain the concluding chapter of the drama '*Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* composed by Aśvaghosha and portions of two other dramas, probably by the same author. These are the earliest Sanskrit dramas so far known, and prove that most of the techniques found in later dramas had already been evolved in the first century A.D. Fragments of two dramas, written in the dialect of Kuchi, not only prove the influence of Indian dramaturgy, but also fill up the gap between the Indian and the Chinese theatres.

We need not refer in detail to various other texts found in this region. Apart from their value as evidence of a close association with Indian culture, these texts throw important light on the development of Buddhist literature in India. It has been known for a long time that, side by side with the Pāli canon of the Theravādins, there was also a corresponding Sanskrit canon from an early date. There was, however, no trace of it in India until the recent discovery of Gilgit manuscripts, and its existence was only known from the Chinese and Tibetan translations. The discoveries in Central Asia help us in reconstructing the original literature for, apart from the find of actual texts, there is no doubt that the translations in Khotanese, Kuchean (Tokharian) and other languages were made from Sanskrit originals.

In conclusion, we may emphasise the fact that, as in religion and literature, so in art, Central Asia was deeply influenced by India. Sten Konow has stressed "the close agreement which exists in regard to general architectural arrangement between all Turkestān *stūpas* examined by him and the corresponding structures extant in the Kābul valley and on the Indian north-west-frontier". He further remarks that "the art of Buddhist Khotān can be shown to have remained to the last under the predominating influence of Indian models." Though other influences, like Iranian and Chinese, might have been at work, the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra contributed more than any other influence to shape the development of Buddhist art in Central Asia.

III. *China*

The name of China was familiar to the Indians from a very early period. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and *Manusmṛiti*, and the varieties of Chinese silk are referred to in *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. It is generally held that the name China is derived from that of the first Tsin dynasty (221-209 B.C.), and therefore the literary references to it must belong to a period later than 220 B.C. It is, however, not impossible that the name is derived from the small state of that name which existed in the fourth century B.C., and even earlier, in Chan-si in the north-west of China. It is likely that the name was first used in Central Asia, and was derived from that of the kingdom through which one entered China from that region. An analogy is furnished by the use of the name of Sindhu (Hindu) for the whole of India.

We have clear evidence that there was regular commercial intercourse, both by land and sea, between India and China, long before the beginning of the Christian era. When the Chinese envoy Chang Kien was in Bactria (c. 127 B.C.), he found to his great surprise that bamboo and textiles from south-western China were sold in the local market. On enquiry he learnt that these were brought to eastern India through Yunnan and Burma, and then carried the whole way across north India and Afghānistān. Certain passages in a Chinese text, written in the first century A.D., mention trade relations of China by sea with countries along the Sea of China and the Indian Ocean. One of the places named Huang-che has been identified by some with Kāñchī.

This country is said to have sent tribute from the time of emperor Wu (140-86 B.C.), which means that there were regular trade relations between it and China. During the period A.D. 1-6 the Chinese emperor sent rich presents to the king of Huang-che and asked him to send an embassy. Whatever we might think of the identification of Huang-che, the above passage clearly proves that in the second or first century B.C., the sea-route between India and China was fairly known. The Chinese are said to have come to Huang-che by foreign ships. From what we know of the trade and colonisation of the Indians all along this sea-route we can reasonably infer that Indian vessels had a large share, if not the monopoly of this trade. The maritime intercourse between India and China in the second century B.C. is also confirmed by the find of a Chinese coin at Mysore. This coin most probably belongs to 138 B.C.

It may be reasonably assumed that the relations between the two countries were at first purely commercial. Chinese silk, as already noted above, was highly prized in India. The fact that the words Sindura (vermilion) and *kīchaka* (bamboo) are derived from Chinese *tsin-tung* and *ki-chok* proves that these two commodities also came from China.

But, as always happens, ideas were carried along with wares, and led to the introduction of Buddhism in China. As this soon changed the whole aspect of the relation between the two countries, we have to examine it a little more closely.

According to Chinese tradition, Buddhist missionaries from India proceeded to China as early as 217 B.C., but this can hardly be accepted as historical. According to another account, a Chinese general, who led a military expedition to Central Asia in 121 B.C., brought a golden statue of the Buddha, and thus the Chinese first came to know of Buddhism. This is also very doubtful. It is, however, definitely known that in the year 2 B.C. the Yueh-chi rulers in the Oxus valley presented some Buddhist texts to the Chinese court.

The official account of the introduction of Buddhism into China places the event in A.D. 65. In that year the Han emperor Ming-ti saw a golden man in a dream and was told by his courtiers that it was the Buddha. He accordingly sent ambassadors to the west, who brought with them two Indian monks named Dharmaratna[1] and Kāśyapa Mātaṅga. These missionaries brought a lot of sacred texts and relics on a white horse. Hence, the monastery built for them by Imperial order at the capital city was called "The White Horse Monastery". The two monks spent the rest of their lives in China, translating Buddhist texts into Chinese and preaching Buddhism among the people.

This story is probably substantially correct. But Buddhism must have also passed into China by the other overland route from India through Burma. There are good grounds to believe that Buddhist missionaries came by this route and were already active in China by the middle of the first century A.D.

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[1] Bagchi (*op. cit.*) gives the name Dharmaraksha on pp. 7 and 32 and Dharmaratna on p. 217 The last is also given in *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*. p. 4.

Thus, Buddhism must have got a definite footing in different parts of China in the first century A.D. The interest taken by the court and the nobility in the new religion, and the sympathy and support they extended to the first missionaries, encouraged other Buddhist missions to follow them. It appears from the Chinese account that these mostly came from Central Asia, and the missionaries belonged to various nationalities, such as the Yueh-chi, the Parthians, the Sogdians, the Kucheans, the Khotanese, etc. A sort of cultural internationalism was thus created through Buddhism right across the great continent of Asia.

Reference may be made to a few of these missionaries only. She-kao (Lokottama) was a Parthian prince who abdicated the throne and was converted to Buddhism at an early age. He was a profound scholar and settled in the White Horse Monastery with a collection of Buddhist canonical texts and a number of Parthian and Sogdian monks. They spent their lives there translating Buddhist texts and preaching Buddhism about the middle of the second century A.D. Seng-hui (Saṅghabhadra) was born in the first quarter of the third century A.D. in a Sogdian family which had settled in India for several generations. Seng-hui's father went to Tonkin for purposes of trade and settled there. On the death of his father, Seng-hui became a Buddhist monk and carried on missionary activity in south China. He is said to have converted the Wu emperor of Nanking. He built a monastery at Nanking (A.D. 247) and founded a Buddhist school. He built temples and set up images, and Buddhism flourished in this region.[1]

Fa-hu (Dharmaraksha) was the most famous of the Yueh-chi missionaries in China. He was born at Tunhwang and educated there by Indian teachers. He travelled with them all over Central Asia and visited some countries on the frontiers of India. It is said that he knew thirty-six languages, including Sanskrit and Chinese. He settled in the Chinese capital about the middle of the third century A.D., and spent his whole life preaching Buddhism and translating Sanskrit texts into Chinese.

The Chinese have preserved the names of a large number of other missionaries who distinguished themselves by similar activities during the first three centuries of the Christian era. These accounts leave no doubt that Buddhism, and with that Indian culture, had grown into a powerful civilizing force in a wide belt of territory in Asia, from Parthia in the west to China on the east. Tunh-wang, on the western frontier of China, and near the junction of the two roads over the Tārim basin, became an important centre of Buddhism. In the third century, some Indian families were settled in this territory and it was the meeting place of Buddhists of all nationalities coming from the west.

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[1] *BEFEO,* XXXII. 212-13.

It must however, be remembered that, whereas the whole of the region between the Hindu Kush and China was peopled by races with a primitive type of civilization and no developed religious faith, China itself was highly civilized and professed the Confucian faith with its high philosophy. We can therefore easily understand why Buddhism made more rapid progress in Central Asia, and the influence of Indian culture was deeper and more thorough in that region, than was the case with China. But China paid a high compliment to Buddhism when she consented to learn it from the monks of Central Asia, which was in her eyes a country of the barbarians. The Chinese had not yet come into direct contact with a large number of Indian monks, and it could hardly be expected that the higher ranks in China would be affected by Indian ideas to the same extent as the primitive peoples of Central Asia.

Nevertheless, Buddhism was slowly making its influence felt even among the Chinese scholars and aristocracy. Mou-tseu, a great Chinese scholar (second century A.D.), wrote in defence of Buddhism and pronounced it as even superior to the doctrines of Confucius. The rulers of the various small principalities, into which China was divided, patronised the new religion. The emperors of the western Tsin dynasty, who brought about the unity of China, were also great patrons of Buddhism, and under their rule Buddhism came to be an important factor in Chinese life. During the reigns of the emperor Wu (A.D. 265-290) and Min (A.D. 313-316) monasteries were built in various parts of the country, and 180 religious establishments were founded in Nanking and Chang-ngan. The total number of Buddhist monks during this period is said to have been 3,700.

The stronghold of Buddhism in China is also evidenced by a growing desire of the Chinese to visit the Holy Land. A Chinese monk named Chu She-hing started for India in A.D. 260 in order to study Buddhism under learned teachers. After visiting different centres in Central Asia he came to Khotān. As he found Buddhist texts and competent teachers there, he did not proceed to

India but stayed in Khotān till his death. From Khotān he sent a collection of Sanskrit manuscripts to China.

I-tsing records a tradition that, about five hundred years before his time, twenty Buddhist priests came from China to India by the overland route through Burma. The Indian ruler Śrīgupta built a temple in Bengal for these priests, and being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This temple was known as the China temple even in I-tsing's time. It was then in ruins, but I-tsing was told by the local king that he was willing to give back the temple land and the endowment to any priest coming from China.[1] This incident illustrates the growing strength of Buddhism in China and the beginning, as early as the third century A.D., of that ardent desire of pilgrimage to the Holy Land of India, which prompted hundreds of Chinese in subsequent ages to brave the perils of the long and arduous journey both by land and sea.

We have so far dwelt upon the religious aspect of the intercourse between India and China. But although less important and less known, there were also political relations between the two countries.

Apart from what has been said above,[2] political relations may be traced as far back as the time of Kānishka. Hiuen Tsang relates that the great emperor kept a Chinese prince as hostage in a part of the Punjāb, which, for this reason, came to be known as the Chinabhukti. This Chinese hostage is said to have introduced two fruits, peach and pear, into India, and these were consequently called "Chināni" and "China-rājaputra" respectively.

An interesting light is thrown on the relation between India and China by the following passage in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* covering the period A.D. 25 to 220.[3]

"This country (India) produces elephants, rhinoceroses, tortoise-shell, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and tin. From the west coast it is in communication with Ta-ts'in (the Roman province of Syriya) and precious objects from Ta-ts'in are found there. There are also fine fabrics, woollen carpets of good quality, perfumes of all kinds, sugar-candy, pepper, ginger and black salt."

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[1] For the location of this temple cf. *HBR*. 69. Śrīgupta has been identified with the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. This point will be discussed in Vol. III in connection with the history of the Guptas.

[2] See pp. 122 f.

[3] K. A. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 11. The passage is, however, not an extract from the report of Pan Young as Mr. Sastri supposes (p. 10); cf. *JDL*. 1920, p. 73 ff.

"In the epoch of the emperor Ho (A.D. 89-105) they sent on several occasions ambassadors carrying tributes and presents. Later, the countries of the West having revolted, these relations were interrupted. Then in the years A.D. 159 and 161 they came again on two occasions from beyond Je-nan".

It would thus appear that intercourse with China through Central Asia was interrupted shortly after A.D. 105 and was continued thereafter either by sea or by the overland route through Burma. Musicians and jugglers from Ta-ts'in passed through the latter route in A.D. 120. The embassies of A.D. 159 and 161 either followed this route or proceeded by sea. A Chinese chronicle refers to Indian ambassadors coming by the Southern Sea to China during the period A.D. 147-167.

IV. *Tonkin*

China proved to be an important base for the further spread of Buddhism and Indian culture towards the north, east and south. Mongolia, Korea and Japan received Buddhism from China, though we possess no definite details for the period under review. We are, however, more fortunate in respect of Tonkin, which was at that time politically subject to China. It appears from the meagre accounts that have been preserved that Buddhism was preached in Tonkin as early as the second and third centuries A.D., both by Chinese and Indian missionaries. The Indian monks proceeded there by both land and sea. As a matter of fact, Tonkin formed an important intermediate station in the sea route between India and China, and was visited by missionaries of both countries in the course of their journey from the one country to the other. According to some reliable texts, Buddhism obtained a secure footing in Tonkin about the same time as in China and had made even more rapid progress there at the beginning.[1]

Tradition has preserved the names of the first Buddhist missionaries who played an important part in the introduction of Buddhism in Tonkin. The earliest of them is the Chinese Mou-tseu to whom reference has been made above.[2] When, after the death of Ling-ti in A.D. 189, civil war broke out in China, only the southern province of Tonkin remained comparatively calm and many distinguished persons of China migrated there. Mou-tseu, although a Taoist, embraced Buddhism and his example was followed by others (c. A.D. 194-195).

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[1] For an account of the introduction of Buddhism in Tonkin, cf. *BEFEO*, XXXII. 211.

[2] See p. 647.

About the middle of the third century, Seng-hui began his missionary activity in Tonkin. His origin and activity in China have been mentioned above.[1] But it was from Tonkin that he proceeded to China to convert the king of the Wu dynasty to Buddhism. He was one of the greatest translators of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, and some of these works were accomplished in Tonkin.

The third important missionary in Tonkin was Mārajīvaka or Jīvaka. He was born in India and came to Fu-nan in southern Cambodia[2] in a merchant vessel. He then proceeded to Tonkin and Canton. He preached Buddhism wherever he went and largely contributed to its development all along the sea-route to China. He visited the capital city Lo Yang towards the close of the reign of emperor Houei of the Tsin dynasty (A.D. 290-306) and later, on account of political troubles in China, returned to India.

The last of the four missionaries was an Indo-Scythian, the Chinese form of whose name has been taken to represent either Kālaruchi or Kalyāṇaruchi. He translated some Buddhist texts between A.D. 255 and 257.

Thanks to the efforts of these and perhaps other missionaries, Tonkin became a stronghold of Buddhism. By the end of the third century A.D. there were more than 20 *chaityas* and five hundred monks in the district of Leileu (now represented by the village of Lung-khe in the province of Bac-ninh). Although Tonkin did not become an Indian colony like southern Annam, a large number of Indians were settled there. A Chinese text of the fourth century A.D. mentions the presence of a large number of Indians in the entourage of the provincial governor. An Annamite text gives some particulars of an Indian named Khauda-la. He was born in a Brāhmaṇa family of western India and was versed in magical art. He went to Tonkin by sea, probably about the same time as Jīvaka, mentioned above. He lived in caves or under trees, and was also known as Ca-la-cha-la (Kālāchārya—black preceptor?).

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[1] See p. 647.
[2] See p. 657.

B. SOUTH-EAST ASIA

I. EARLY TRADE INTERCOURSE AND THE BEGINNING OF COLONISATION

To the ancient Indians, the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the East Indies were vaguely known as Suvarṇa-bhūmi and Suvarṇa-dvīpa, the land or the island of gold. It was a veritable *El Dorado,* with an abundance of spices, gold and all precious metals and minerals. The lure of wealth attracted them and they braved the perils of the sea to seek fortunes in these distant unknown lands.

Although we have no systematic account of this early trade with the Far East, we have a number of popular stories and folk-tales that grow out of this spirit of adventure. These have been preserved in the Jātakas, the various recensions of *Bṛihat-Kathā*, the *Kathā-Kośa* and other books of this type. We read in them how princes and merchants sailed in ships from Bhṛigukachchha or Tāmralipti, reached Suvarṇa-dvīpa or Suvarṇa-bhūmi, and returned with fabulous riches. Sometimes these trading voyages ended in disaster, though the ship-wrecked merchants often had a narrow escape according to these stories. They sometimes mention individual towns and ports as the destination of the merchant-vessels, but more often vaguely refer to Suvarṇa-bhūmi or Suvarṇa-dvīpa.

Intercourse with Suvarṇa-dvīpa is also reflected in more serious literature. The Buddhist text *Milinda-pañha* refers to sea-voyages to Suvarṇa-bhūmi, Takkola and China. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* mentions *aguru* (aloe) of Suvarṇa-bhūmi.

Indians also proceeded to the Far East by land-routes through Bengal, Manipur and Assam. They reached lower Burma through Arakan, and upper Burma through the various passes in the Patkoi range or Manipur hills. As already noted, Chinese wares passed through this land route from Yunnan and Szechwan to northern India in the second century B.C. There are good grounds to hold that this route, though difficult, was frequently used in olden times.

Indian familiarity with the Far East is reflected in the Puranic cosmology and geographical divisions into *Varshas* and *Dvīpas*. There is no doubt that some of them refer to localities in this region, though it is hazardous to identify any Puranic name with any particular locality. Ptolemy (second century A.D.) and the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (first century A.D.) refer to Indian intercourse with these countries. The former shows that some localities like Yava-dvīpa already bore Indian names.

We get a comprehensive view of ancient Indian trade in the Far East, and the risks and troubles it involved, from a passage in the Buddhist text *Niddesa*, which may be referred to a period not later than the second century A.D. It describes the various kinds of torments which a sailor experiences while, overpowered by the desire for wealth and enjoyment, he sails the high seas in a boat and visits different countries. It specially names twenty-four localities to which the merchants voyaged, and ten difficult routes which they had to follow on land. No less than eight of these localities can be definitely located in, and cover a fairly large part of, Suvarṇa-bhūmi and Suvarṇa-dvīpa.

The extraordinarily difficult routes mentioned in the *Niddesa* are explained by the story of Sānudāsa, which may be summed up as follows:—

"Sānudāsa joins the gang of the adventurer Āchera, who is preparing an expedition to the Land of Gold (Suvarṇa-bhūmi). They cross the sea and land at the foot of a mountain. They climb up to the top by catching hold of creepers (*vetra*). This is the 'creepers' path' (*Vetrapatha*). On the plateau there is a river which changes into stone everything that falls into it. They cross it by holding on to the bamboos which overhang the banks. This is 'the bamboo's path' (*Vaṁśapatha*). Further on, they meet a narrow path between precipices. They light a fire with wet branches; the smoke attracts some *Kirātas* who come and propose to sell them some goats; the adventurers get on those goats, the only animals sure-footed enough to be able to follow the narrow edge without feeling giddy. This is the 'goats' path' (*Ajapatha*). The adventurers do not come to the end of it without some difficulty, as another gang is approaching from the opposite direction. A struggle ensues, but Āchera's troops are able to pass through after having thrown their enemies into the ravines. Sānudāsa begins to feel indignant at the fierceness of the gold-seekers. Āchera orders his followers to slay the goats and to put on their skins with the inside out. Huge birds will mistake these men for a heap of raw meat, come and carry them away to their aerie. It is there that the gold is! Sānudāsa attempts to save the goat he was riding, but his companions are pitiless. Everything takes place as Āchera foretold, but the bird which carries off Sānudāsa is attacked by another bird which attempts to steal his prey. The goat's skin bursts open and Sānudāsa falls in a tank which is in the heart of a luxurious forest. The next day he comes to a river the banks of which are of golden sand; near by, there is a hermitage from which a hermit comes out."

The above story refers to several 'paths' or ingenious means of passing through difficult territory. A few more of these paths are referred to in various early books. There is *Jaṇṇupatha* where one has to crawl on hands and knees. *Saṅkupatha* was a difficult and laborious procedure for ascending a mountain. An iron hook, attached to a rope of skin, is thrown up on to the mountain-side where it gets embedded. Having climbed up the rope, the man makes a hole on the hill-side with a diamond-tipped iron rod and fixes a spear. Having caught hold of this, he detaches the hook and repeats the performance till the spear is again fixed up in the mountain. Then he ties the rope to the spear, and having caught hold of the rope with one hand, strikes it by a hammer with the other till the spear is detached. Then he climbs up again, again fixes the spear, and repeats the process till he ascends to the top of the hill. Last comes *Chhattapatha,* the means of coming down from a steep height. One jumps down from a precipice with an open parasol made of skin, and descends slowly to the ground on account of the resistance of the air. In other words, it acted as a parachute.

These various kinds of 'paths' give us some idea of the difficulties which Indians had to surmount while travelling in unknown foreign lands to which they were attracted by lure of wealth.

Literature is justly regarded as the echo of national life. The stories quoted above and numerous other Indian folk-tales about merchants going beyond the sea indicate that the spirit of exploration and adventure was a characteristic feature of ancient India.

We possess reliable evidence regarding the sea-routes followed by Indians. Beginning from the north, there was first the famous port of Tāmralipti, which is now represented by Tamluk in the Midnapore district, Bengal. From this port there was regular sailing of vessels, which either proceeded along the coasts of Bengal and Burma, or crossed the Bay of Bengal and made a direct voyage to the Malay Peninsula, and then to the East Indies and Indo-China beyond it. There were other similar ports of embarkation, one at Palura near Gopalpur (Ganjām) in Orissa, and three near Masulipatam (Madras), from which ships sailed across the Bay of Bengal to the Far East. There was a regular coastal voyage from the mouth of the Gaṅgā along the eastern coast of India to Cylon, and thence along the western coast up to Broach at the mouth of the Narmadā river, and perhaps even beyond it. People from all parts of India came by land or river to the nearest sea-port, and then made a coastal voyage to Tāmralipti, Palura, or one of the harbours near Masulipatam, whence ships made a direct voyage to the Far East across the Bay of Bengal. The South Indian peninsula as well as Ceylon also contained several harbours from which such direct voyages were made in ancient times.

The literary evidence leaves no doubt that trade was the chief stimulus of this intercourse between India and the Far East. Apart from the fact that the folk-tales deal mostly with merchants and seekers of wealth, the geographical names, applied by the Indians. all refer to minerals, metals or some industrial and agricultural products. In addition to Suvarṇa-dvīpa and its variant forms, we may refer to Rūpyaka-dvīpa, Tāmra-dvīpa, Yava-dvīpa Laṅkā-dvīpa, Śaṅkha-dvīpa, Karpūra-dvīpa, Nārikela-dvīpa, etc.

In course of time, trade and commercial activity led to the establishment of political and cultural relations. The traders spread Indian culture along with their wares and, as opportunities offered, some of them permanently settled in these places and even seized political power. Adventurous Kshatriya princes came to seek their fortunes and established kingdoms. Individual monks or bands of missionaries also came to preach their religious doctrines. It is said that Soṇa and Uttara, two missionaries of Aśoka, visited Suvarṇa-bhūmi. But no satisfactory evidence has yet come to light in support of this. There is, however, no doubt that as early as the second century A.D., Indians ruled over kingdoms in the remotest parts of Indo-China. Colonisation, as distinguished from the establishment of political authority, evidently took place much earlier, and the beginnings of trade relations, which preceded colonisation, may be placed at least two or three centuries before the Christian era, if not earlier still.

II. EARLY COLONIES

1. *General Review*

Local traditions refer to the establishment of political authority by immigrant Indians almost all over south-east Asia. According to the Burmese chronicles, Abhirāja, a prince of the Śākya clan of Kapilavastu, marched with an army to upper Burma, founded the city of Sankissa (Tagaung) on the upper Irrāwadi, and set himself up as king of the surrounding region. His elder son ruled over Arakan, while the younger continued at Sankissa. Thirty-one generations later, during the time of Buddha, a second band of Kshatriyas came from the Gangetic valley. After they had ruled for sixteen generations, they lost upper Burma and founded a new kingdom in lower Burma, with their capital at Śrī-Kshetra (near Prome). According to the traditions current among the Mons or Talaings in the coastal districts of lower Burma, Indian colonists from the lower courses of the rivers Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī had at a remote time crossed the sea and formed settlements in the delta of the Irrāwadi and on the adjoining coast. Local tradition in Yunnan (S. China) affirms that the royal family was descended from Aśoka. According to the traditions of Arakan, the first king of the province was the son of a king of Banaras. The founding of Ligor in the Malay Peninsula is ascribed to a descendant Aśoka. According to the Cambodian annals an exiled prince of Indraprastha founded the kingdom of Cambodia. According to another tradition current in the southern part of Cambodia, and recorded by a Chinese in the third century A.D., a Hindu named Kauṇḍinya founded a kingdom in that region. Many legends current in Java associate the original colonists and their leader Āji Saka with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* ruling at Hastināpura. Another cycle of legends gives the credit for the colonisation of Java to the people of Kaliṅga. In one of them we read that twenty thousand families were sent to Java from Kaliṅga.

These traditions cannot, of course, be regarded as historical, but taken collectively they may be regarded as fair evidence of the early colonisation of this region by Indians. Fortunately, this conclusion is corroborated by more positive evidences. Thus, the settlement of Indians in Burma, long before the second century A.D., is proved by Sanskrit place-names, mentioned by Ptolemy, which have been located with a fair degree of certainty in Burma. The discovery of isolated Indian Brāhmī alphabets on stones in Burma also points in the same direction. According to the Chinese chronicles of the third century A.D., a kingdom called Lin-yang, which has been located in central Burma, had an ardent Buddhist population of over 10,000 families, including several thousand monks. Archaeological remains in Burma also prove that the Indian language and literature, both Sanskrit and Pāli, were cultivated, and Indian religions, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, were adopted by the people in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Hindus must have also established political authority in Java by the beginning of the second century A.D., for in A.D. 132 king Devavarman of Java sent an embassy to China. There were probably several other Hindu kingdoms in Indo-China and the East Indies, though we know nothing definite about them before A.D. 300. But we possess a somewhat detailed account of two kingdoms founded in Cambodia and Annam.

2. *Fu-nan* (*Cambodia*)

An account of a Hindu kingdom in Cambodia has been preserved by the Chinese. They call it 'Fu-nan'. It was founded by a Hindu named Kauṇḍinya in the first century A.D. The people of Fu-nan were almost savages. They went about naked and decorated themselves with tattoo marks. Kauṇḍinya introduced the elements of civilised life among them; in particular, he made the women wear clothes. His kingdom comprised Cochin-China and the southern part of Cambodia.

Kauṇḍinya's descendants ruled for 100 years, after which the kingdom passed to the general Fan-che-man, who was elected king by the people (c. A.D. 200). He organised a powerful navy and conquered a large number of neighbouring states, which henceforth became vassals of Fu-nan. Nearly the whole of Siam and parts of Laos and the Malay Peninsula acknowledged the authority of Fu-nan, which thus became the first Hindu colonial empire in Indo-China. The Indian form of the name Fan-che-man cannot be ascertained, but *Fan*, which forms a part of every name, is evidently a corruption of *Varman*.

The next king Fan-chan sent an embassy to China in A.D. 243. He also sent one of his relations named Su-Wu as an ambassador to India. Su-Wu embarked at Teu-kiu-li, probably the famous port of Takkola, and reached the mouth of the Gaṅgā after about a year. He was cordially welcomed by the Indian king and returned to Fu-nan after four years, with two envoys and some presents sent by the latter.

These four years witnessed some palace-revolutions, after which Fan-siun became king of Fu-nan. During his reign the Chinese ambassador K'ang T'ai visited Fu-nan, probably between A.D. 245

and 250. K'ang T'ai wrote an account of Fu-nan, which has supplied us with the interesting details given above. He pointed out that the men of Fu-nan went about naked, but king Fan-siun stopped this indecent habit. Fan-siun had a long reign and sent embassies to China in the years A.D. 268, 285, 286 and 287.

3. *Champā* (*Annam*)

The Hindu kingdom in Annam was called Champā. Its capital was Champā-nagarī or Champā-pura, whose ruins lie at Trakieu, a little to the south of Quang Nam. The people were accordingly called Cham. The first historical Hindu king, so far known, is Śrī-Māra, who established a dynasty about the second century A.D. He probably freed the country from the yoke of the Chinese, whose dominions included the whole of Tonkin and a considerable part of northern Annam.

The downfall of the Imperial Han dynasty in China in A.D. 220 offered an opportunity to the Hindu kings of Champā to extend and consolidate their kingdom. Some time between A.D. 220 and 230 the king of Champā sent a diplomatic mission to the governor of Kia-cha (Tonkin) at the invitation of the latter. But in A.D. 248 the Cham king made a naval attack, ravaged even the provincial capital with several other towns, and defeated the fleet that was sent against him. At last a treaty was concluded by which the district of Kiu-su, corresponding to modern Thua-Thien, was ceded to Champā.

The Hindu kings of this period are known from Chinese sources alone, and as is the case with those of Fu-nan, their names begin with Fan (*Varman*). Fan Hiong, who succeeded to the throne of Champā some time between A.D. 270 and 280, was probably a descendant of Śrī-Māra on the female side. He continued the policy of extending his kingdom to the north at the cost of the Chinese. He made an alliance with the king of Fu-nan for this purpose and frequently ravaged the Chinese possessions in Tonkin. For ten years the struggle went on and the Chinese were reduced to great straits. At last, peace was concluded in A.D. 280, probably on terms unfavourable to the Chinese.

Fan Hiong was succeeded by his son Fan-yi who had a peaceful and prosperous reign of more than half a century and who devoted his energies to increasing the military power and strengthening the defensive works of the kingdom. He sent an embassy to the Imperial Court in China in A.D. 284 and died in A.D. 336.

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Dīpavaṁsa	Ed. and trans. by H. Oldenberg. London, 1879.
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Jātakamālā of Ārya Śūra	Ed. by H. Kern. Boston, 1891. Eng. trans. by J. Speyer. SBB. London, 1895.
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II. ORIGINAL SOURCES

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CHRONOLOGY

B.C.	
623	Traditional date of Buddha's birth.
566	Probable date of Buddha's birth.
558-530	Cyrus, king of Persia.
544-543	Buddha's death, according to tradition.
c.544-493	Reign of Bimbisāra.
530-522	Cambyses, king of Persia.
528	Traditional date of Mahāvīra's death.
522-486	Darius, king of Persia.
c.520	Behistun inscription of Darius.
c.518	Darius conquers Gandhāra, Sindhu, etc.
c.518	Persepolis inscription of Darius.
517	Darius sends expedition under Scylax to explore the Sindhu.
c.515	Naksh-i-Rustam inscription of Darius.
c.493-462	Reign of Ajātaśatru.
486	Probable date of Buddha's death.
486-465	Xerxes, king of Persia.
c.484-468	Ajātaśatru's war with Lichchhavis.
c.484	Gosāla's death.
468	Probable date of Mahāvīra's death.
462-430	Four successors of Ajātaśatru.
c.430-364	Śiśunāga and his successors.
c.364-324	Nanda dynasty.
330	Darius III indents upon India for a supply of troops to resist Alexander's invasion.
330	Alexander defeats Darius III, and burns his capital Persepolis.
327-325	Alexander's invasion of India.
327 (beginning)	Alexander completes conquest of Eastern Irān beyond the Hindu Kush.
326 (Spring)	Alexander crosses the Sindhu.
326 (May)	Fight between Alexander and Porus.
326 (July)	Alexander's retreat from the Beās.
325 (September)	Alexander leaves India.
325	Assassination of Philippus, satrap in the upper Sindhu valley.
c.324-300	Reign of Chandragupta Maurya.
323	Alexander's death.
321	Partition of Alexander's empire at Triparadisus.
c.305	Seleucus reaches Sindhu.
c.300-273	Bindusāra.
285-247	Ptolemy II Philadelphus, of Egypt, a contemporary of Asoka.
278-239	Antigonus, of Macedonia, a contemporary of Aśoka.

c.273-236	Reign of Aśoka.
c.269	Coronation of Aśoka.
261-246	Antiochus II Theos, of Syria, a contemporary of Aśoka.
c.250	Parthia and Bactria revolt against Antiochus II Theos.
246-226	Seleucus II.
226-223	Seleucus III.
223-187	Antiochus (III) the Great.
221-209	First Tsin dynasty.
217	Buddhist missionaries from India proceed to China, according to Chinese tradition.
c.212	Antiochus III appears in the east.
c.208	Antiochus III turns his arms against Bactria.
c.206	Demetrius concludes formal alliance with Antiochus III.
c.206	Antiochus III leads expedition against N.-W. India.
c.200	Śāliśūka, Maurya king.
c.190	Death of Euthydemus.
c.190-165	Demetrius, Indo-Greek king.
c.187	Assassination of Bṛihadratha, the last Maurya, by Pushyamitra; end of Maurya dynasty.
c.187-75	Śuṅgas.
c.187-151	Pushyamitra.
c.171-136	Mithradates I, of Parthia.
c.171	Eucratides occupies Bactrian throne.
c.165	Yueh-chi were defeated and expelled from Chinese Turkestān.
c.165	Death of Demetrius.
162	Timarchus, satrap of Babylon, revolts against Seleucid Emperor.
c.150	*Indika* of Arrian.
c.150	Eucratides murdered by his son.
138	Probable date of the Chinese coin found at Mysore.
138-128	Phraates II, of Parthia.
128-123	Artabanus I, of Parthia.
c.125	Chinese envoy Chang Kien visits the Yueh-chi capital.
123-88	Mithradates II, of Parthia.
121	Chinese general who leads a military expedition in Central Asia brings a golden statue of Buddha.
c.115-90	Menander.
c.75-30	Kāṇvas.
73-48	Chinese Emperor Hsuan-ti.
58	Initial year of the Vikrama Era.
58	Vonones begins his viceregal career.
57-38	Orodes I, of Parthia.

c. 54-A.D. 24	Strabo.
48-33	Chinese Emperor Yuan-ti.
31-A.D. 68	From Augustus to Nero.
c. 30	Simuka.
27-A.D. 14	Augustus of Rome.
c. 20-A.D. 22	Maues (Moga).
c. 18	End of Vonones's career.
c. 18-1	Spalirises.
c. 5-A.D. 30	Azes I, Śaka king.
2	Yueh-chi rulers in the Oxus valley present Some Buddhist texts to the Chinese court.
A.D. 1-6	Chinese Emperor sends presents to the king of Huang-che (? Kāñchī).
10-40	Artabanus III, of Parthia.
14-37	Tiberius.
15	Mahākshatrapa Śoṇḍāsa.
15-65	Kadphises I.
21-50	Gondophernes.
21	Laika Kusuluka, viceroy of Maues.
c. 28-40	Azilises.
c. 35-79	Azes II.
c. 39-47	Vardanes of Parthia.
41-54	Claudius.
43-44	Apollonius of Tyana visits Taxila, and Phraotes, a Parthian, in possession of Taxila, according to Philostratus.
45	Hippalus makes the great discovery of the monsoon wind.
46	Takht-i-Bahi inscription.
65	Ming-ti sees a golden man (Buddha) in dream.
c. 67	Kāśyapa Mātaṅga introduces Buddhism into China.
c. 65-75	Kadphises II.
68	Death of Nero.
c. 70-80	"Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" written by an Egyptian Greek.
77	Completion of Pliny's *Natural History*.
78	Initial year of the Śaka Era.
c. 78-101 (or 102)	Kanishka.
89-105	Emperor Ho-ti.
98-117	Trajan of Rome.
102-106	Vāsishka.
105	Destruction of the Nabatean kingdom of Petra.
106-138	Huvishka.
c. 106-130	Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.
117-138	Hadrian.
119	Kanishka II.
c. 119-125	Nahapāna.
120	Musicians and jugglers from Ta-tsin pass through Burma on their way to China.

c. 125	Nahapāna defeated and killed by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.
129-30	Mahārāja Bhīmasena.
130-31	Chashṭana ruling jointly with Rudradāman.
c. 130-159	Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi.
138-161	Antoninus Pius.
c. 140	*Geography* of Ptolemy.
c. 140	Pulumāvi on the throne of Pratishṭhāna, according to Ptolemy's *Geography.*
c. 145-176	Vāsudeva, Kushāṇa.
150-151	Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman.
155-230	Dion Cassius.
c. 159-166	Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi.
159-165	Kauśikīputra Bhadramagha of Kauśāmbī.
164-66	Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī (Magha king).
c. 167-174	Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi.
168	Bhadradeva (Magha king).
c. 174-203	Yajña Sātakarṇi.
178	Mahā-kshatrapa Jīvadāman.
c. 180-250	Philostratus.
180-81	Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I.
181-189	Mahā-kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I.
185	Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa of Kauśāmbī.
188-91	Rudrasiṁha I issued coins as a Kshatrapa.
188-190	Date of coins of Īśvaradatta (according to Bhandarkar).
191-197	Mahā-kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I.
197-99	Mahā-kshatrapa Jīvadāman.
201-223	Mahā-kshatrapa Rudrasena I.
c. 203-209	Vijaya (Sātavāhana).
208-17	Mahārāja Bhīmavarman of Kauśāmbī.
c. 209-219	Chandraśrī (or Chaṇḍaśrī) (Sātavāhana).
217	Caracalla.
218-222	Heliogabalus.
c. 219-227	Pulomā (Sātavāhana).
c. 220	Death of Clement of Alexandria.
222-223	Mahā-kshatrapa Saṅghadāman.
223-237	Mahā-kshatrapa Dāmasena.
226-241	Ardashir I Babagan, founder of the Sassanian Dynasty.
227-239	Emperor Ming.
230	Yueh-chi king Po-t'iao (? Vāsudeva) sends ambassador to China.
237-240	Date of coins of Īśvaradatta (according to Rapson).
238-239	Mahā-kshatrapa Yasodāman.
239-251	Mahā-kshatrapa Vijayasena.
247	Seng-hui (Saṅghabhadra) builds a monastery at Nanking, and founds a Buddhist school there.

248-249	Starting year of Kalachuri or Chedi era
251-255	Mahā-kshatrapa Dāmajadaśrī III.
255-257	Mārajīvaka translates Buddhist texts.
255-277	Mahā-kshatrapa Rudrasena II.
265-290	Emperor Wu.
270-275	Aurelian.
273	Aurelian sacks Palmyra.
275-279	Kshatrapa Viśvasiṁha.
278	Archelaos of Carrah.
279-282	Kshatrapa Bhartṛidāman.
282-295	Mahā-kshatrapa Bhartṛidāman.
290-306	Emperor Houei-Ti of Tsin dynasty.
293-305	Kshatrapa Viśvasena.

GENEALOGY

(Figures within brackets after the names of kings refer to regnal years)

I. UP TO THE END OF THE NANDA DYNASTY

(According to Mahāvaṁsa)

A. Haryaṅka Kula.
   1. Bimbisāra (52)
   2. Ajātaśatru (32)
   3. Udayabhadra (16)
   4. Anuruddha }
   5. Muṇḍa } (8)
   6. Nāgadāsaka (24)

B. Śiśunāgas.
   7. Susunāga (18)
   8. Kālāsoka (28)
   9. Ten sons of Kālāsoka (22)

C. Nine Nandas. (22).

(According to the Purāṇas)

A. Śiśunāga Dynasty.
   1. Śiśunāga (40)
   2. Kākavarṇa (36)
   3. Kshemadharman (20)
   4. Kshatraujas (40)
   5. Bimbisāra (28)
   6. Ajātaśatru (25)
   7. Darśaka (25)
   8. Udāyin (33)
   9. Nandivardhana (40)

10. Mahānandin (43).

B. Nanda Dynasty.

11. Mahāpadma (88 or 28).

12. 8 sons (12).

[N.B. The regnal years are differently given in the different Purāṇas. The figures given are taken from *DKA* pp. 68 ff.]

II. MAURYA DYNASTY

(According to the Purāṇas)

1. Chandragupta (24)
2. Bindusāra (25; 28 according to Mahāvaṁsa)
3. Aśoka (36; 37 according to Mahāvaṁsa)

Matsya Purāṇa	*Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*
3. Asoka (Aśoka's grandson) (?)	3. Aśoka
4. Daśaratha (8)	4. Kunāla (8)
5. Samprati (9)	5. Bandhupālita (8)
6. Śatadhanvā (6)	6. Indrapālita (10)
7. Bṛihadratha (70, prob. a misreading of 7)	7. Devavarmā (7)
	8. Satadhanu (8)
	9. Bṛihadratha (7)

[Some versions of Vāyu add Daśona (after Bandhupālita), his son Daśaratha, his son Samprati, and Śāliśūka, ruling respectively for 7, 8, 9, and 13 years. Matsya, Vishṇu and Bhāgavata give the total number of kings as 10 while Vāyu (generally) and Brahmāṇḍa give the number as 9.]

III. ŚUṄGA DYNASTY

1. Pushyamitra (36)
2. Agnimitra (8)
3. Sujyeshṭha or Vasujyeshṭha (7)
4. Vasumitra (10)
5. Andhraka (? Bhadraka, Ardraka, Antaka) (2)
6. Pulindaka (3)
7. Ghosha (or Ghoshavasu) (3)

8. Vajramitra (9)
9. Bhāgavata (32)
10. Devabhūmi (10)

IV. KĀṆVA DYNASTY

1. Vasudeva (9)
2. Bhūmimitra (14)
3. Nārāyaṇa (12)
4. Suśarman (10)

V. ANDHRA OR SĀTAVĀHANA KINGS

(According to Matsya Purāṇa)

1. Simuka (23)
2. Kṛishṇa, younger brother of 1 (10)
3. Sātakarṇi (10)
4. Pūrṇotsaṅga (18)
5. Skandhastambhi (18)
6. Sātakarṇi (56)
7. Lambodara (18)
8. Āpīlaka (12)
9. Meghasvāti (18)
10. Svāti (18)
11. Skandasvāti (7)
12. Mṛigendra Svātikarṇa (3)
13. Kuntala Svātikarṇa (8)
14. Svātikarṇa (1)
15. Pulomāvi (36)
16. Arishṭakarṇa (25)
17. Hāla (5)
18. Mantalaka or Pattalaka (5)
19. Purikasheṇa or Purīndrasena (21)

20. Sundara Sātakarṇi (1)
21. Chakora Sātakarṇi (6 months)
22. Śivasvāti (28)
23. Gautamīputra (21)
24. Pulomā (28)
25. Śivaśrī Pulomā (7)
26. Śivaskandha Sātakarṇi (3)
27. Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi (29)
28. Vijaya (6)
29. Chaṇḍaśrī Sātakarṇi (10)
30. Pulomāvi (7)

VI. INDO-SCYTHIANS

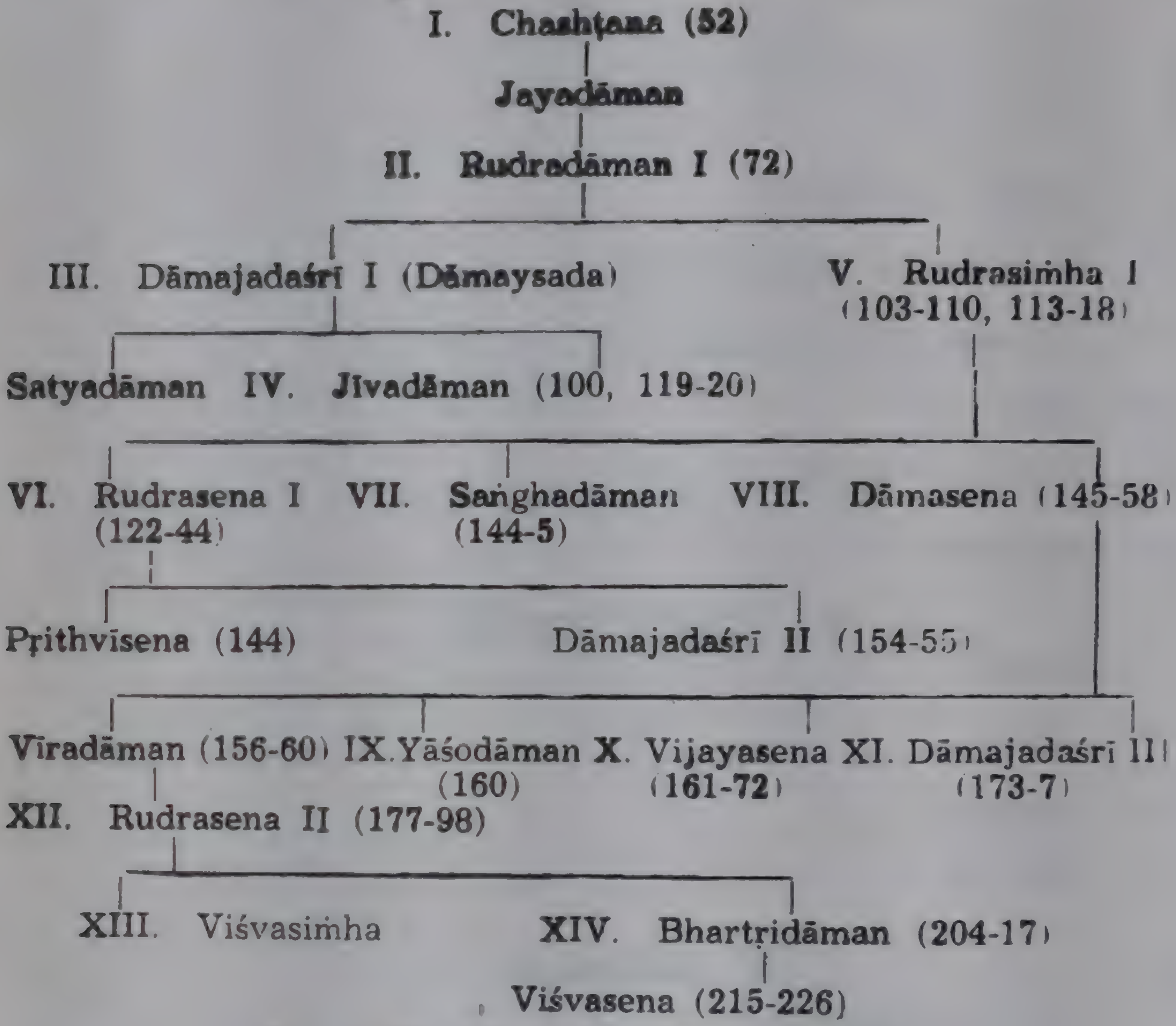
1. Maues
2. Azes
3. Azilises
4. Azes II

VII. KUSHĀṆAS

1. Kujula Kadphises I
2. Wema Kadphises II
3. Kanishka I
4. Vāsishka
5. Huvishka
6. Kanishka II
7. Vāsudeva I
8. Kanishka III
9. Vāsudeva II

VIII. WESTERN ŚAKA SATRAPS OR KĀRDAMAKAS

(Roman numerals denote the succession of Mahākshatrapas. The rest ruled only as Kshatrapas. The known dates in Śaka years are given within brackets).


I. Chashṭana (52)
Jayadāman
II. Rudradāman I (72)
III. Dāmajadaśrī I (Dāmaysada)
V. Rudrasiṁha I (103-110, 113-18)
Satyadāman
IV. Jīvadāman (100, 119-20)
VI. Rudrasena I (122-44)
VII. Saṅghadāman (144-5)
VIII. Dāmasena (145-58)
Pṛithvīsena (144)
Dāmajadaśrī II (154-55)
Vīradāman (156-60)
IX. Yāśodāman (160)
X. Vijayasena (161-72)
XI. Dāmajadaśrī III (173-7)
XII. Rudrasena II (177-98)
XIII. Viśvasiṁha
XIV. Bhartṛidāman (204-17)
Viśvasena (215-226)

IX. LIST OF CEYLONESE KINGS

(The dates are given on the authority of W. Geiger (*Cūlavaṁsa*, Eng. Transl. Part II, p. IX). Figures in italics denote mere traditional dates, whereas the others rest on more or less probable calculation).

Vijaya Dynasty

		B.C.
1.	Vijaya	*(483-445)*
2.	Paṇḍu Vāsudeva	*(444-414)*
3.	Abhaya	*(414-394)*
4.	Paṇḍukābhaya	*(394-307)*
5.	Gaṇatissa	
6.	Muṭasiva	*(307-247)*
7.	Devānaṁpiyatissa	*(247-207)*
8.	Uttiya	*(207-197)*
9.	Mahāsiva	*(197-187)*
10.	Sūratissa	*(187-177)*

11.	Sena	
12.	Guttika	*(177-155)*
13.	Asela	*(155-145)*
14.	Eḷāra	*(145-101)*
15.	Duṭṭhagāmaṇī	(101-77)
16.	Saddhātissa	(77-59)
17.	Thūlathana	(59)
18.	Lañjatissa	(59-50)
19.	Khallāṭanāga	(50-43)
20.	Vāṭṭagāmaṇī	(43)
21-25.	Puḷahattha and 4 others	(43-29)
20.	Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (Restored)	(29-17)
26.	Mahāchūḷī	(17-3)
27.	Choranāga	(3 B.C.-A.D. 9)
		A.D.
28.	Tissa	(9-12)
29.	Queen Anulā	(12-16)
30.	Kuṭakaṇṇatissa	(16-38)
31.	Bhātikābhaya	(38-66)
32.	Mahādāṭhikamahānāga	(67-79)
33.	Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī	(79-89)
34.	Kaṇirajānutissa	(89-92)
35.	Chūlābhaya	(92-93)
36.	Sīvalī	(93)
37.	Iḷanāga	(93-102)
38.	Chandamukhasiva	(103-112)
39.	Yasalālakatissa	(112-120)

End of Vijaya Dynasty

40.	Subharāja	(120-126)

Lambakaṇṇa Dynasty

41.	Vasabha	(127-171)
42.	Vaṅkanāsikatissa	(171-174)
43.	Gajabāhugāmaṇī	(174-196)
44.	Mahallanāga	(196-202)
45.	Bhātikatissa	(203-227)
46.	Kaniṭṭhatissa	(227-245)
47.	Khujjanāga	(246-248)
48.	Kuñchanāga	(248-249)
49.	Sirināga I	(249-268)
50.	Vohārikatissa	(269-291)
51.	Abhayanāga	(291-299)
52.	Sirināga II	(300-302)
53.	Vijayakumāra	(302-303)
54.	Saṁghatissa	(303-307)
55.	Sirisaṅghabodhi	(307-309)
56.	Gothābhaya	(309-322)
57.	Jeṭṭhatissa	(323-333)
58.	Mahāsena	(334-361)

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PLATE I

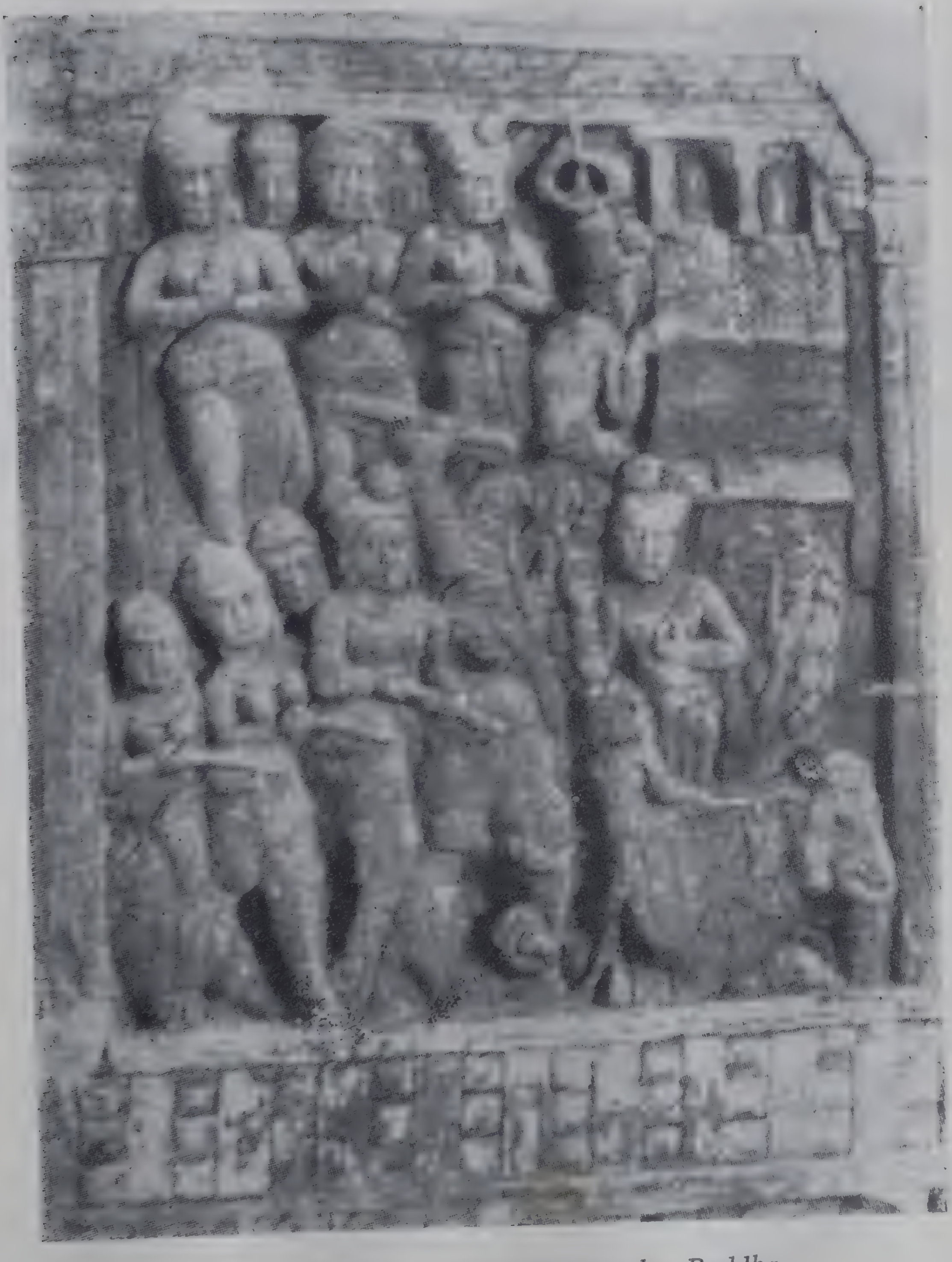


Fig. 1. *Ajātaśatru worshipping the Buddha.*

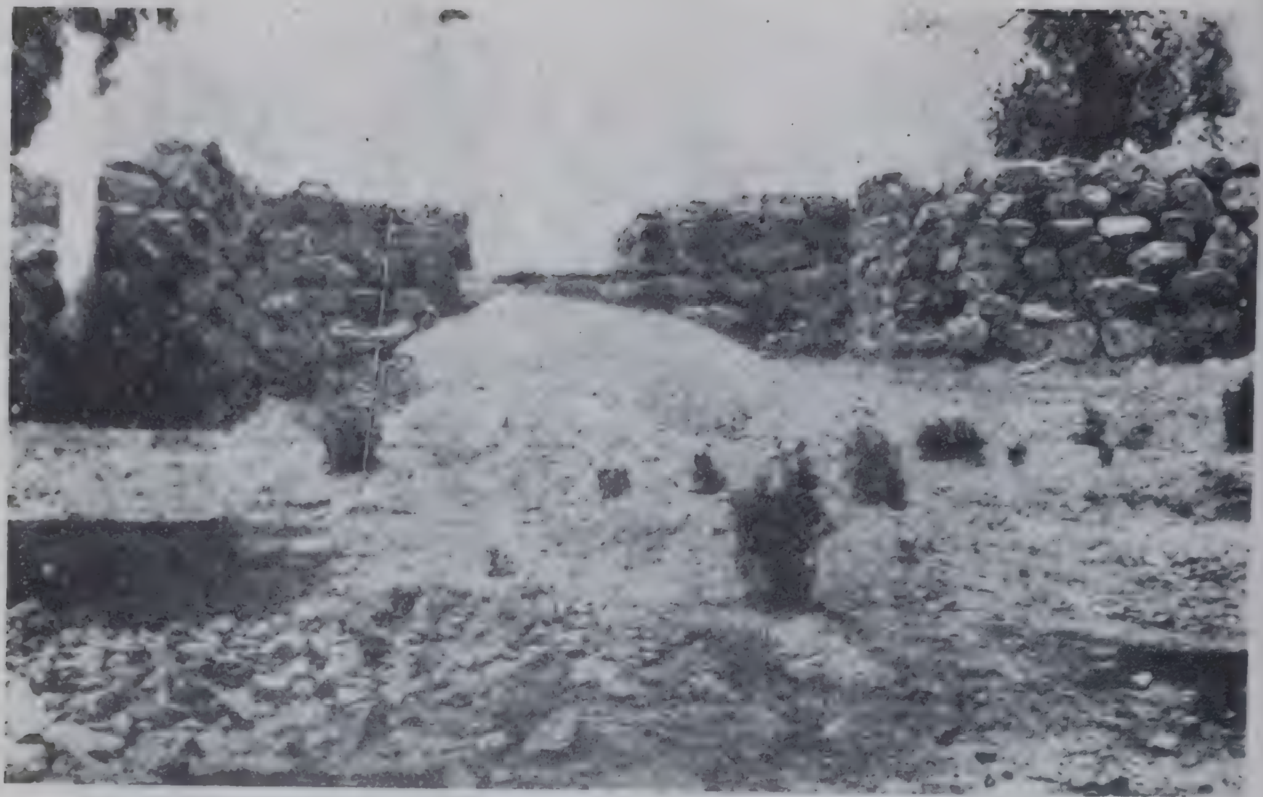


Fig. 2. *Rājagṛiha: Rampart walls of cyclopean masonry.*

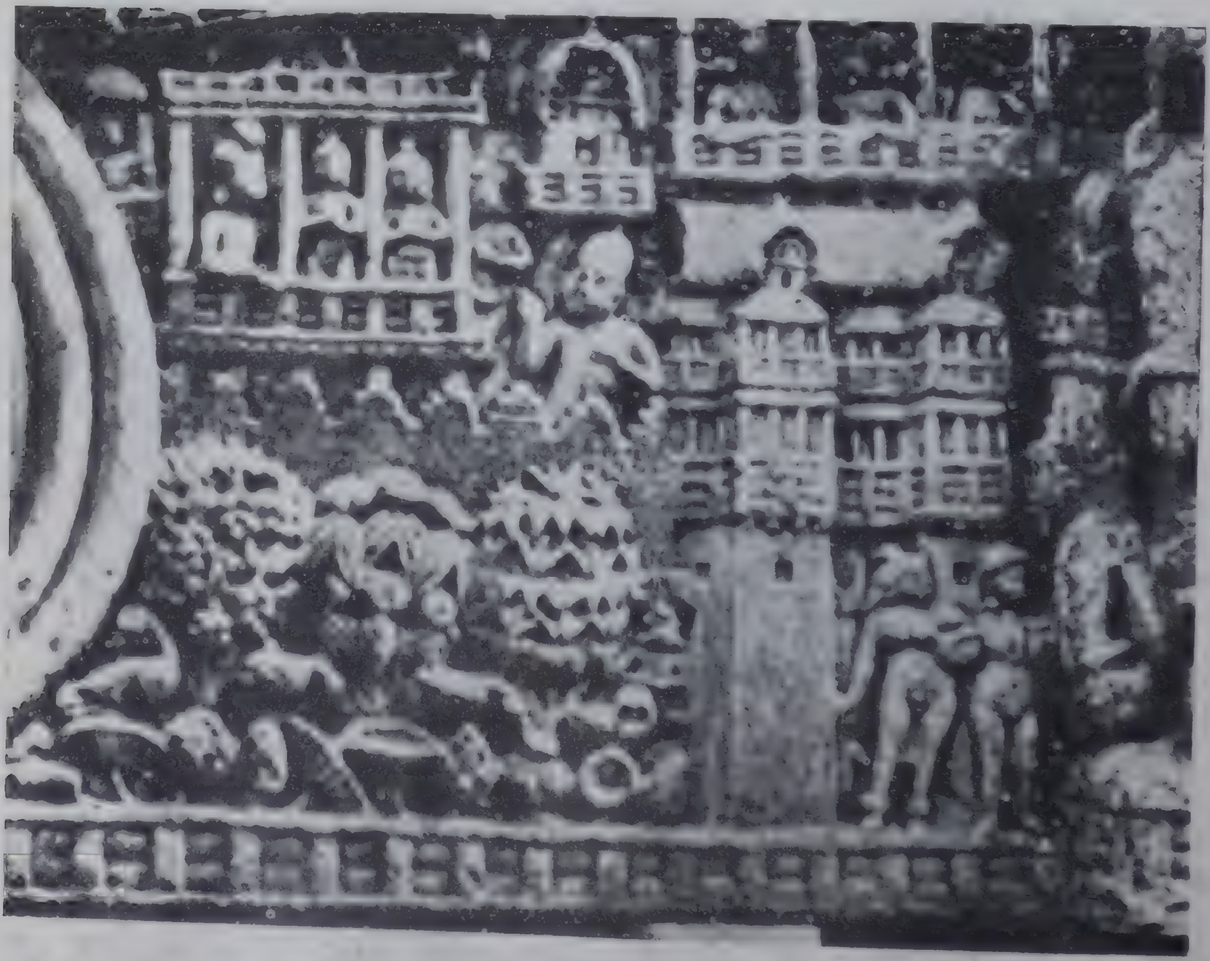


Fig. 3. *City of Jetuttara—relief on the north gate of the great Stūpa at Sānchī.*

PLATE III

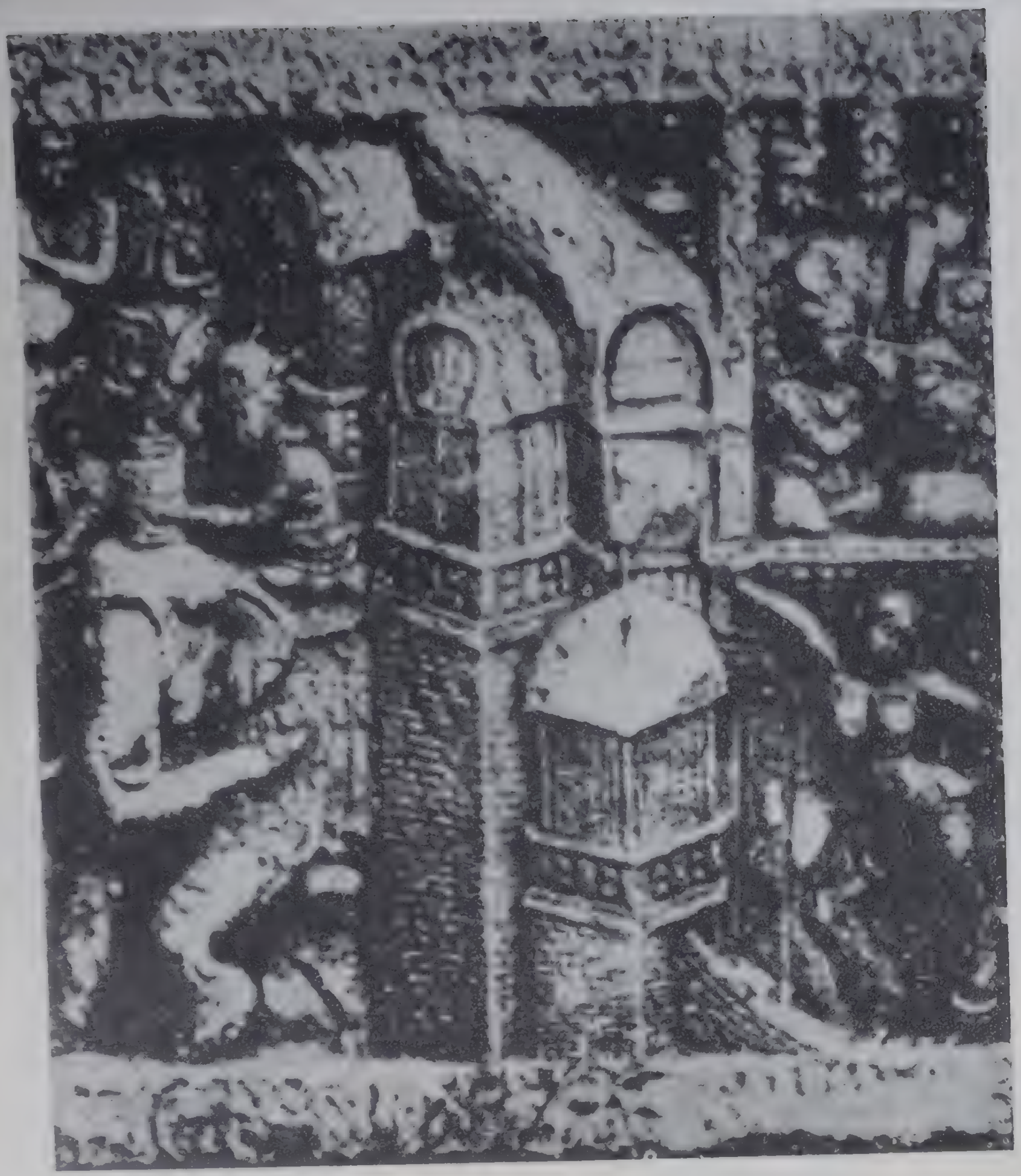


Fig. 4. *City of Kusīnagara—relief from Amaravati.*

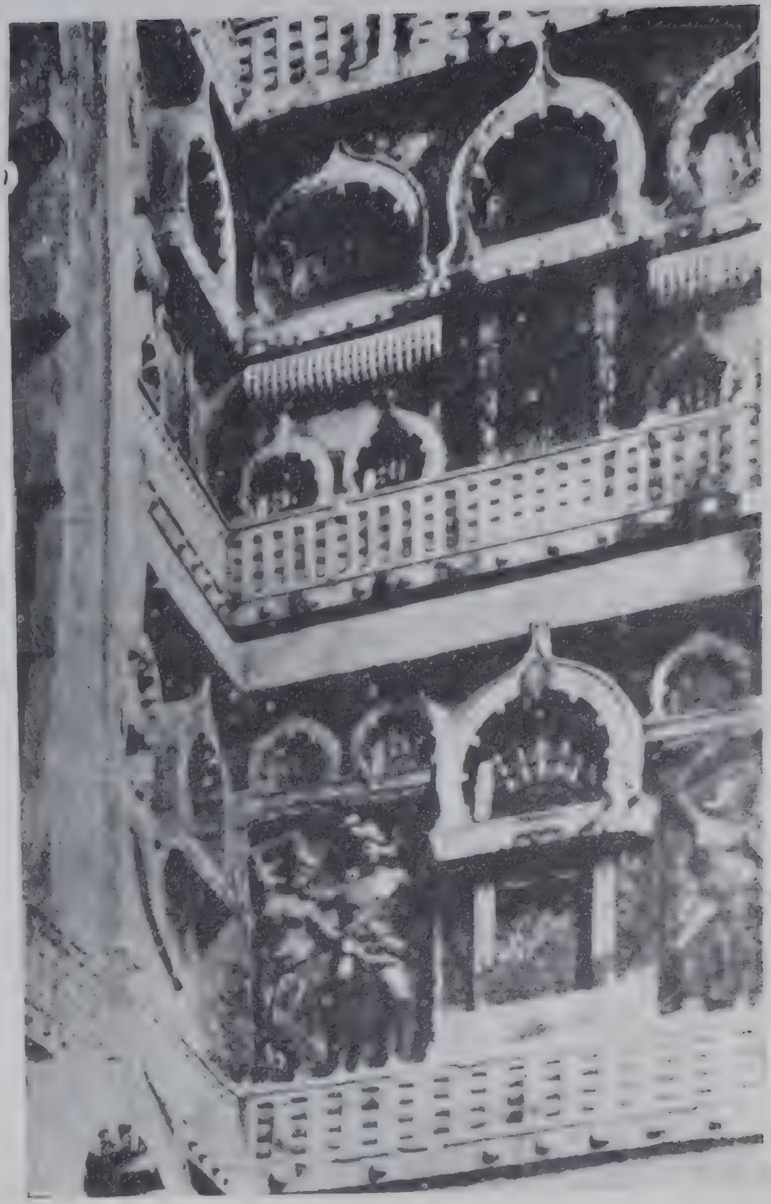


Fig. 5. *Palace façade—Kārle Chaitya cave, right end of verandah.*

PLATE IV

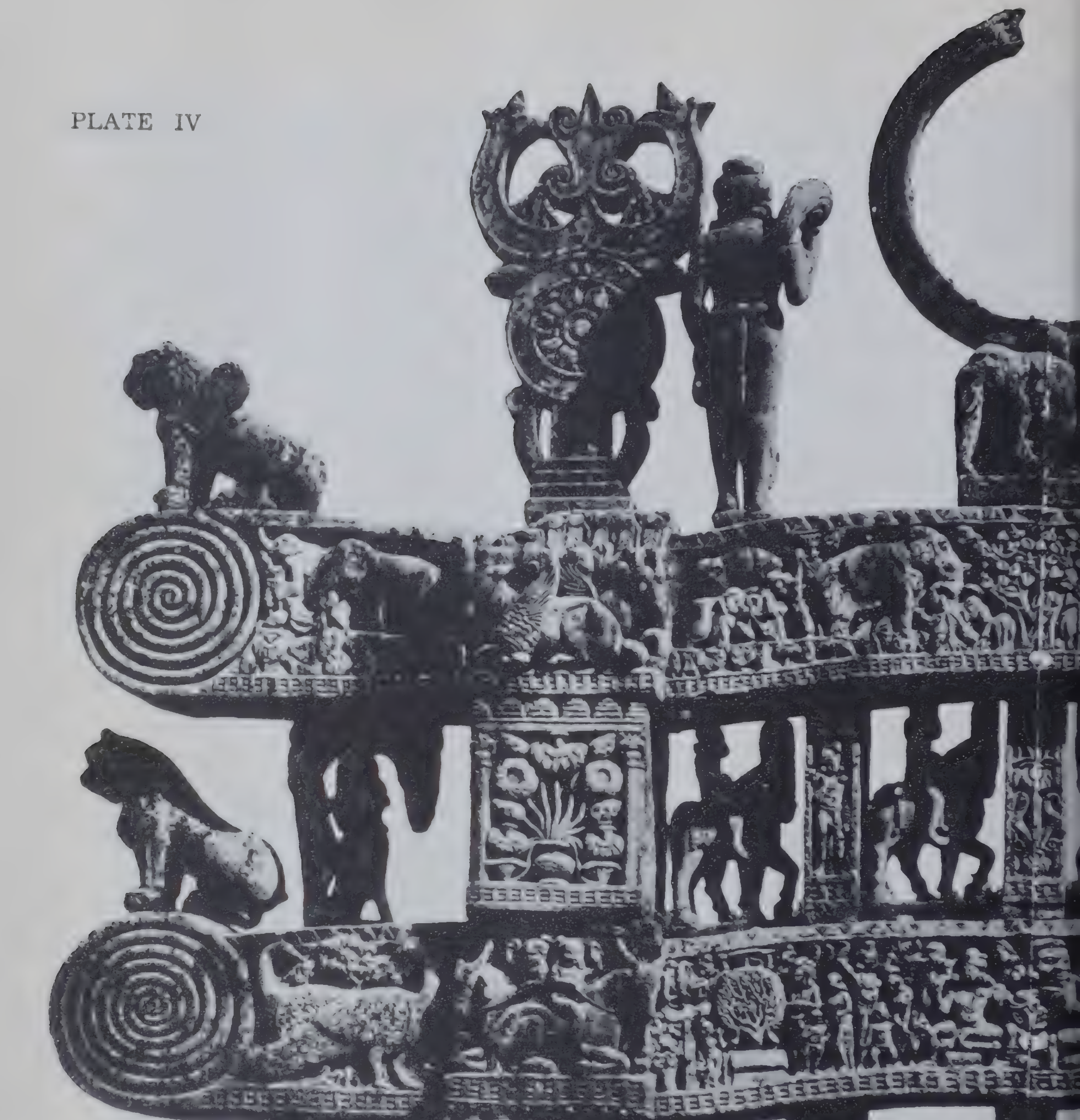
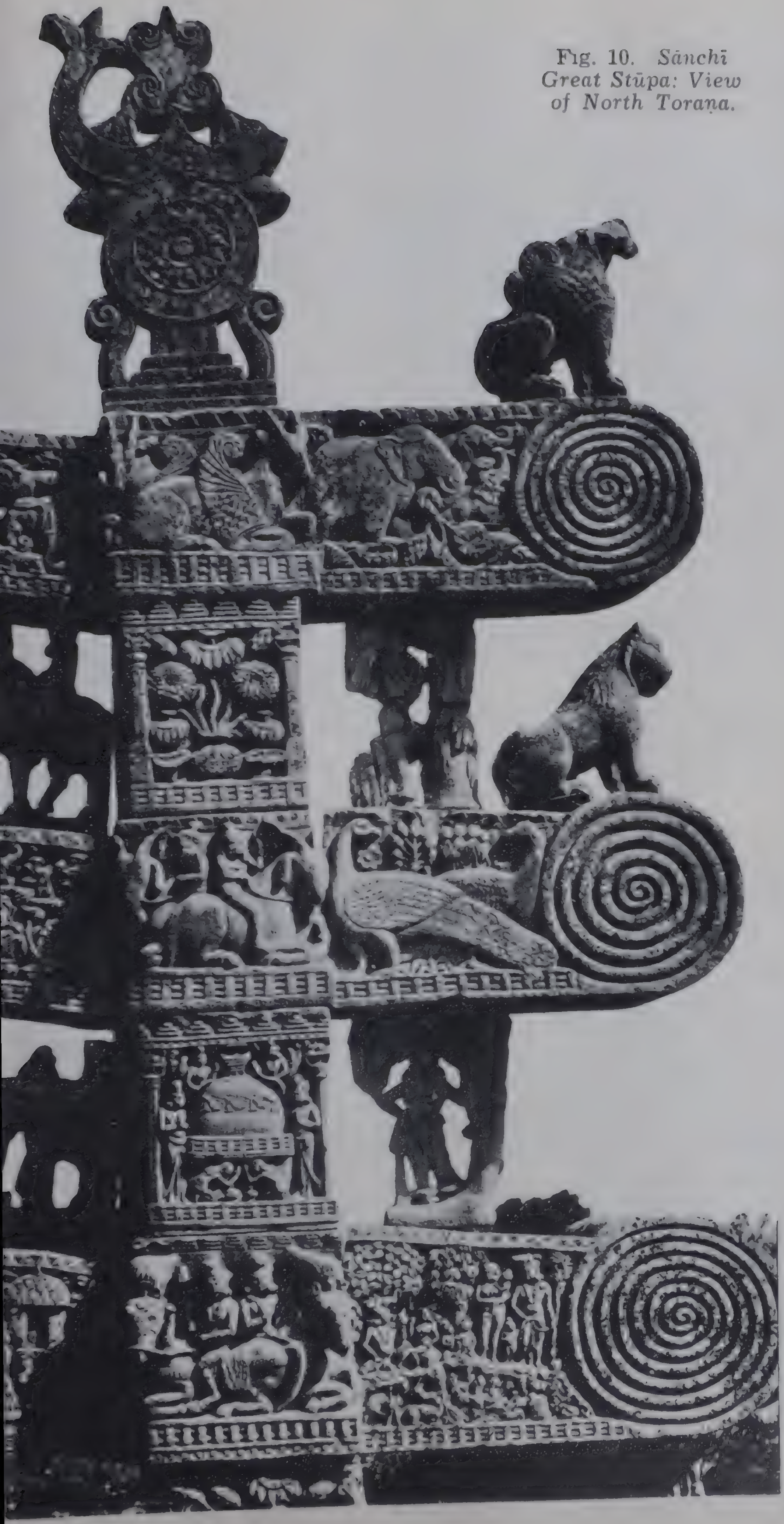


Fig. 10. *Sānchī Great Stūpa: View of North Toraṇa.*



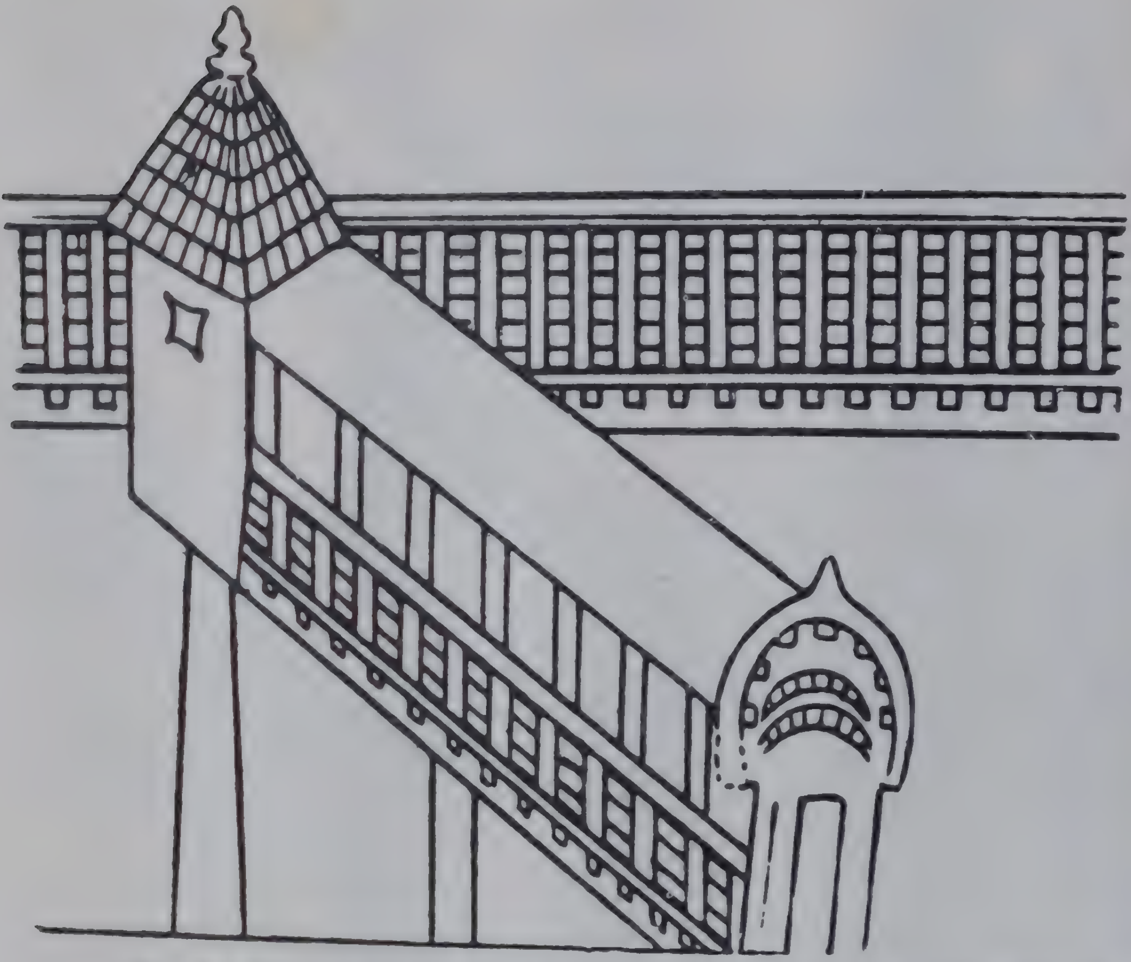


Fig. 6. *Pleasure palace with stairway—from a relief from Mathurā.*

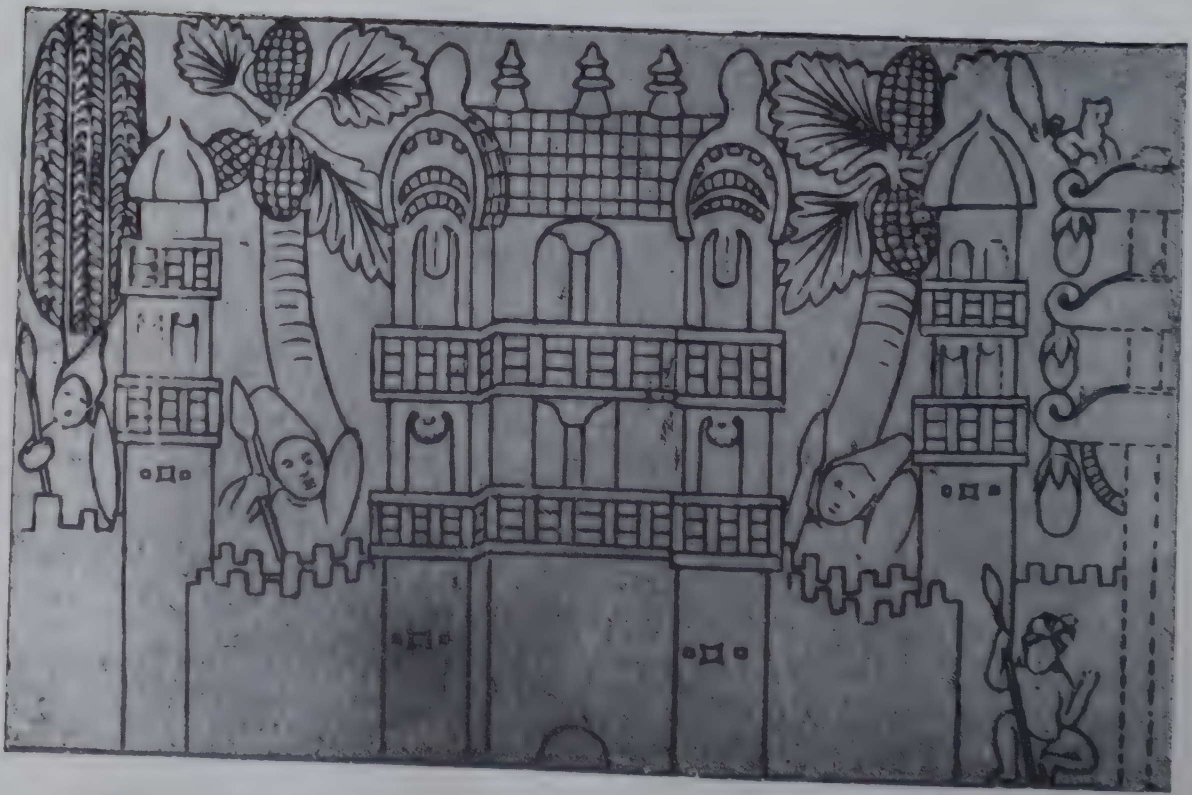


Fig. 7. *Pleasure palace, General view—from a relief from Mathurā.*

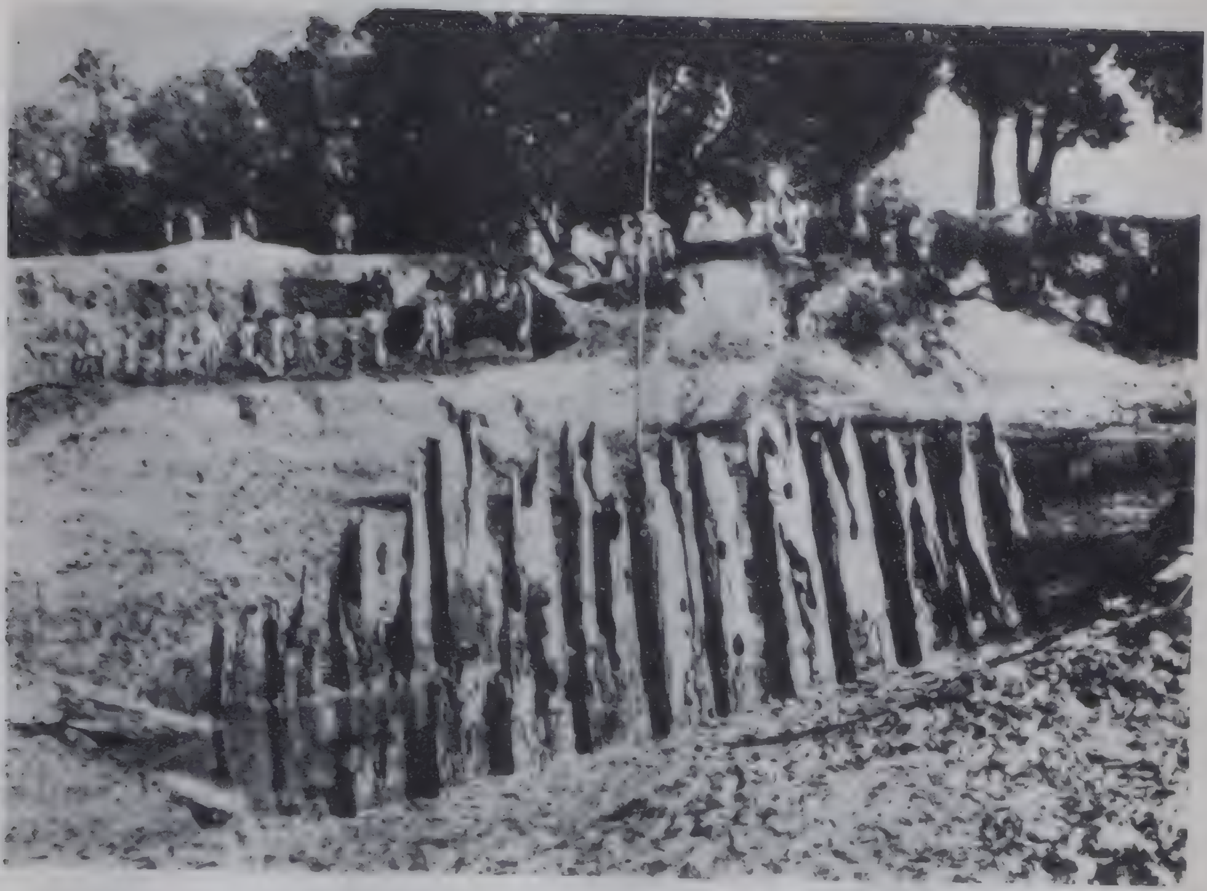


Fig. 8. *Bulandibāgh, Patna: View of excavations.*

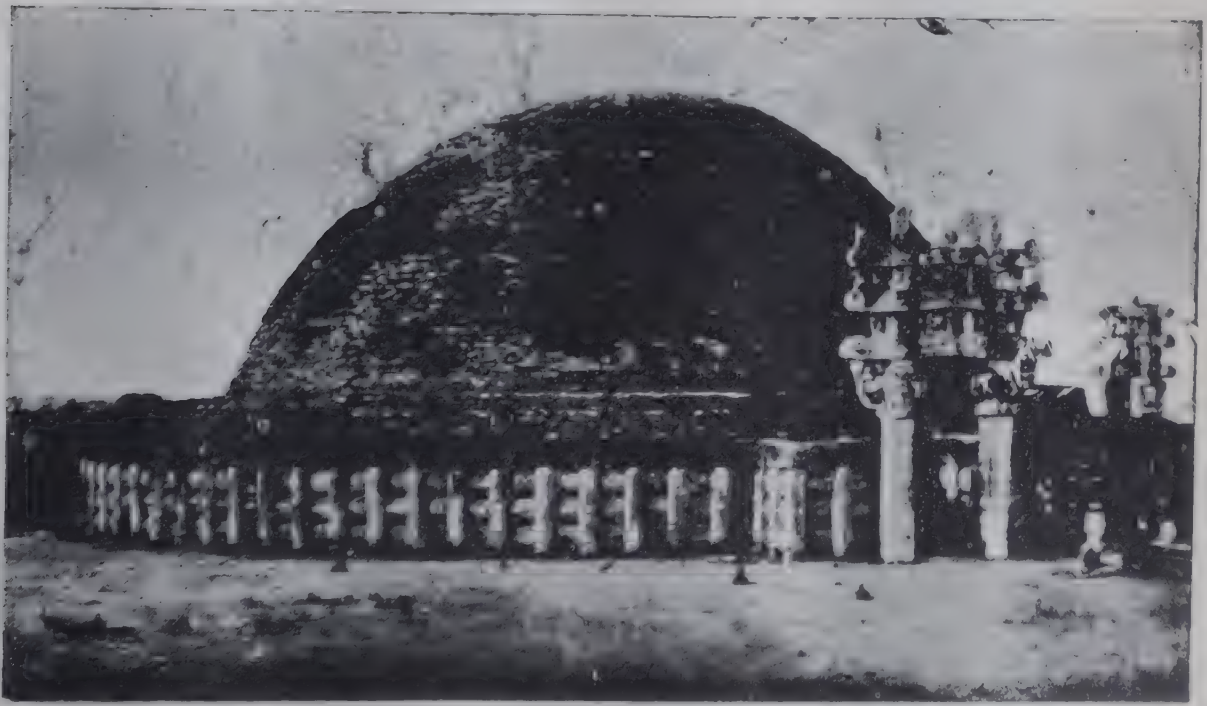


Fig. 9. *Sānchi, Great Stūpa: General view.*

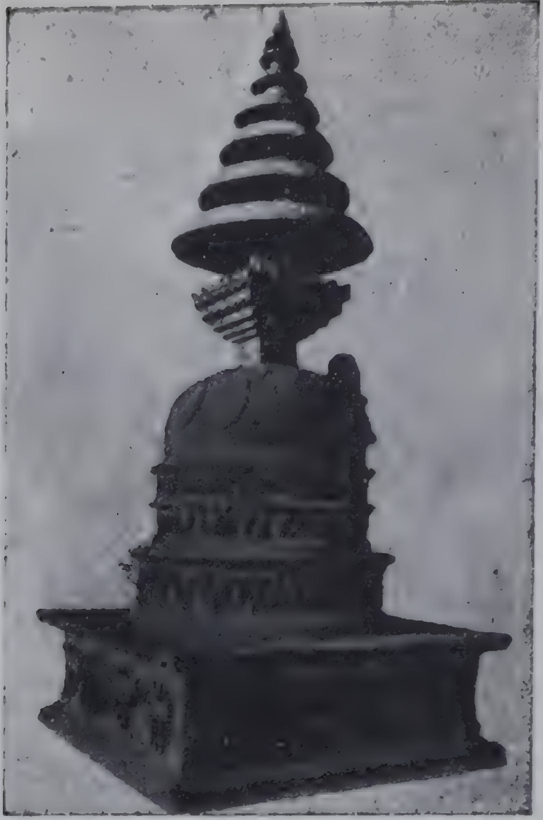


Fig. 11.
Gandhāra:
Votive Stūpa.

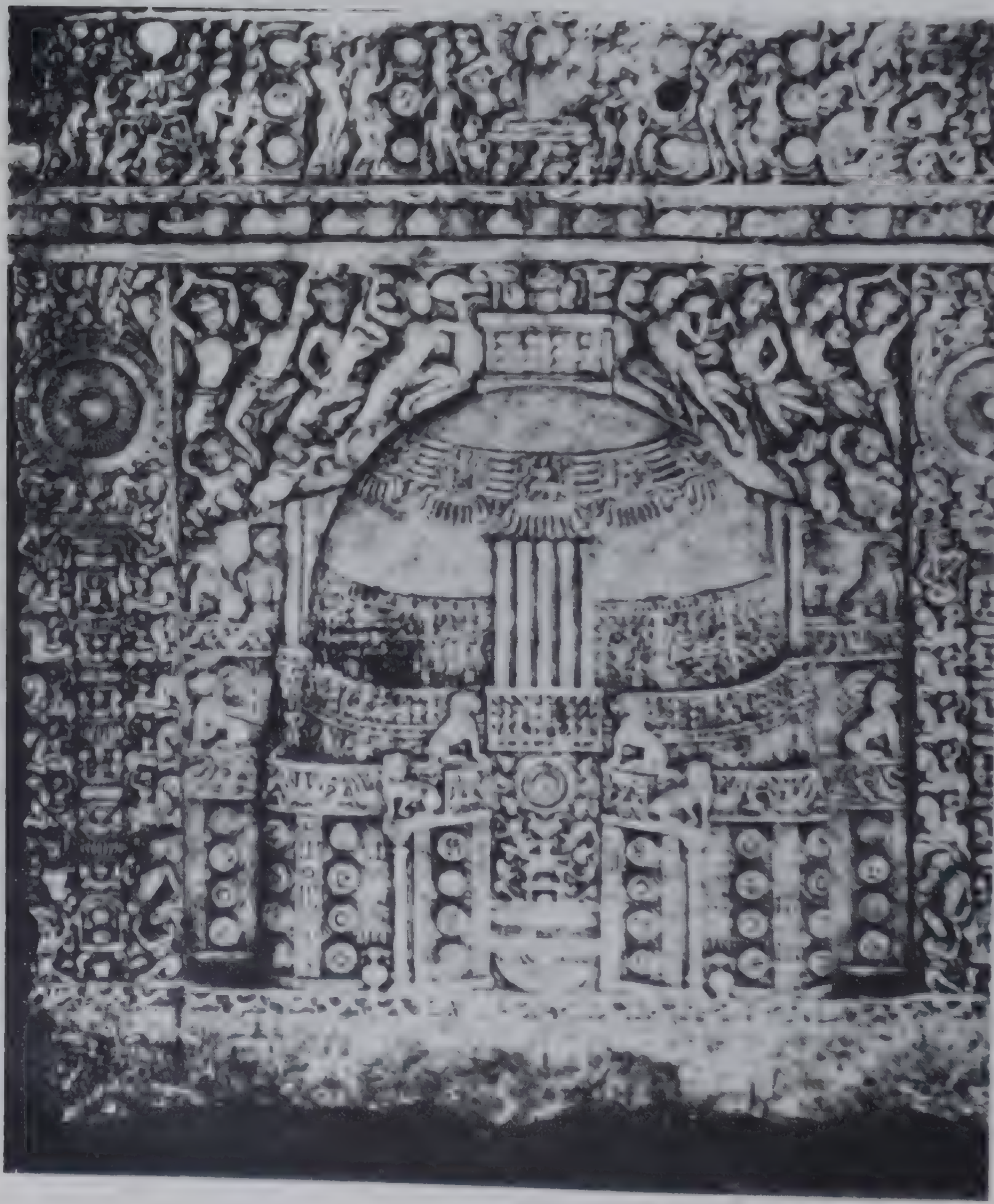


Fig. 12. *Amarāvatī: Replica of Stūpa on a casing slab.*

PLATE VII

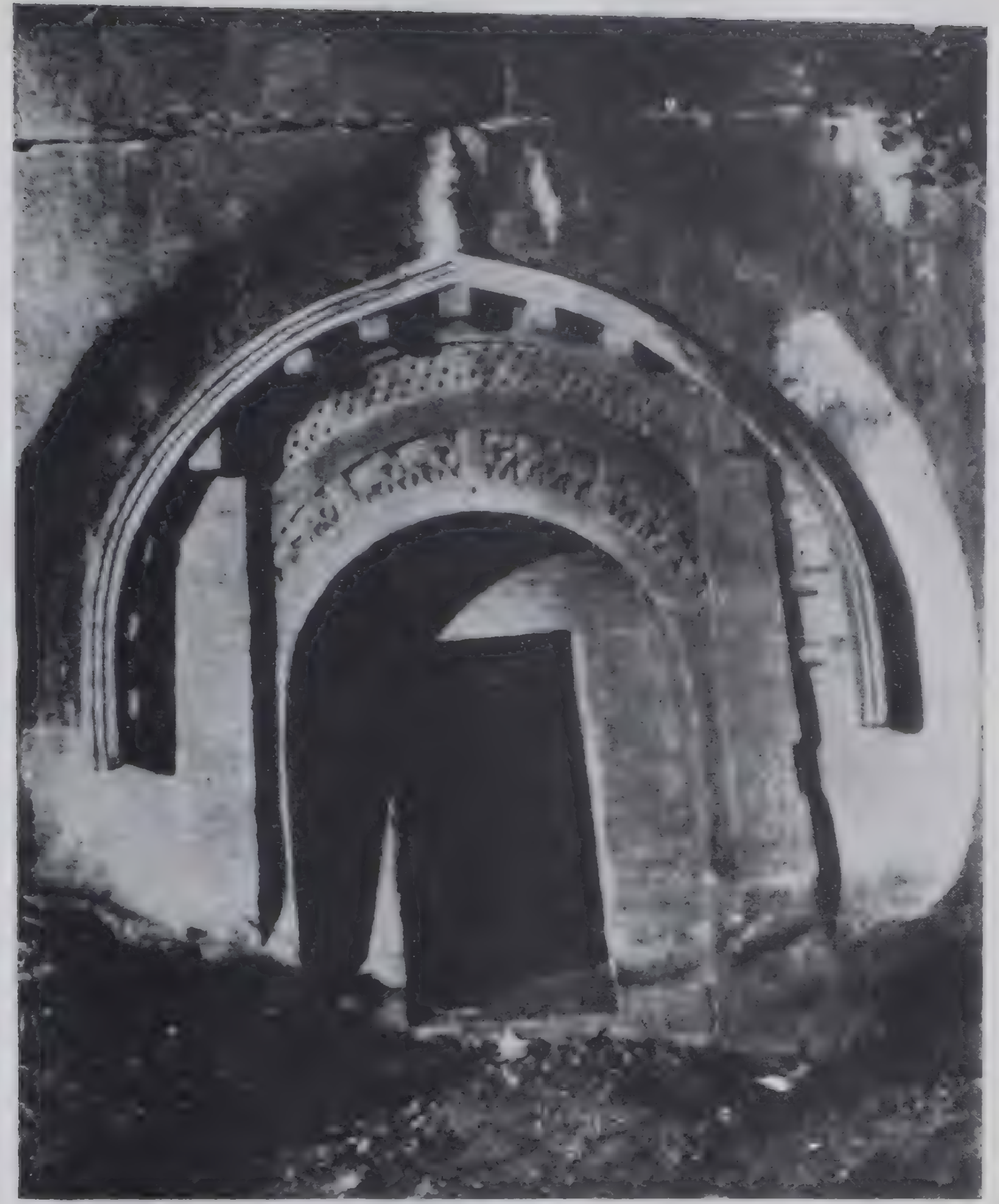


Fig. 13. *Barābar, Lomaśa Ṛishi cave: Facade.*

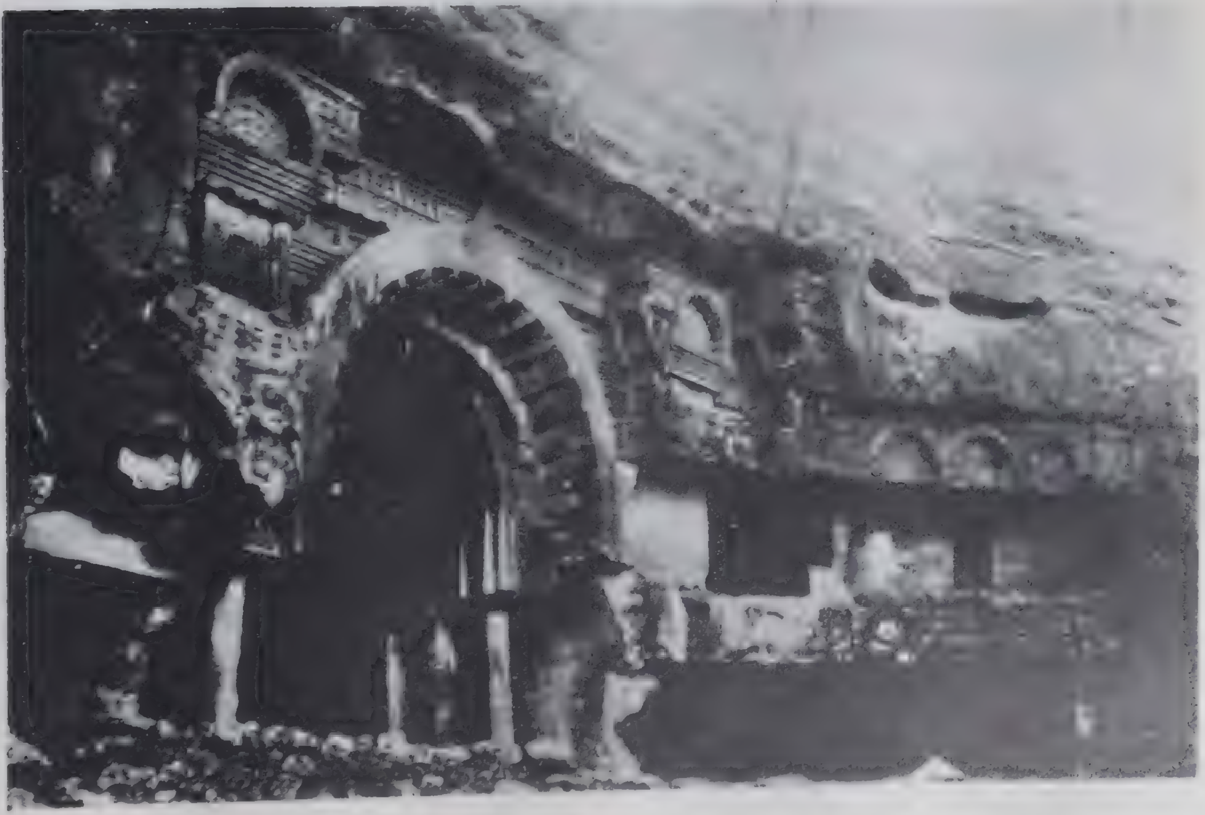


Fig. 14. *Bhājā Chaitya cave: Facade*

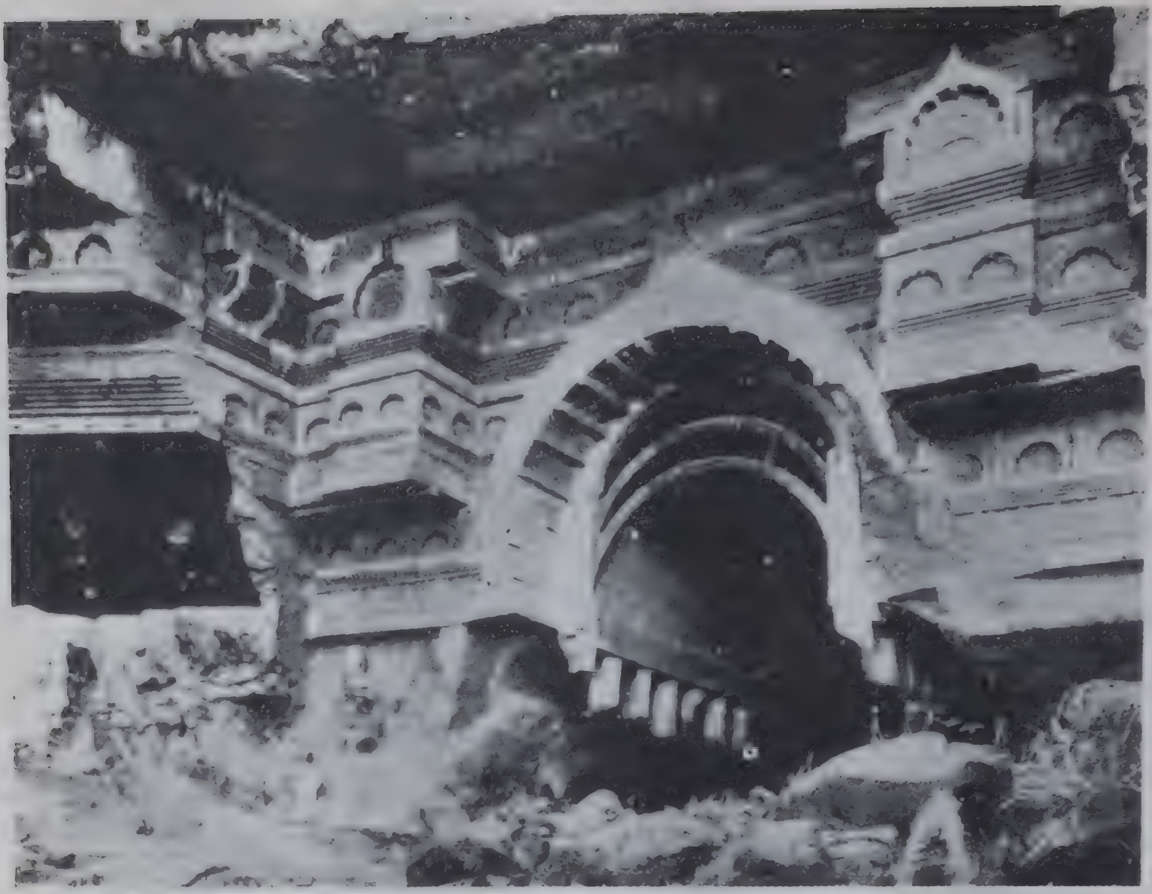


PLATE VIII. Fig. 15. *Kondāne, Chaitya cave: Facade.*

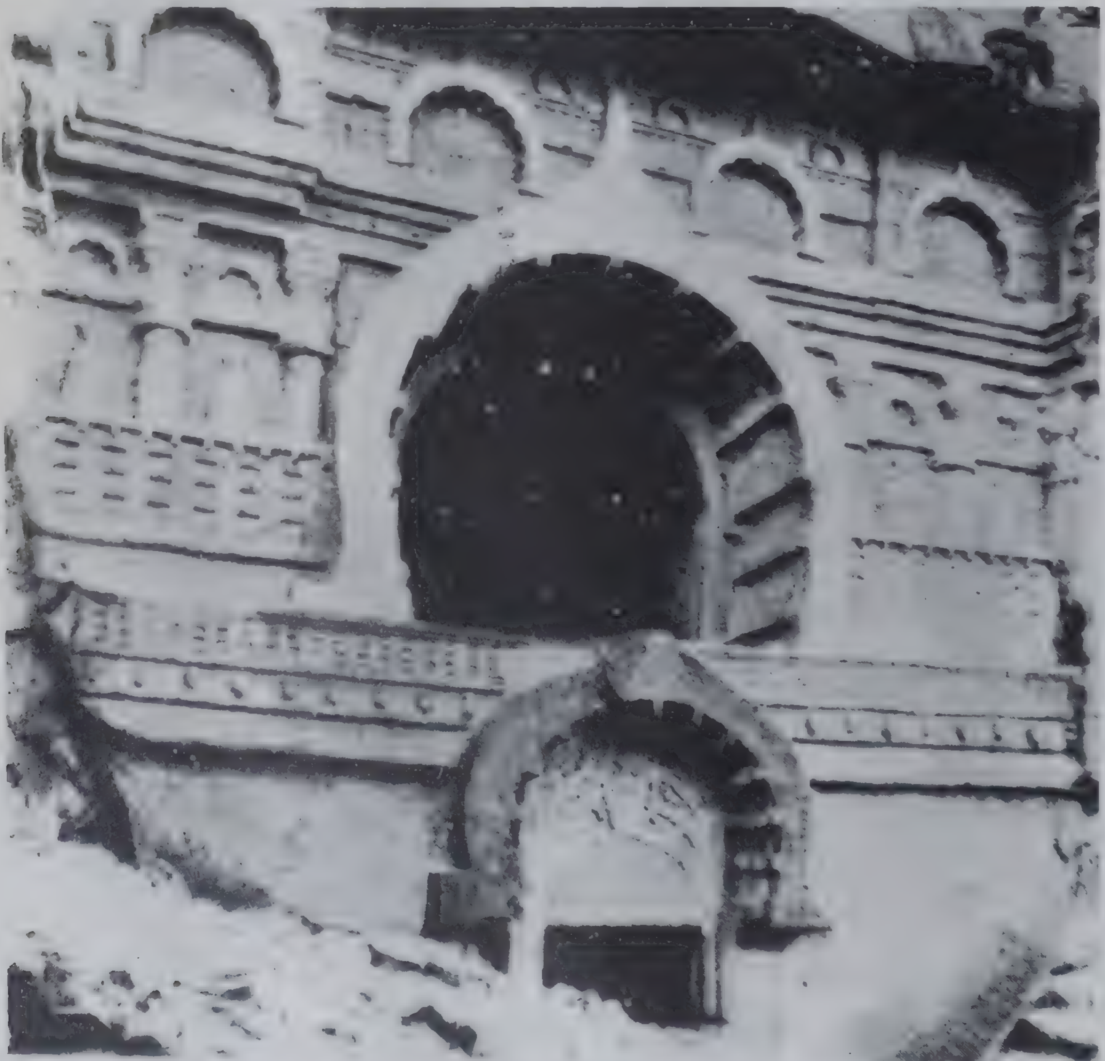


PLATE VIII. Fig. 16. *Nāsik, Chaitya cave: Facade.*

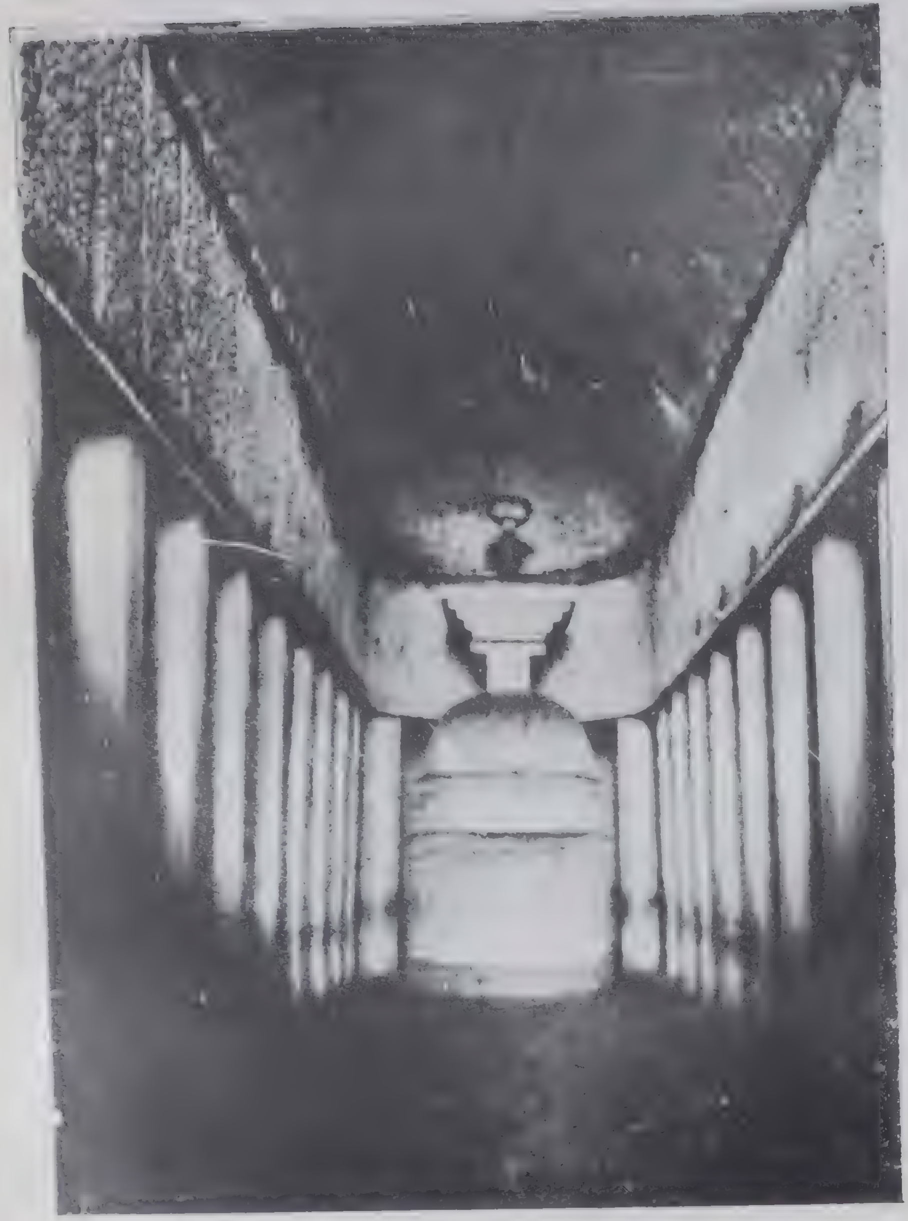


Fig. 17. *Bedsā, Chaitya cave: Interior view.*

PLATE IX

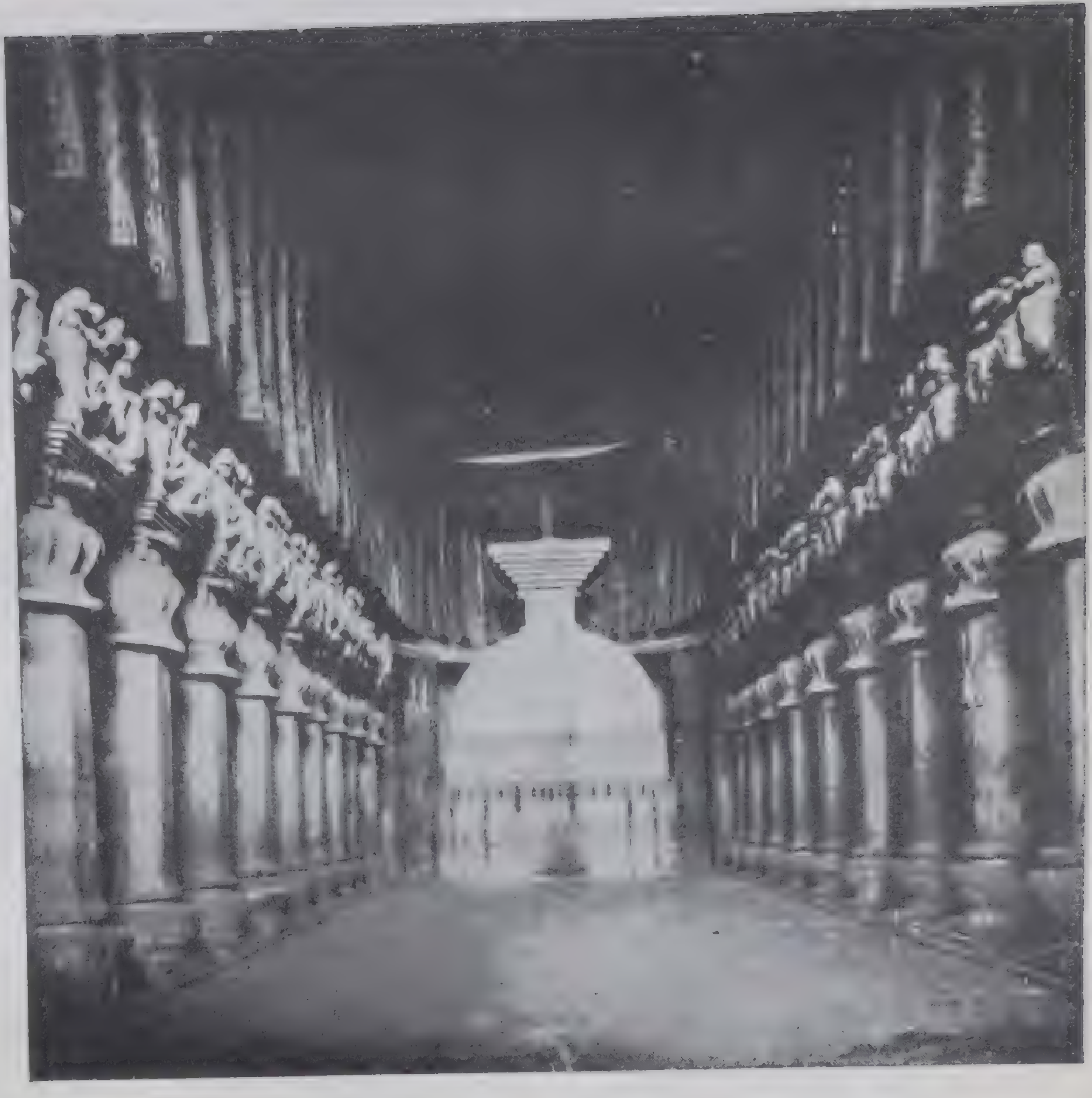


Fig. 18. *Kārle, Chaitya cave: Interior view.*

PLATE X

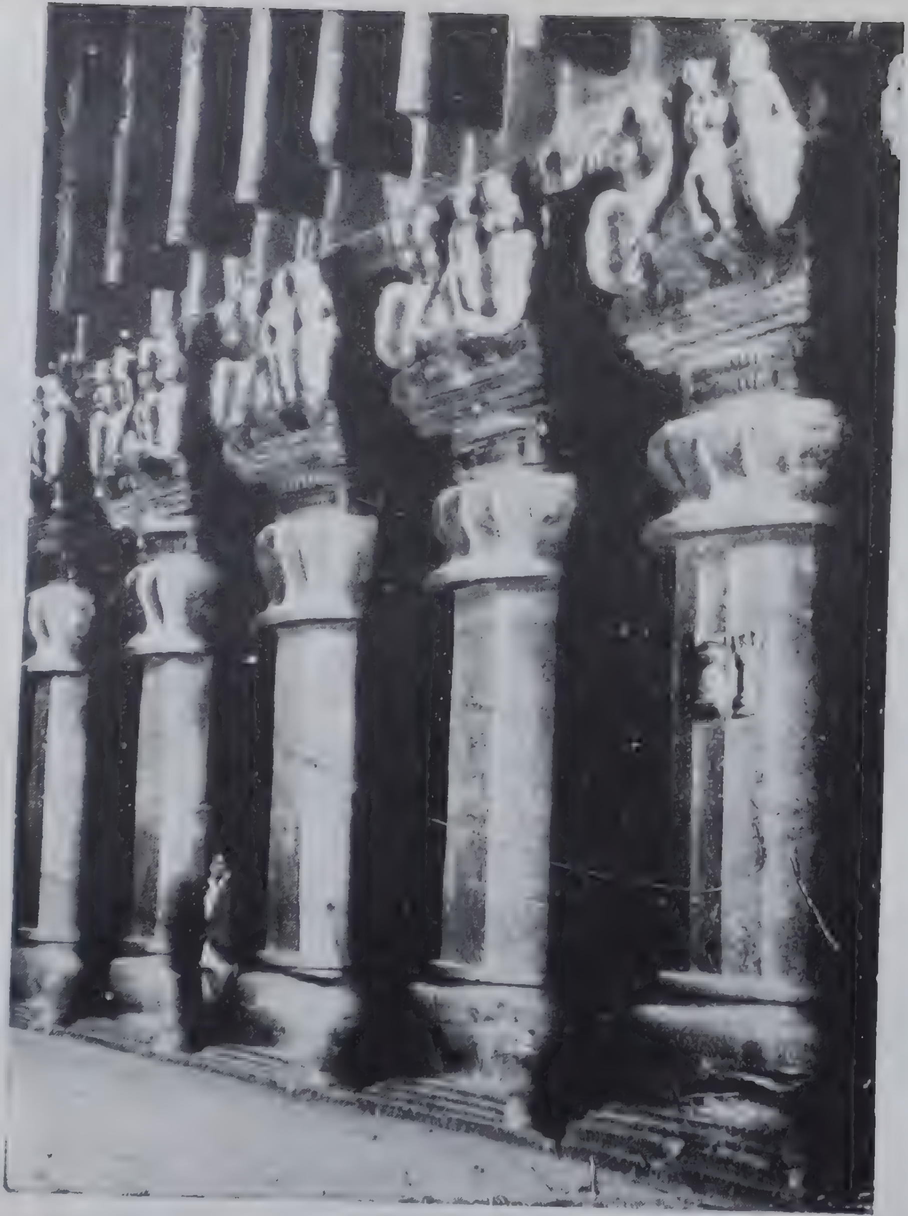


Fig. 19. *Kārle, Chaitya cave: Details of the pillars of the aisle.*

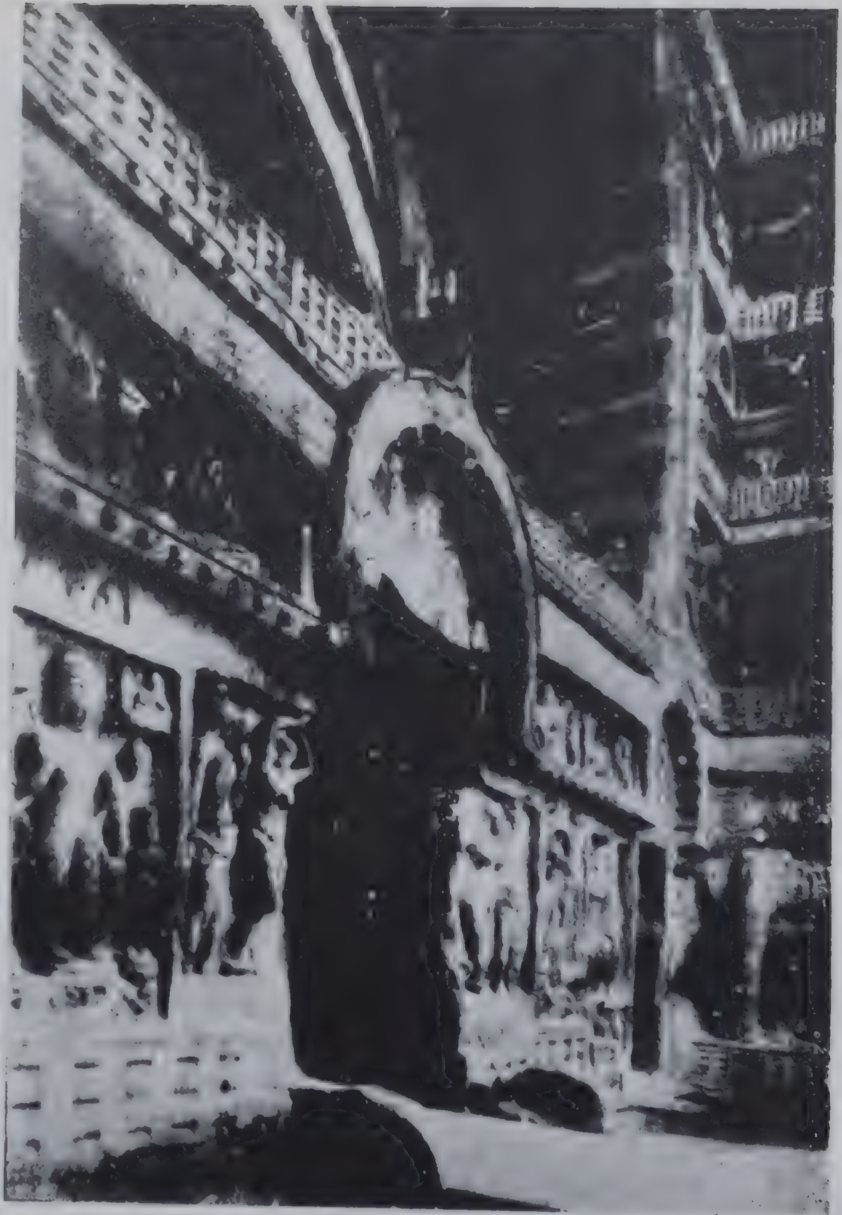


Fig. 20. *Kārle Chait*

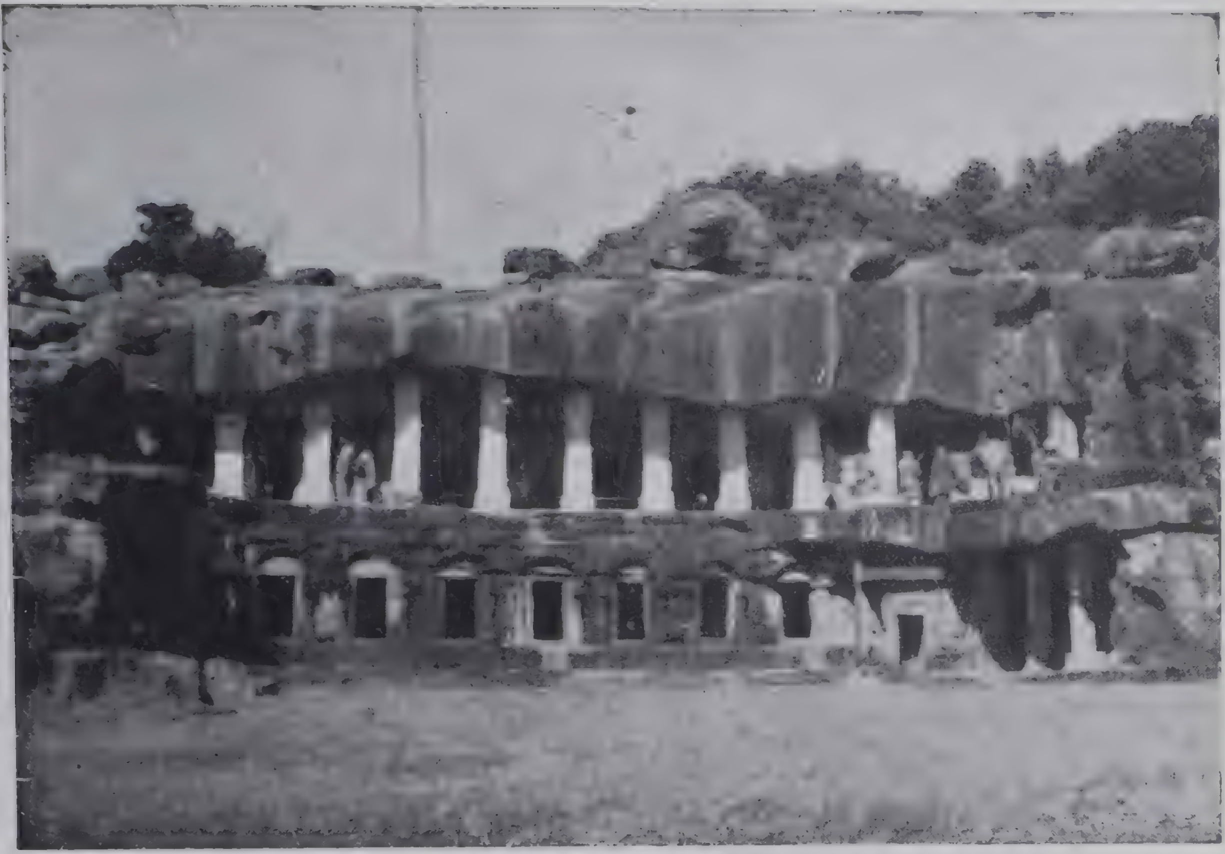


Fig. 21. *Udayagiri, Rāṇī gumphā: General view.*

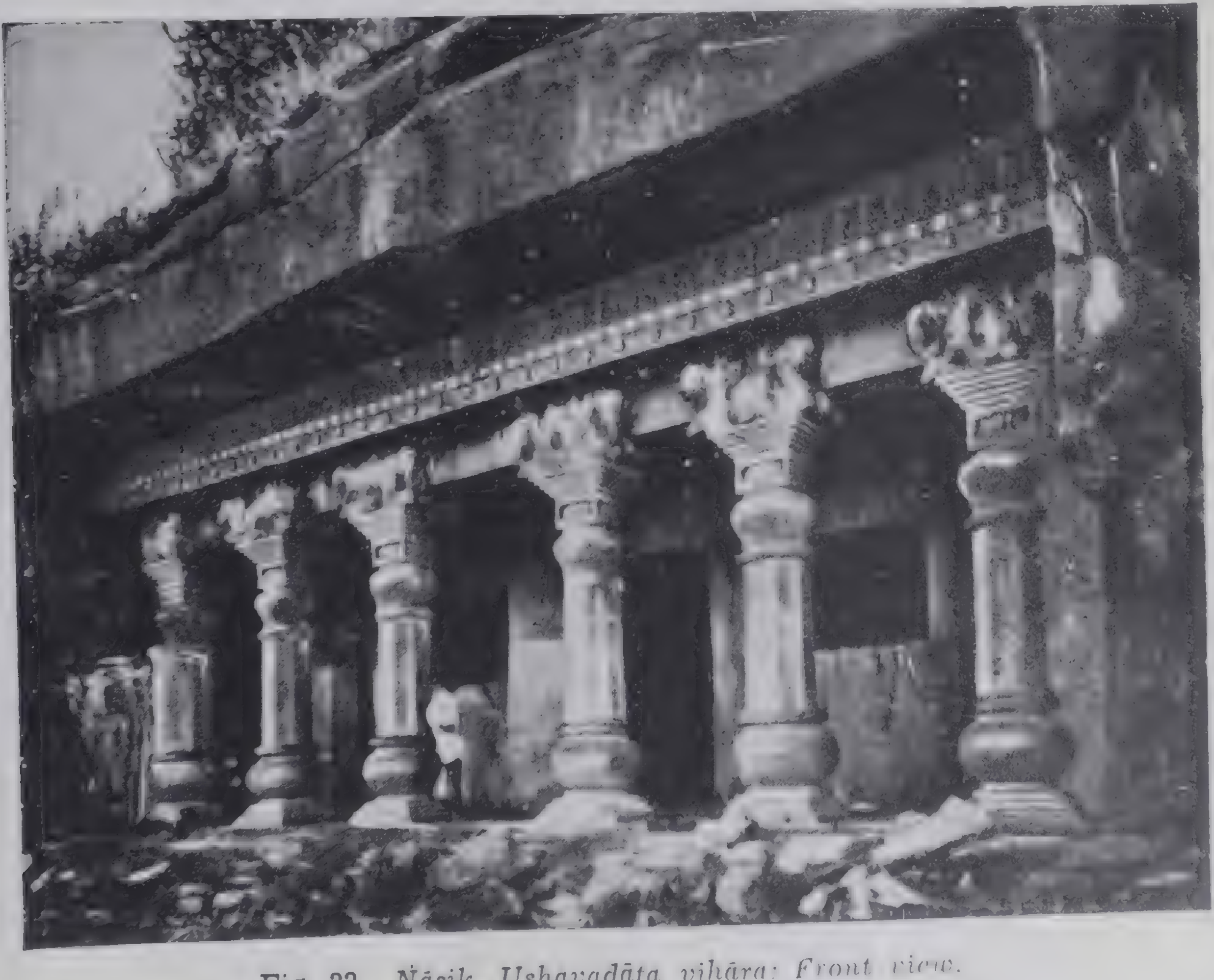


Fig. 22. *Ṅāsik, Ushavadāta vihāra: Front view.*

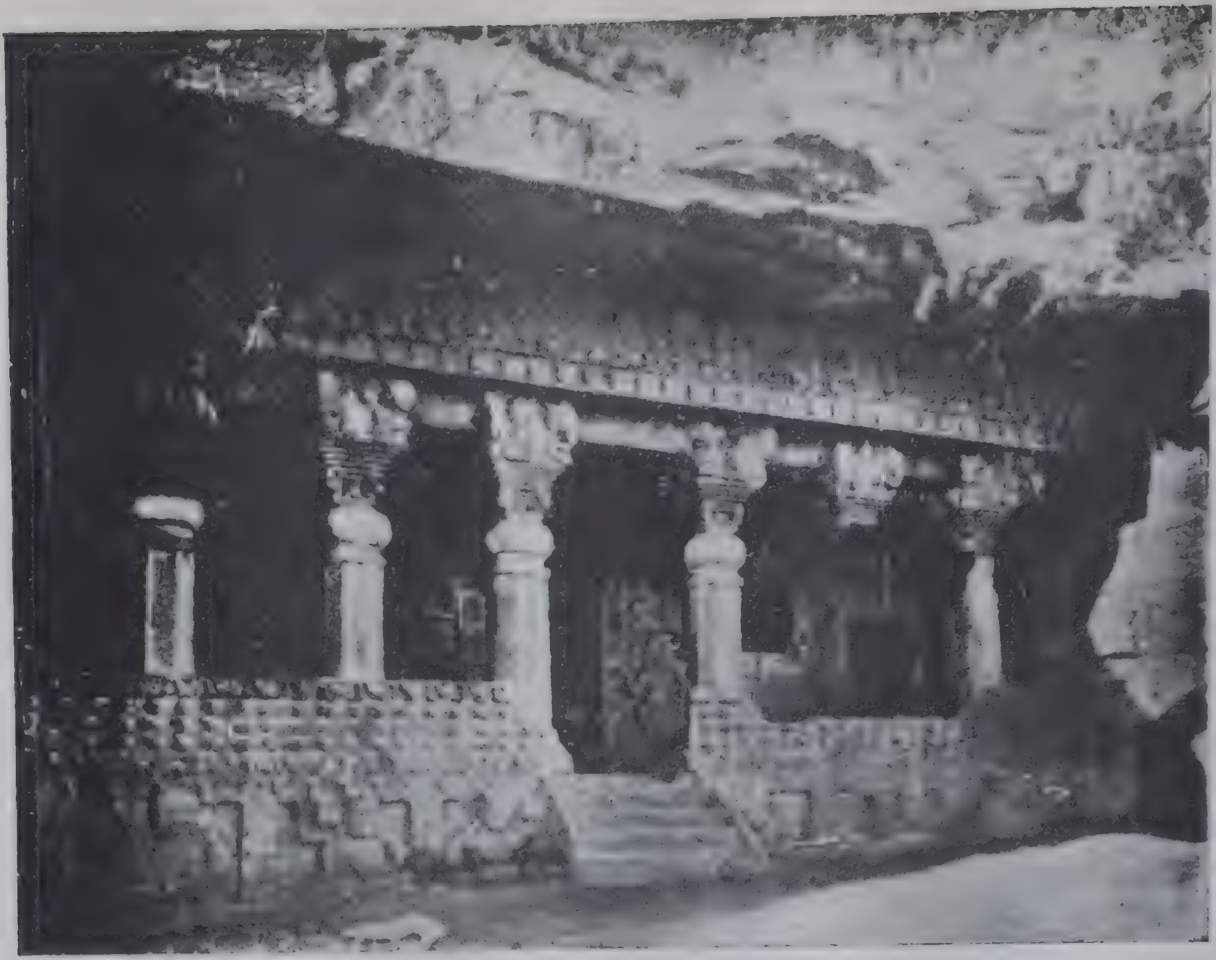


PLATE XII. Fig. 23. *Nāsik, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi vihāra: Front view.*

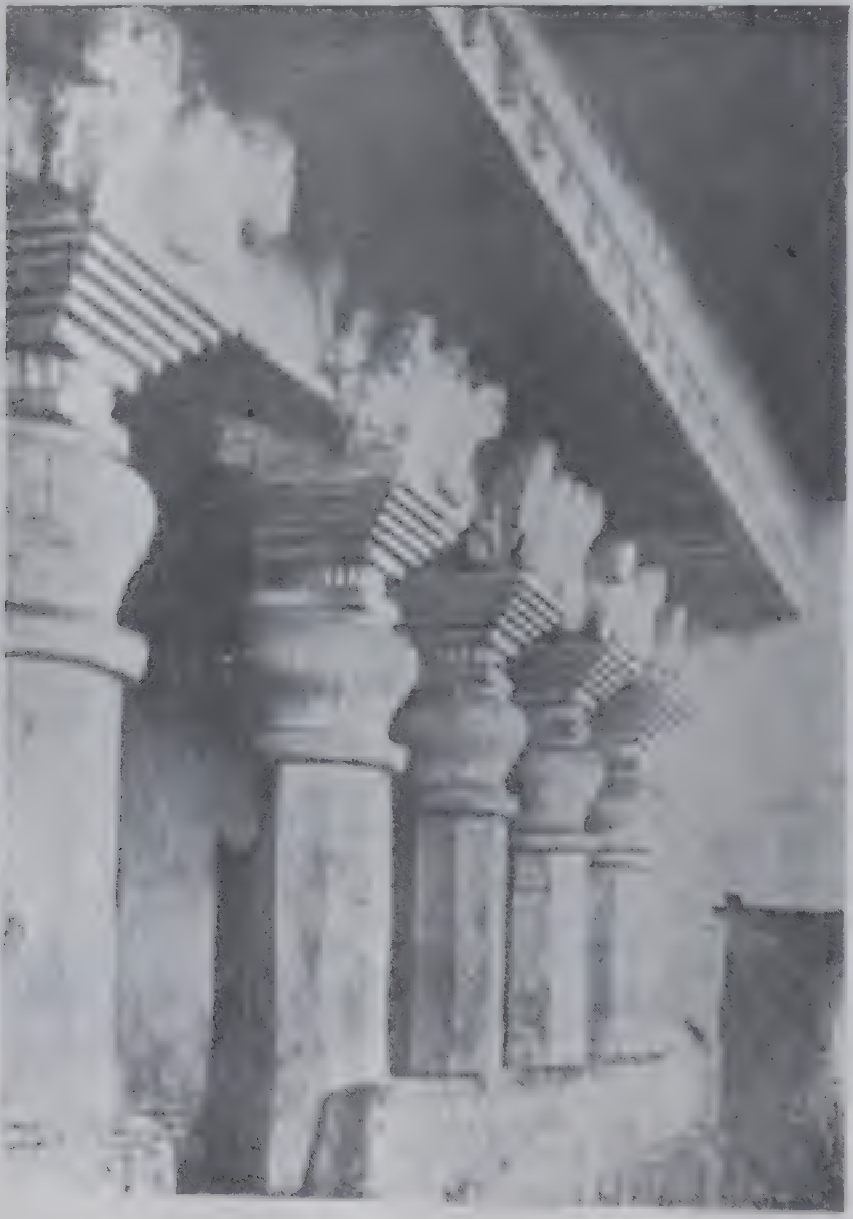


PLATE XII.

PLATE XIII

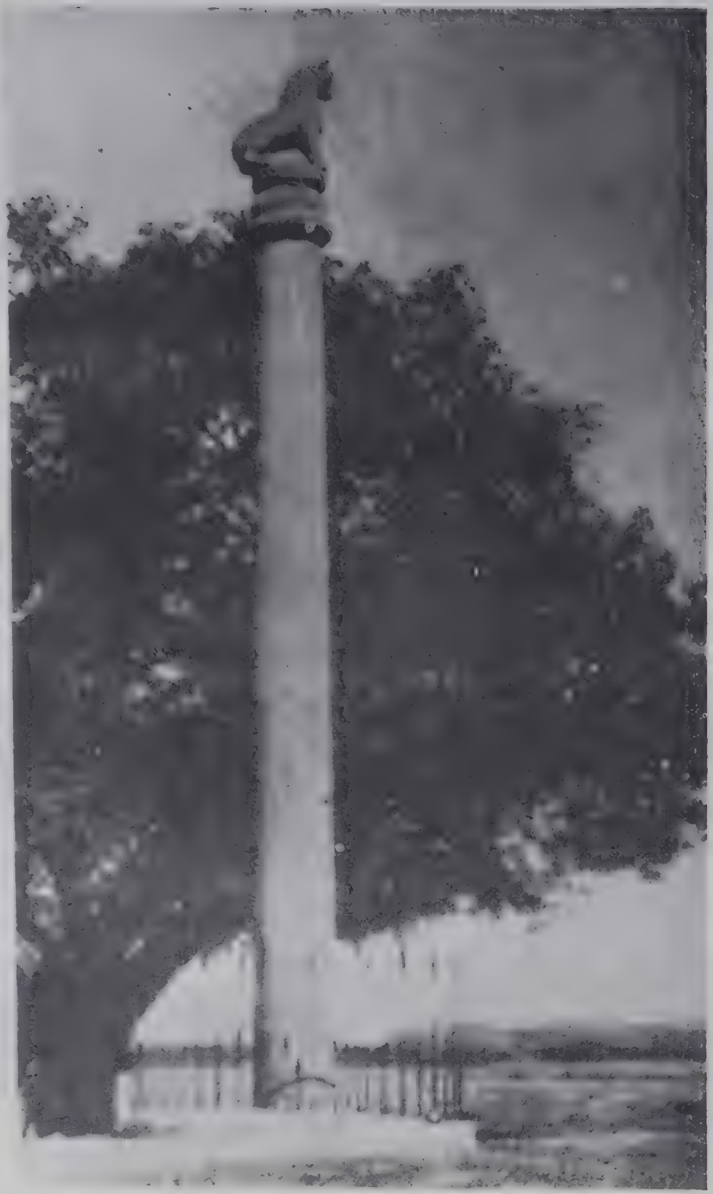


Fig. 25. *Lauriya Nandanagarh: Aśoka pillar.*

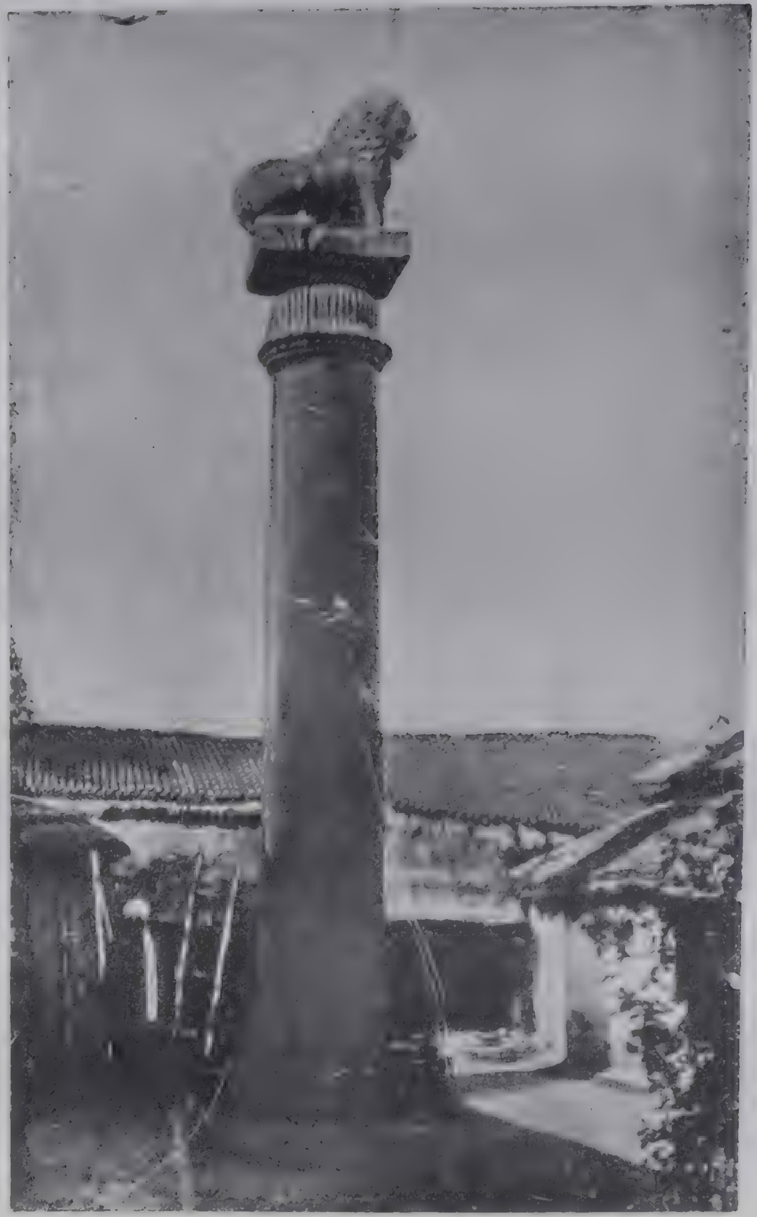


Fig. 26. *Basārh-Bākhirā: Pillar.*

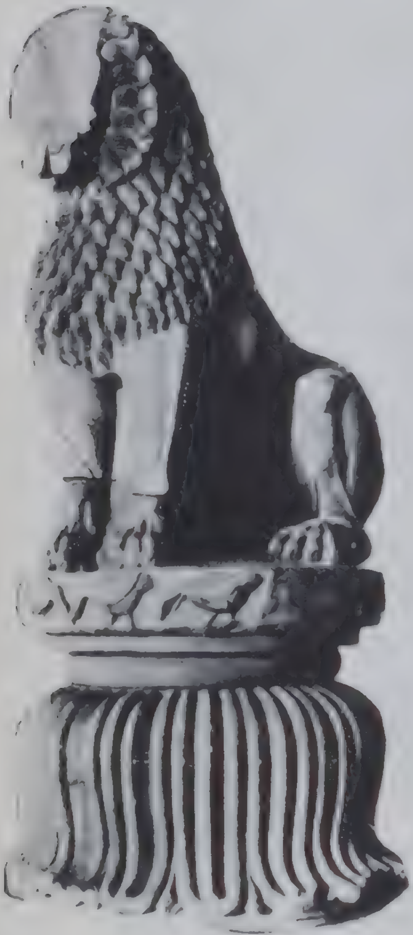


Fig. 27. *Rampurwā Lion capital.*

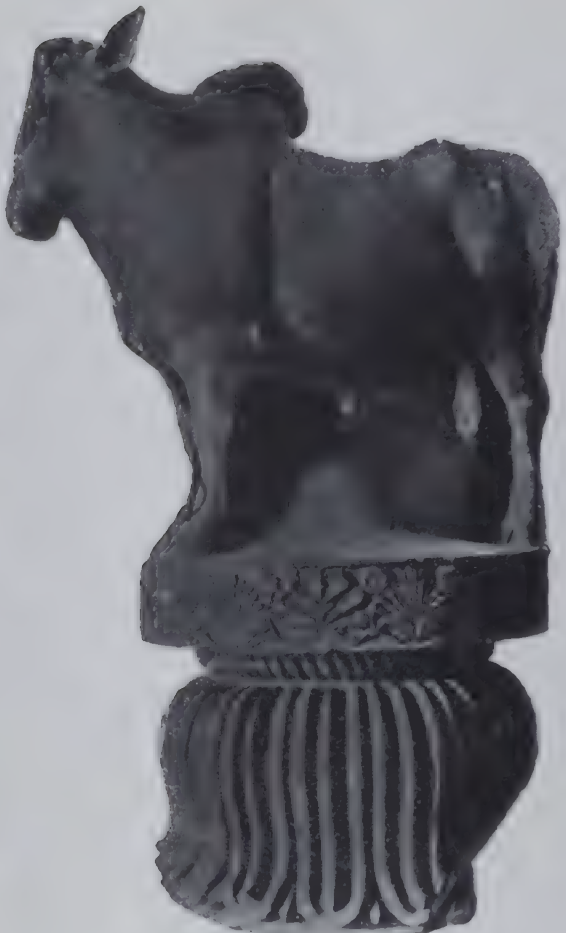


Fig. 28. *Rampurwā: Bull capital.*

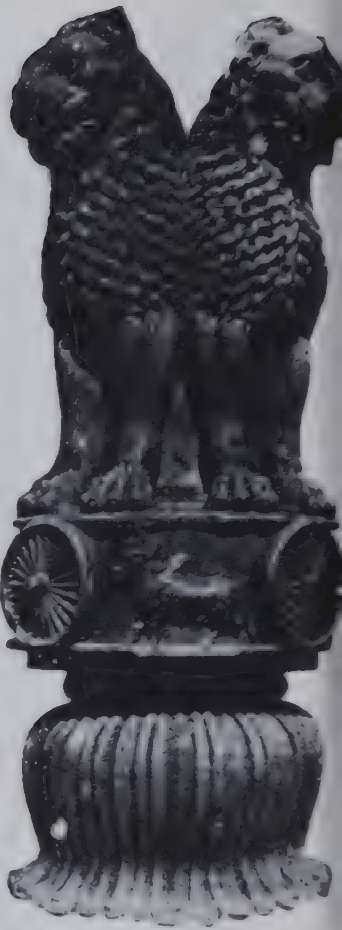


Fig. 29. *Sārnāth: Lion capital.*

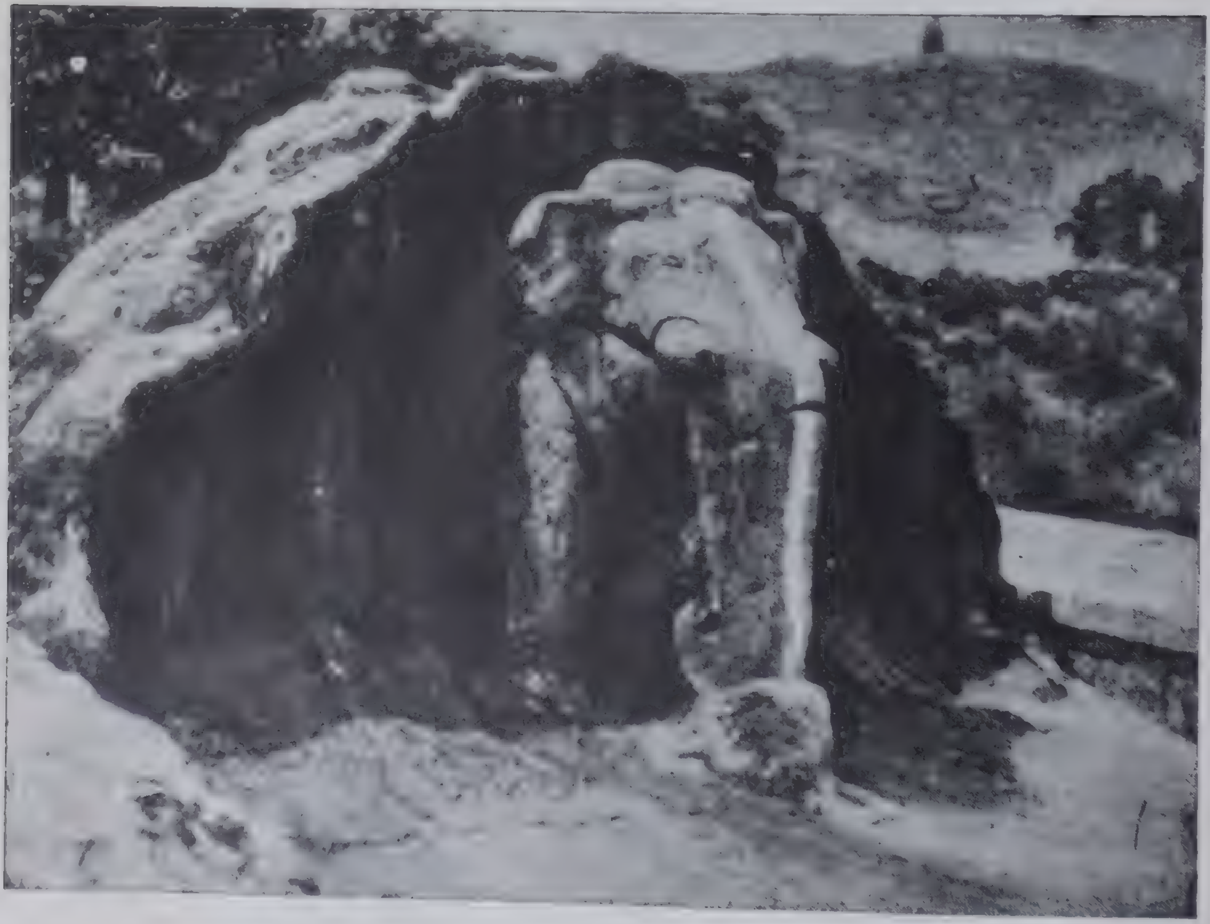


Fig. 30. *Dhauli: Forepart of an elephant.*

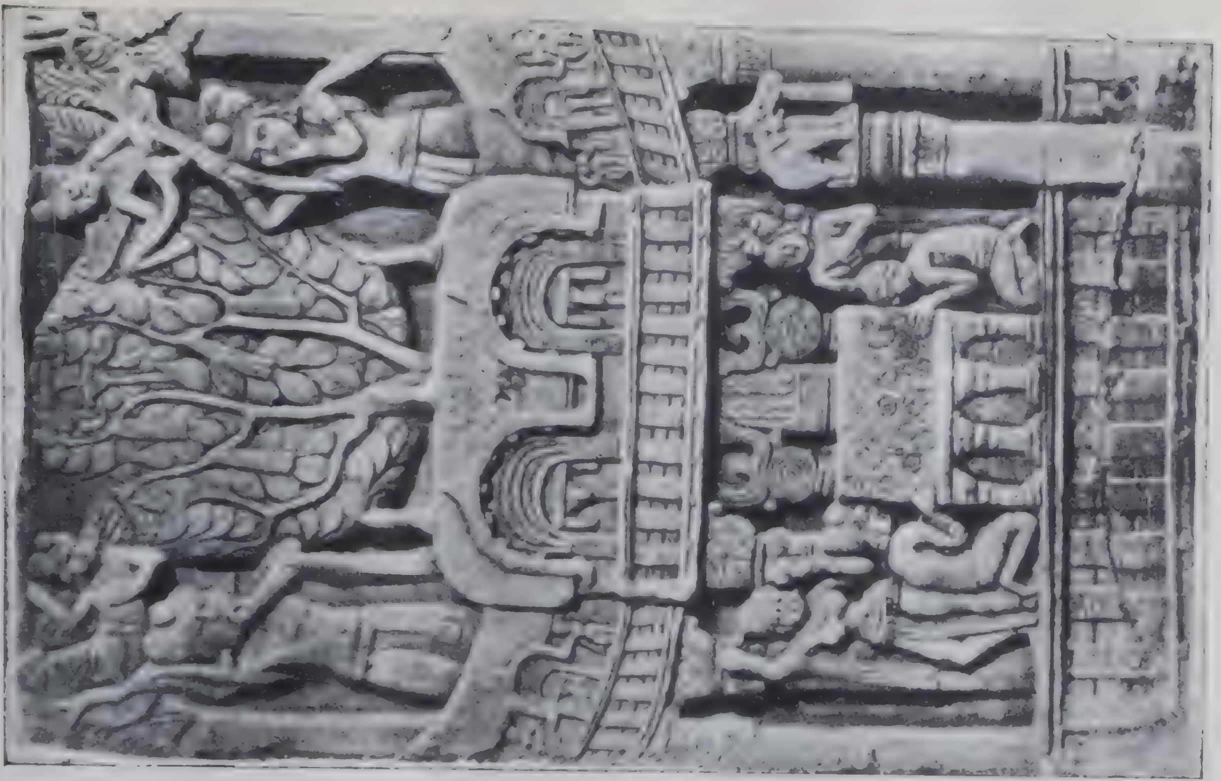


Fig. 33. *Bharhut: Bodhi Tree shrine (Prasenajit pillar—inner face.)*

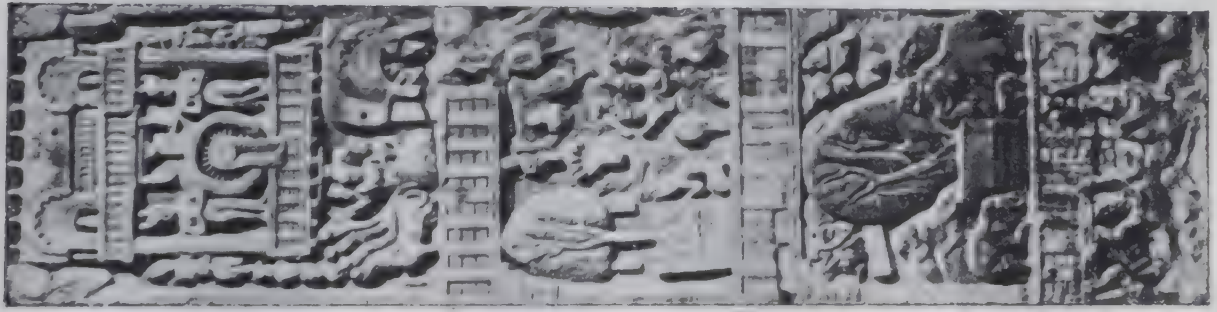


Fig. 32. *Bharhut: Prasenajit pillar—outer face.*

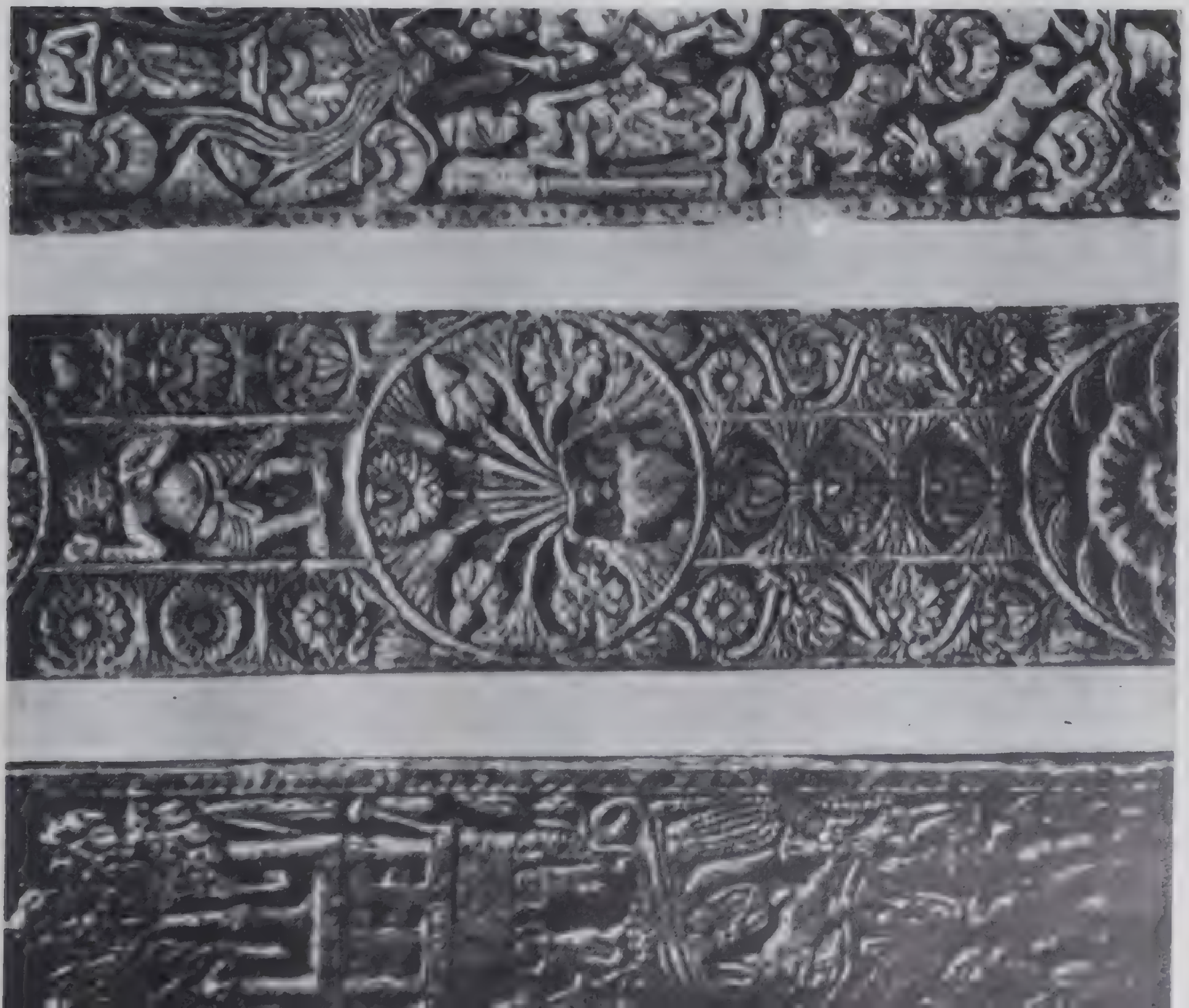


Fig. 31. *Sānchī; Stūpa No. II: Ground balustrades.*

PLATE XVI

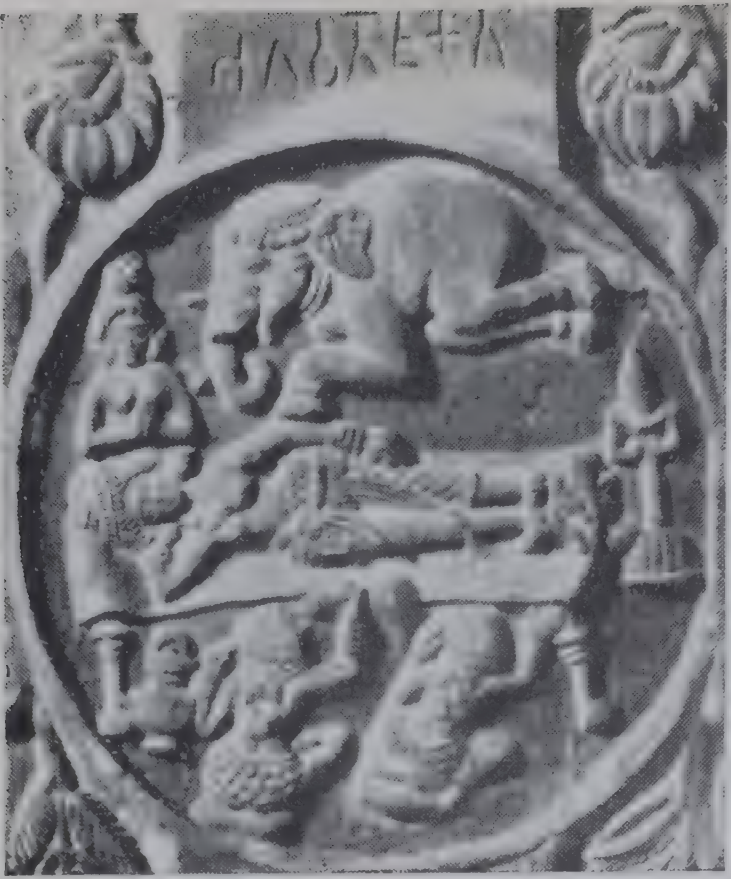


Fig. 34.
*Bharhut: Dream
of Māyādevī.*

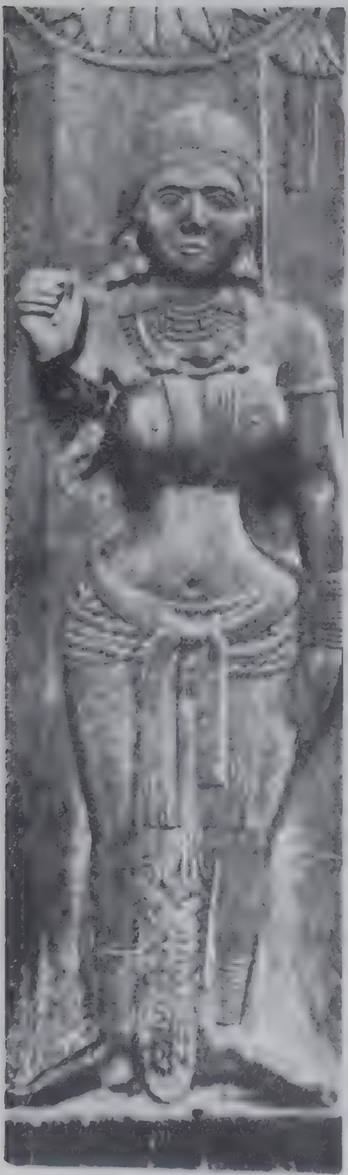


Fig. 35. *Bharhut:
Sirimā devatā.*

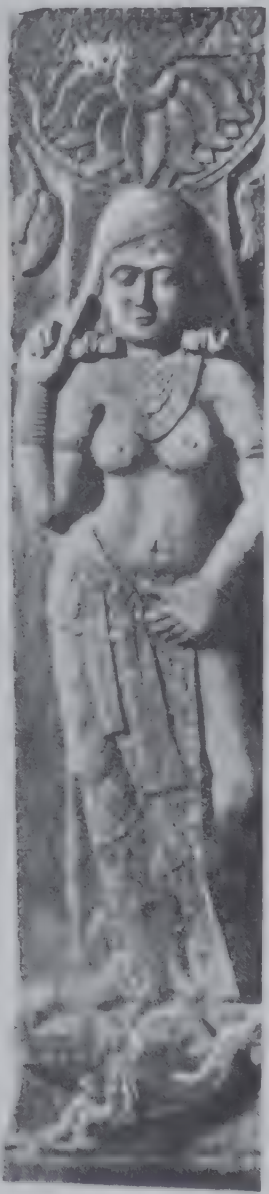


Fig. 36. *Bharhut:
Sudarśanā yakshī.*

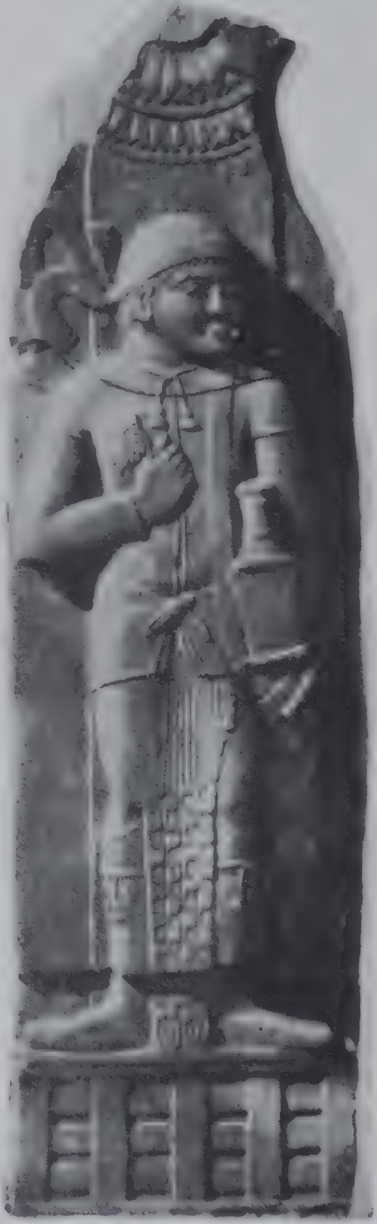


Fig. 37. *Bharhut
Warrior.*

PLATE XVII

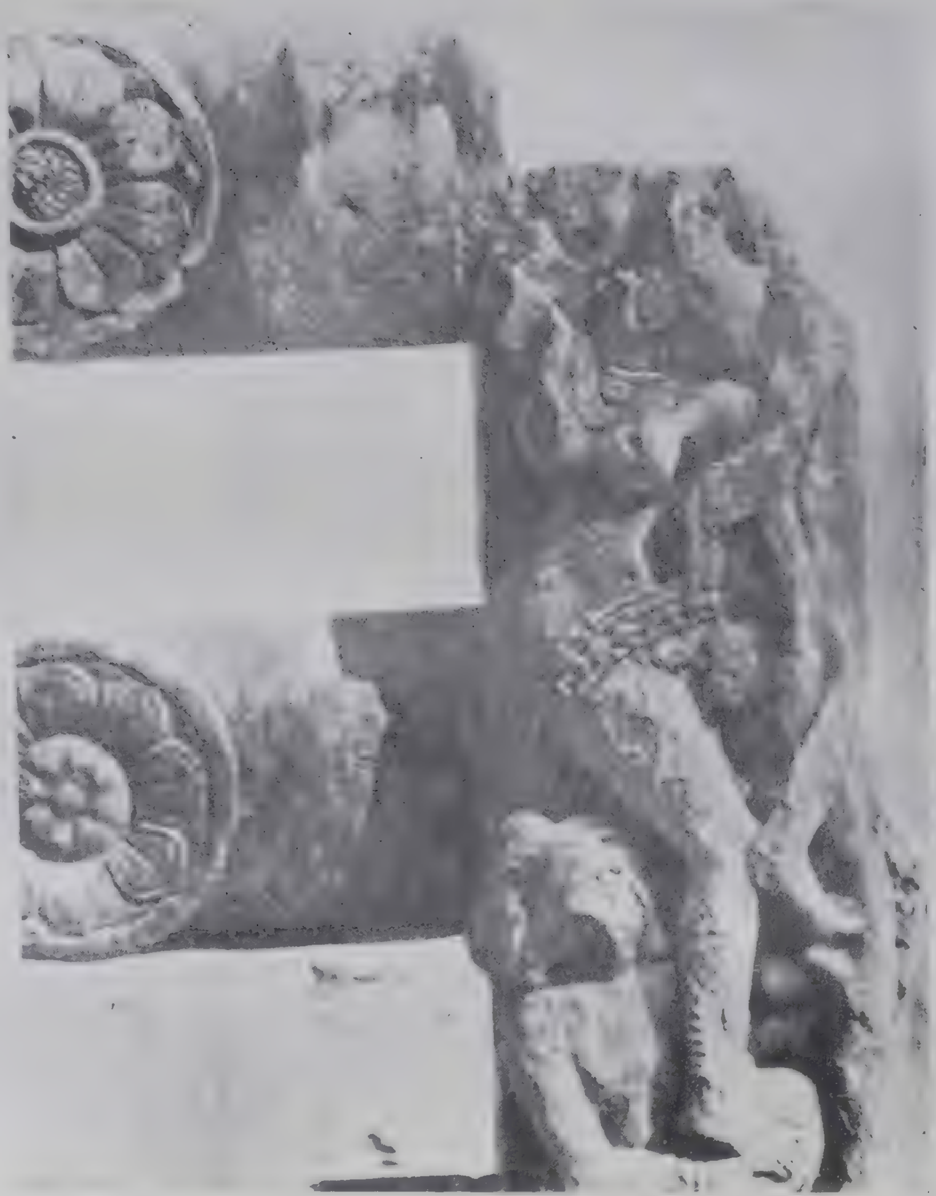


Fig. 38. *Bodhgayā: Square balustrade, partial view.*

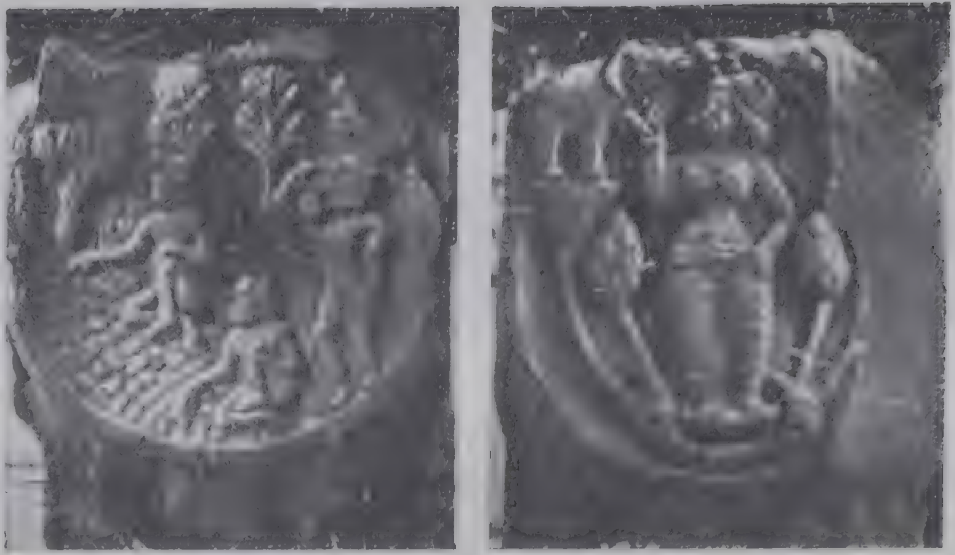


Fig. 39. *Bodhgayā: Rail medallions*

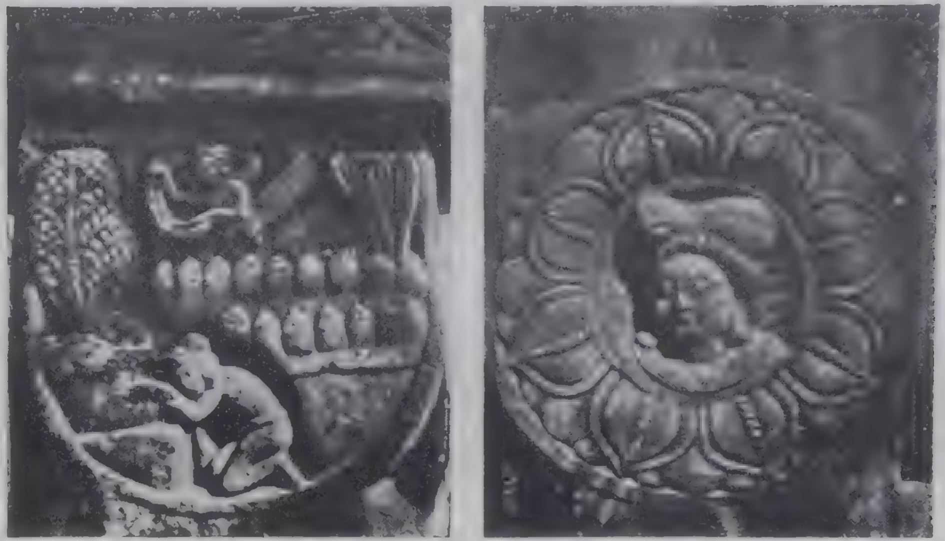


Fig. 40. *Bodhgayā: Rail medallions.*

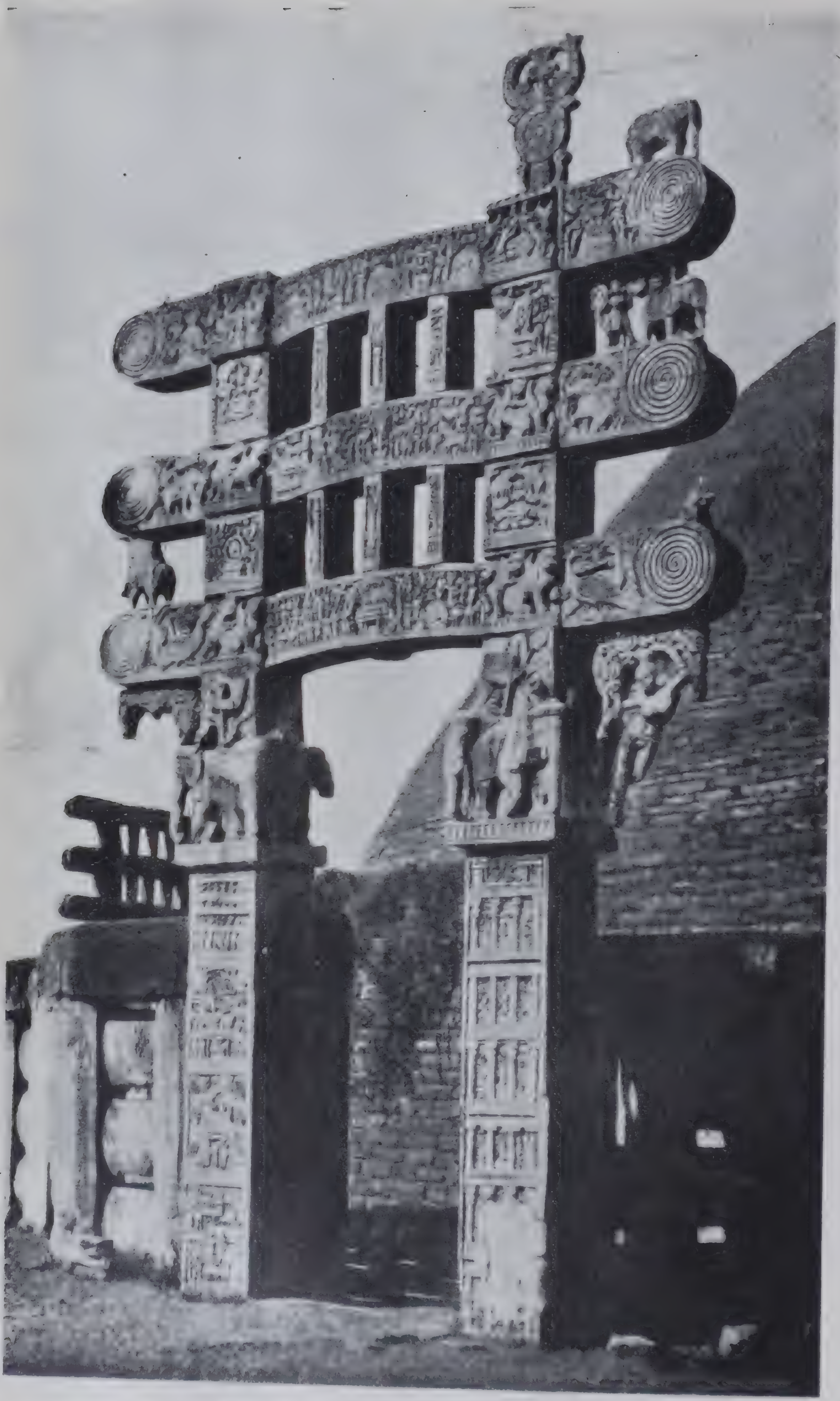


Fig. 41. *Sānchī, Great Stūpa: East Gateway.*

PLATE XVIII-A

Fig. 43. *Sānchī, North gate, Architrave Support.*

Fig. 44. *Sānchī, Great Stūpa: East gate, Details of carvings.*

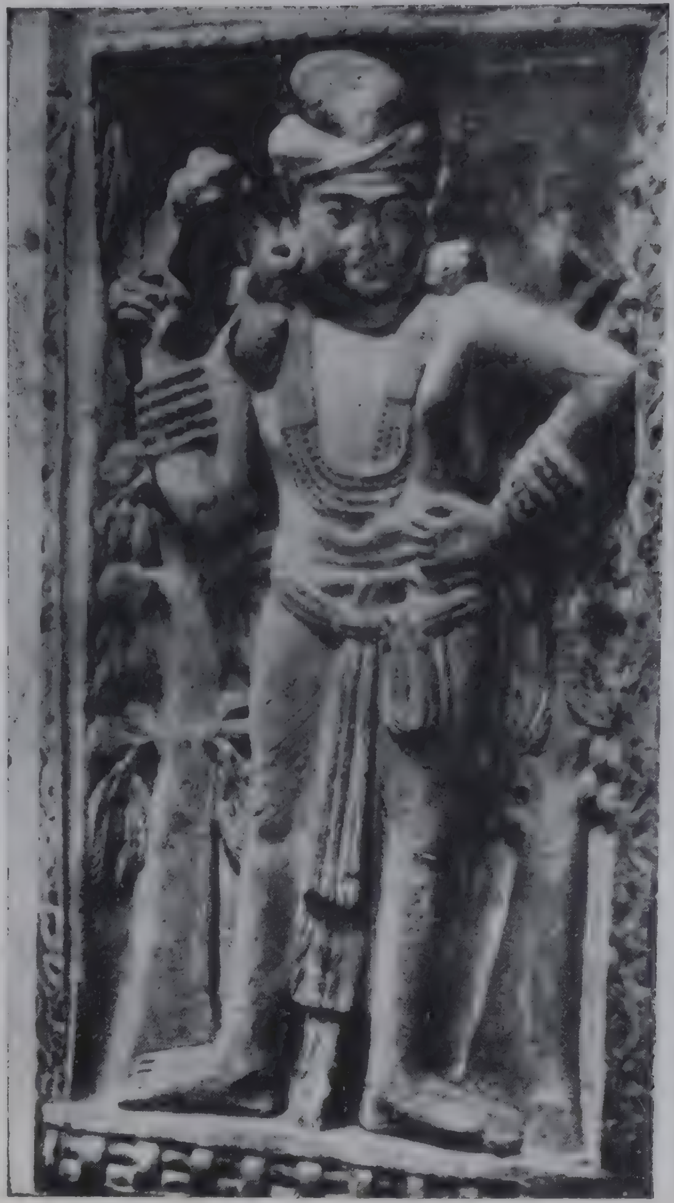


Fig. 42. *Sānchī Great Stūpa: Guardian Figure on East gateway.*

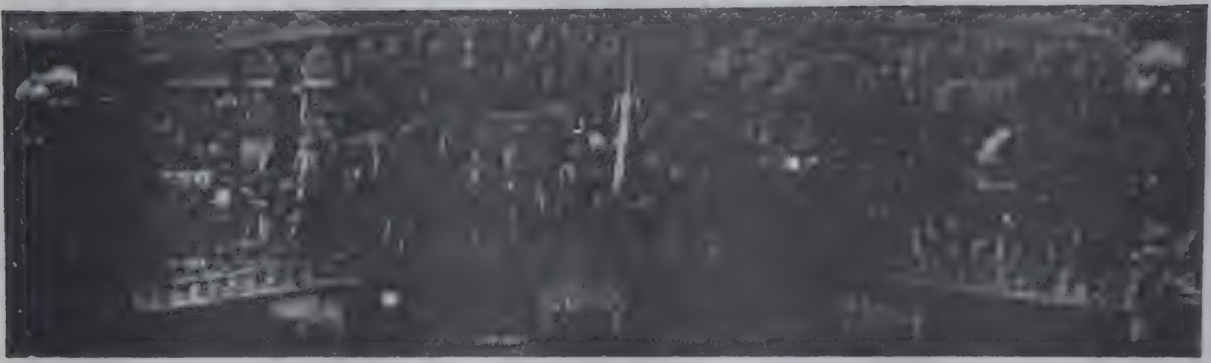


Fig. 45. *Sānchī, Great Stūpa: West gate, middle architrave.*

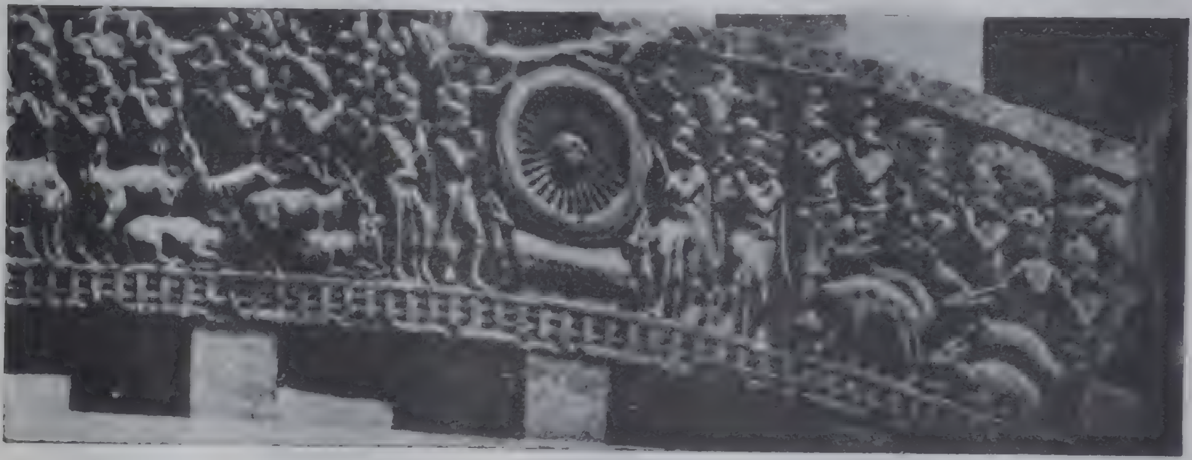


Fig. 46. *Sānchī, Great Stūpa: Same: another face.*

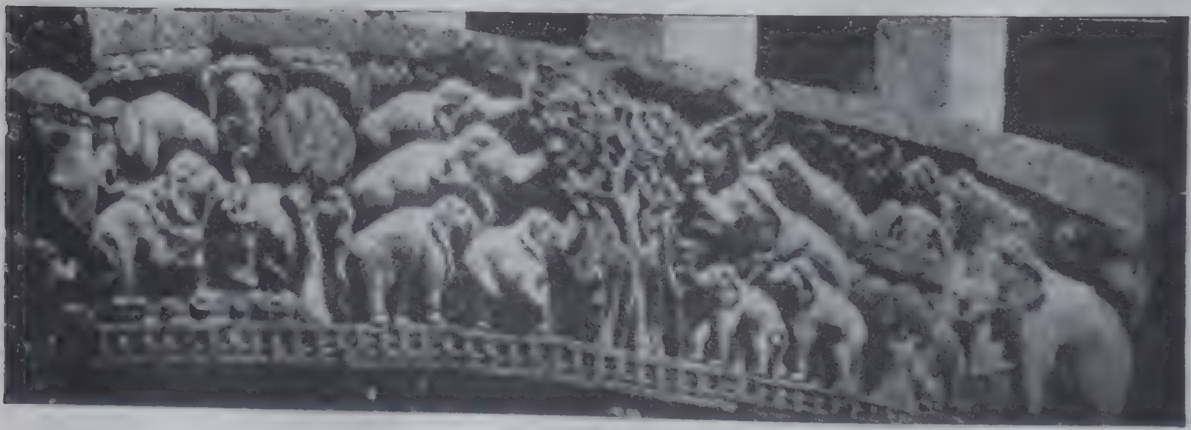


Fig. 47. *Sānchī, Great Stūpa: West gate, lowest architrave.*

PLATE XX

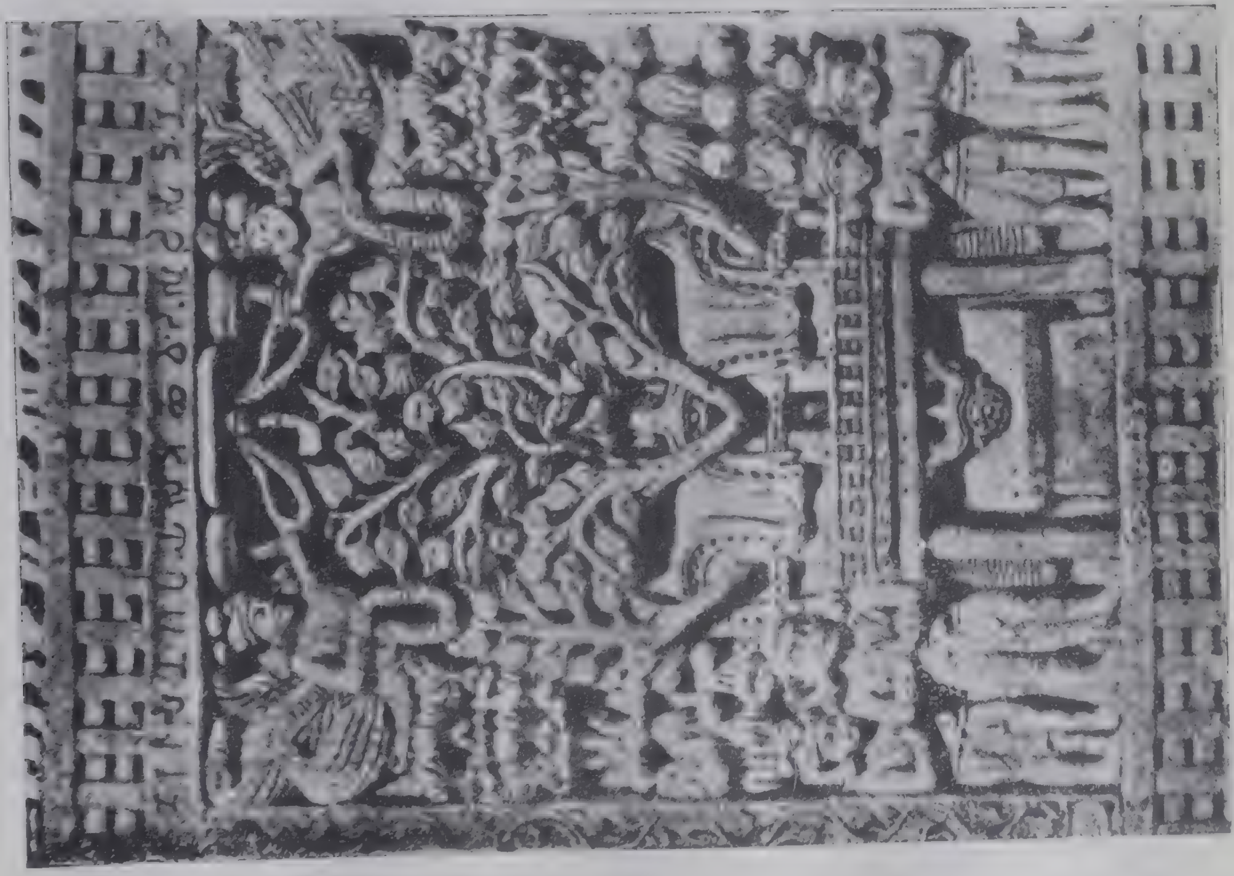


Fig. 48. *Sānchi, Great Stūpa: Bodhi Tree Shrine on East Gateway.*

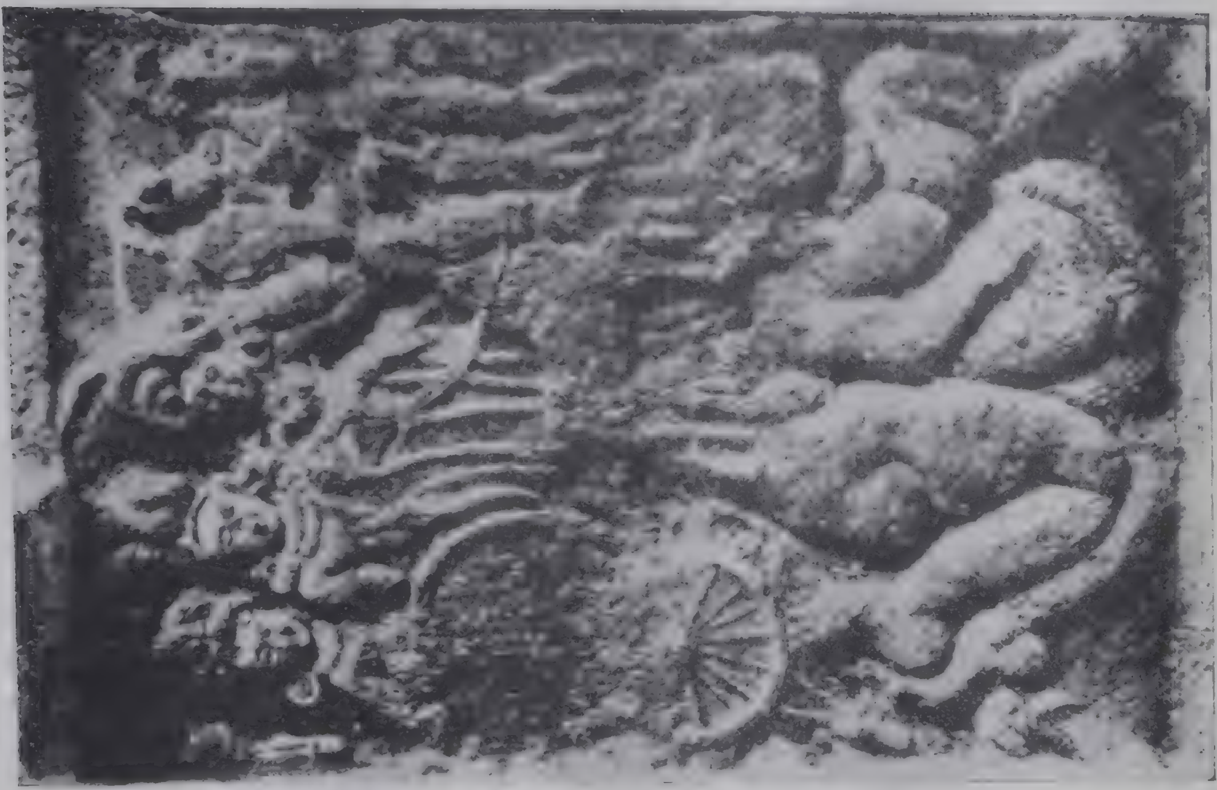


Fig. 49. *Bhājā: Small Vihāra: Sūrya on wall.*

PLATE XXI

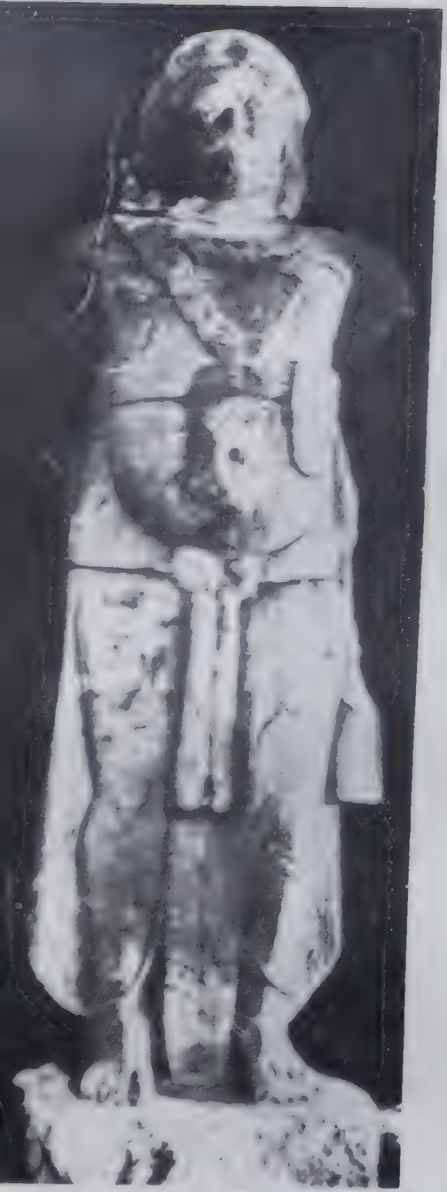


Fig. 50. *Pārkham: Yaksha.*

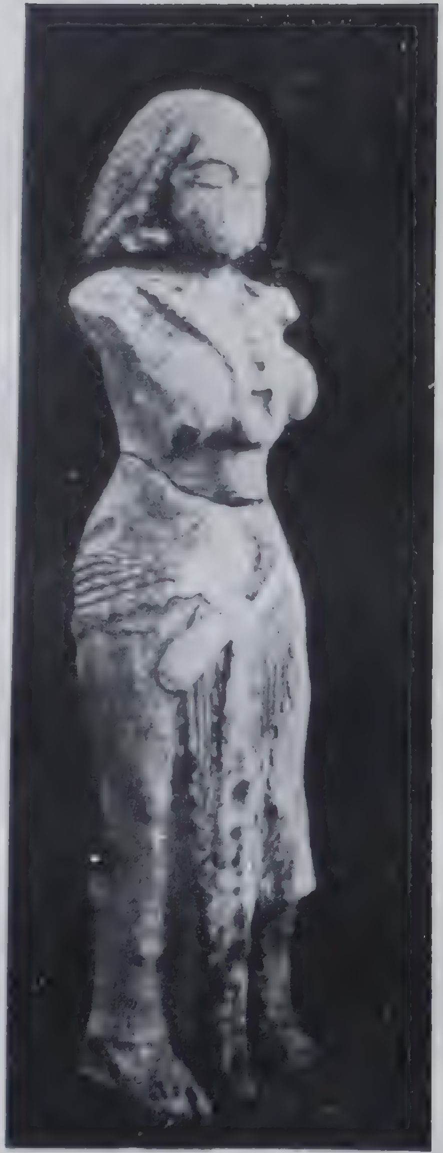


Fig. 51. *Besnagar: Yakshiṇī.*

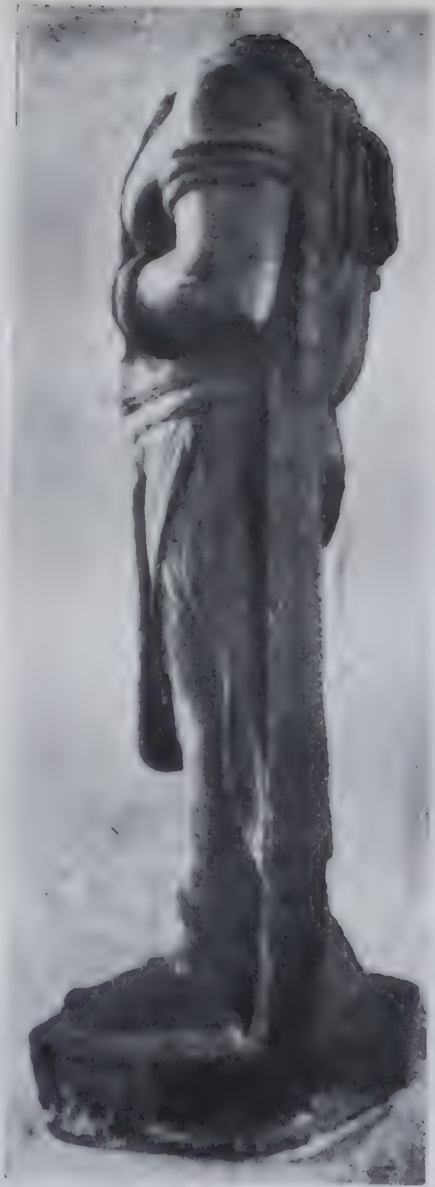


Fig. 52. *Patna: Yaksha.*

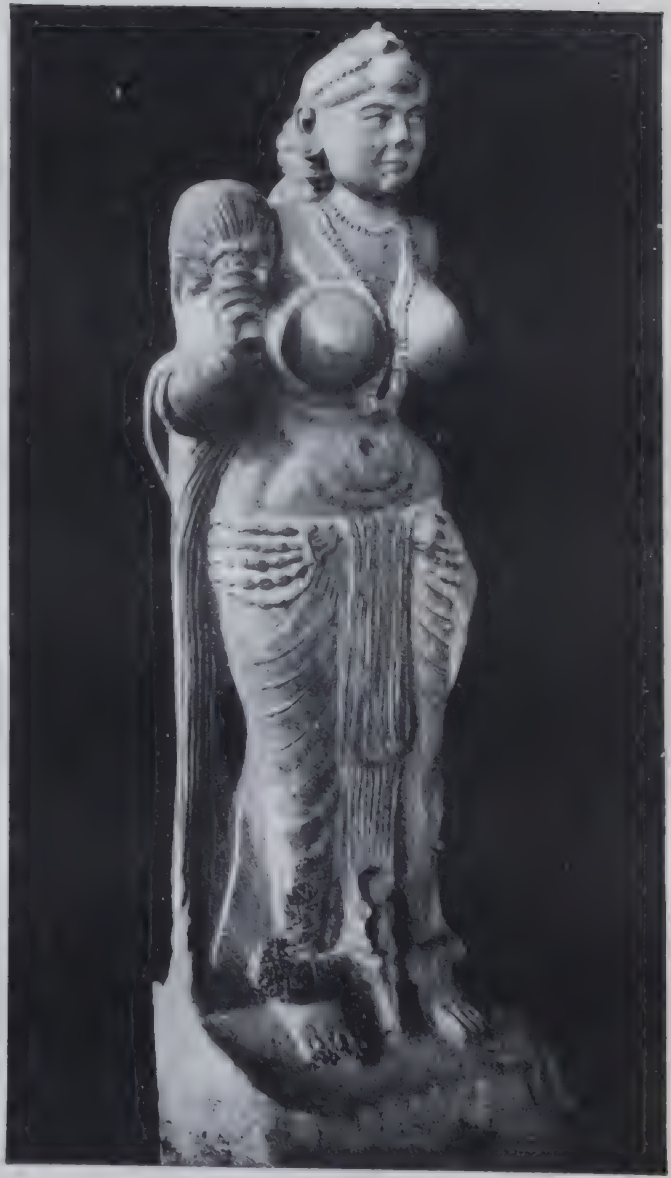


Fig. 53. *Didārganj: Yakshiṇī*

PLATE XXII

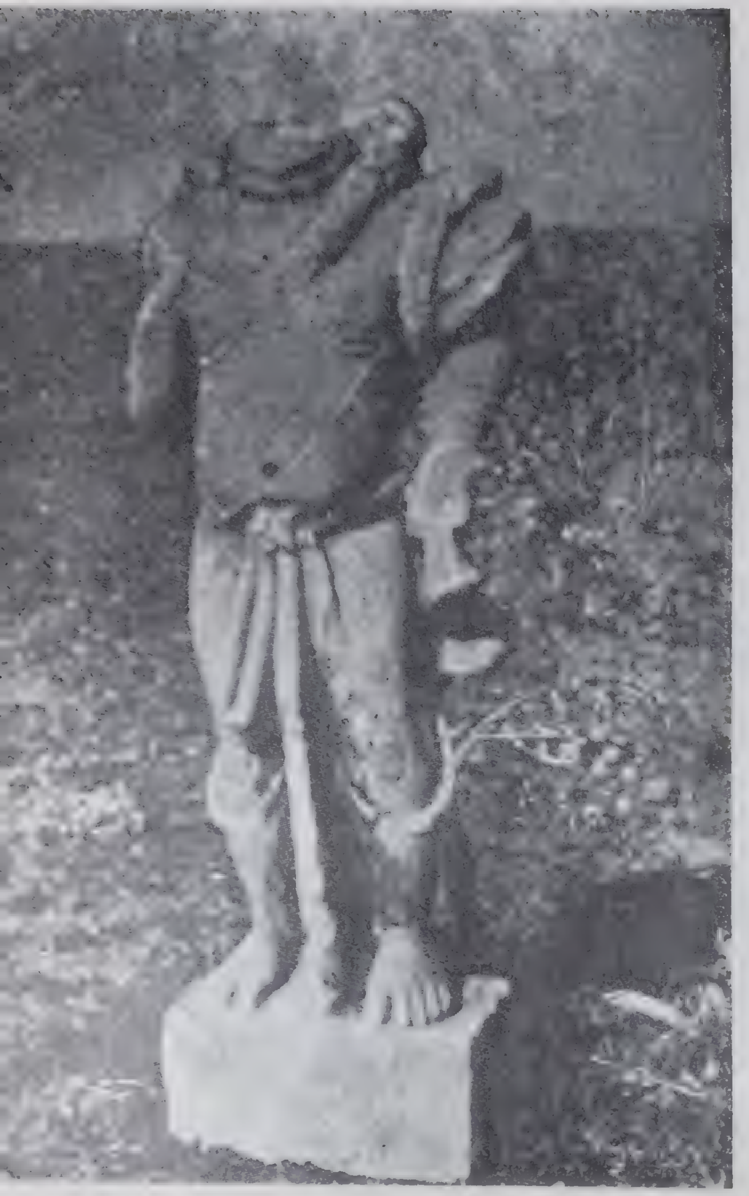


Fig. 54. Pawaya: Manibhadra Yaksha—Front.

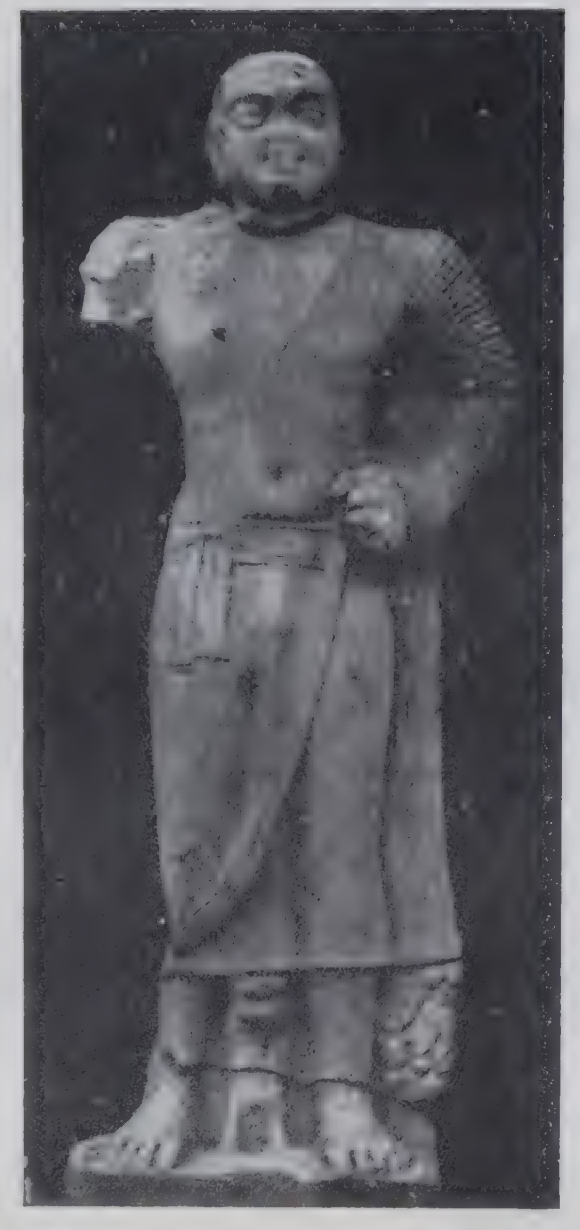


Fig. 55. *Sarnāth: Bodhisattva of Friar Bala.*

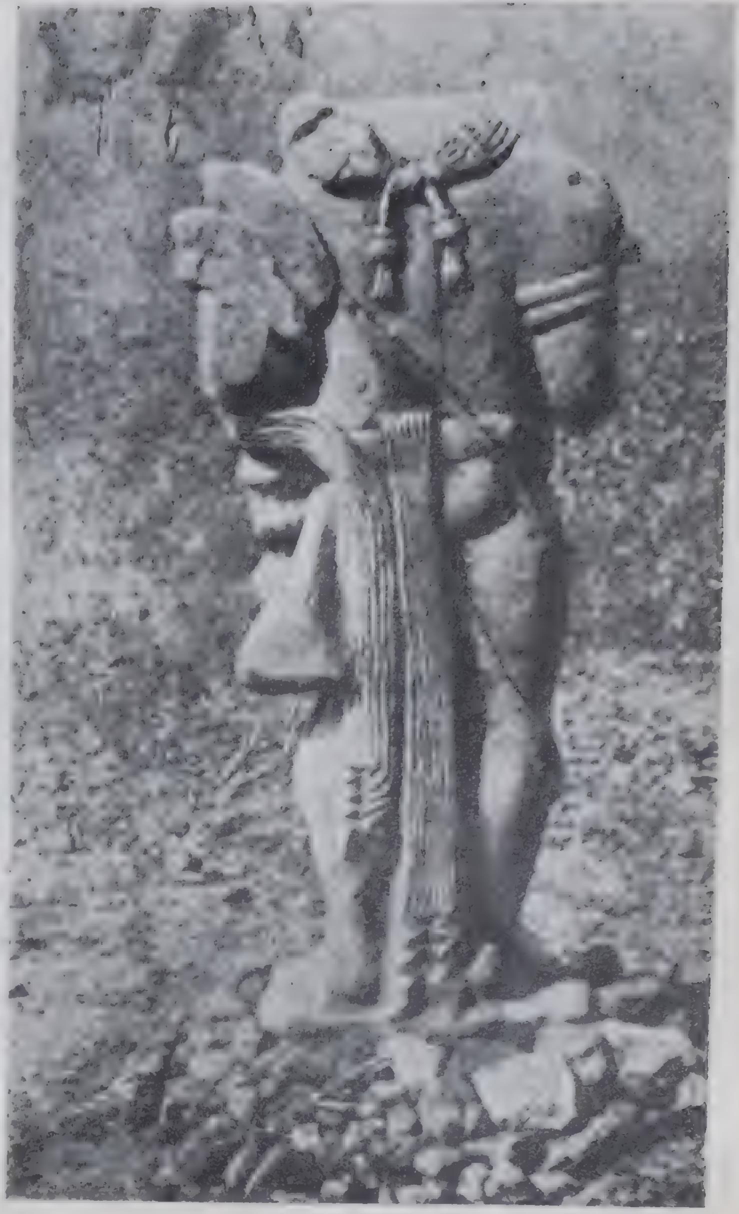


Fig. 56. *Pawaya: Maṇibhadra Yaksha—Back.*

PLATE XXIII

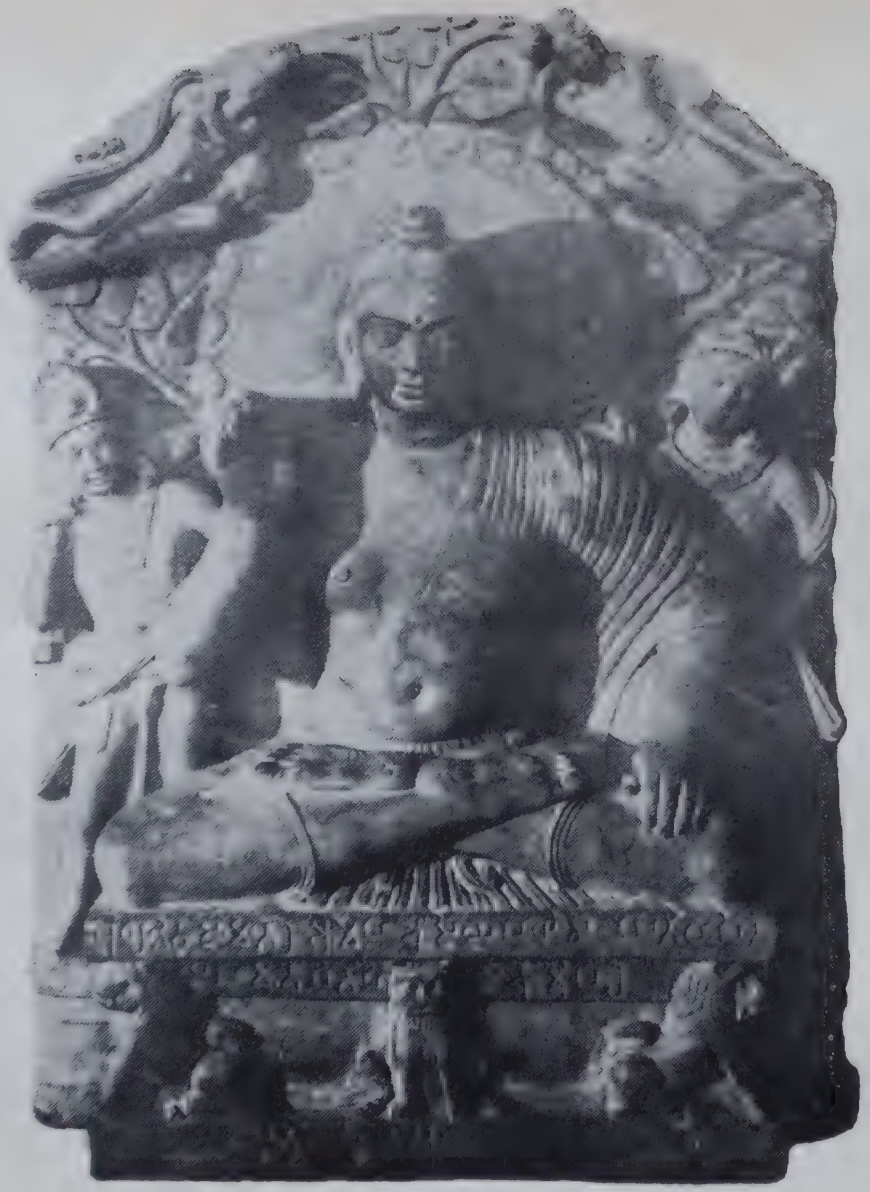


Fig. 57. *Kātrā, Mathurā: Bodhisattva.*

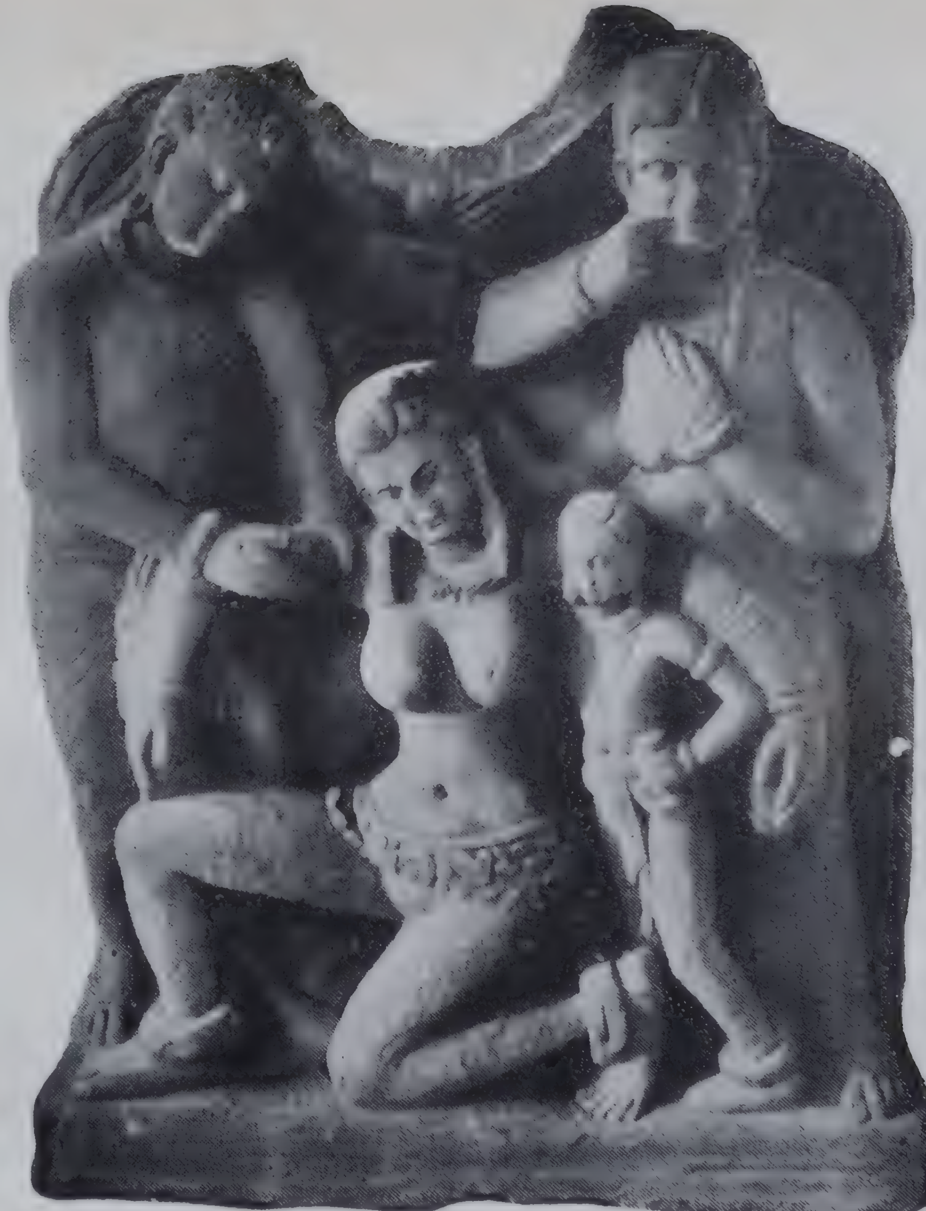


Fig. 58. *Mathurā: Bachhanalian scene.*

PLATE XXIV

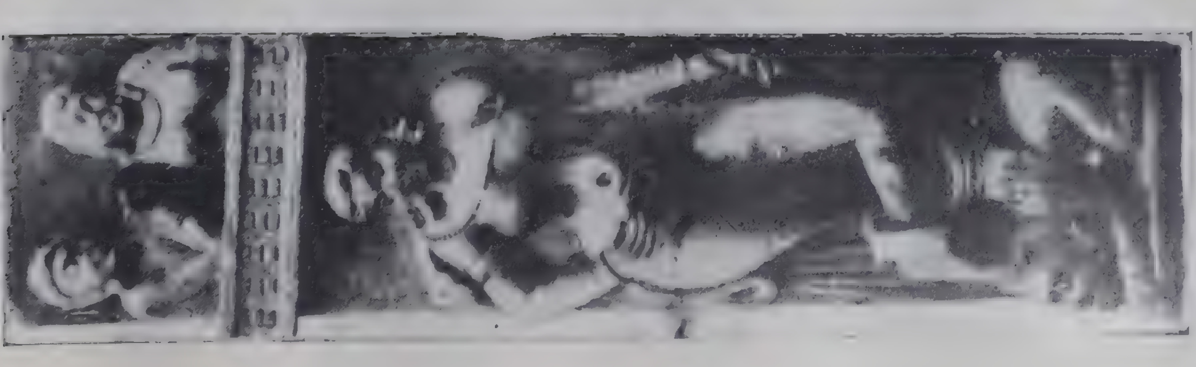


Fig. 59. Mathurā,
Bhutesar pillar:
Yakshiṇi.

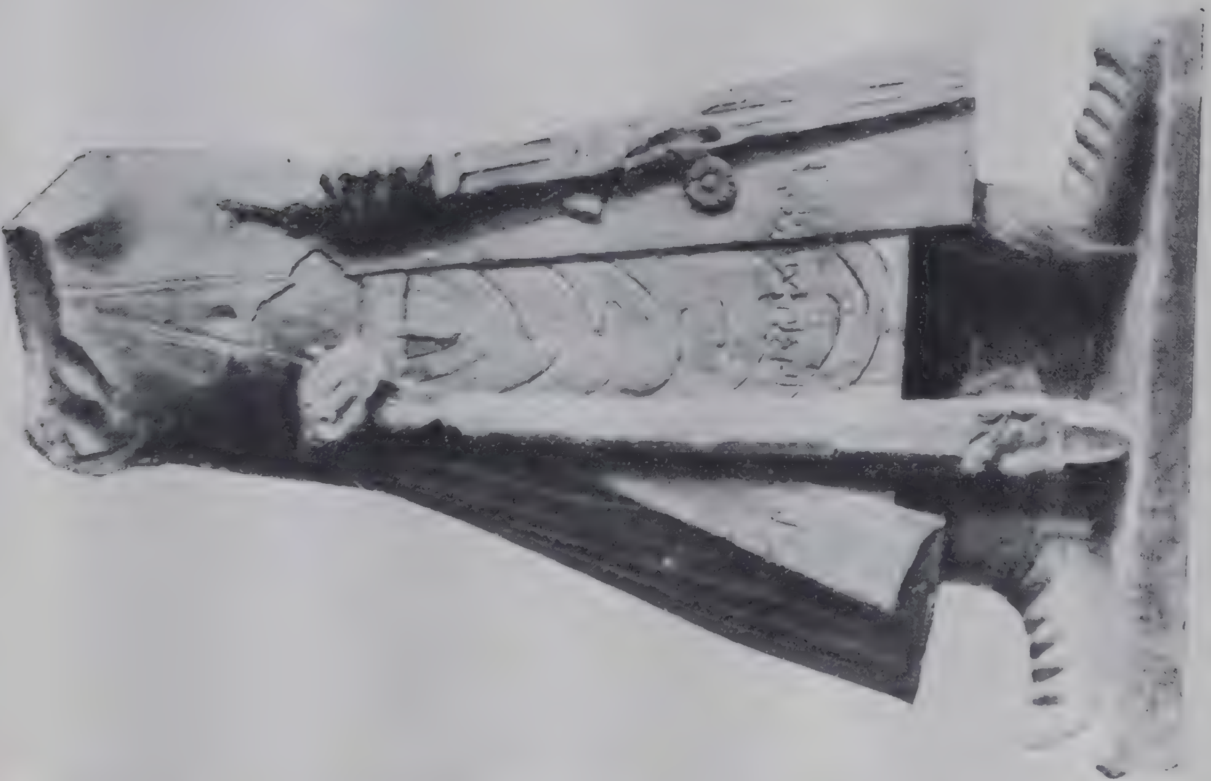


Fig. 60. Mathurā, Statue of Kanishka.

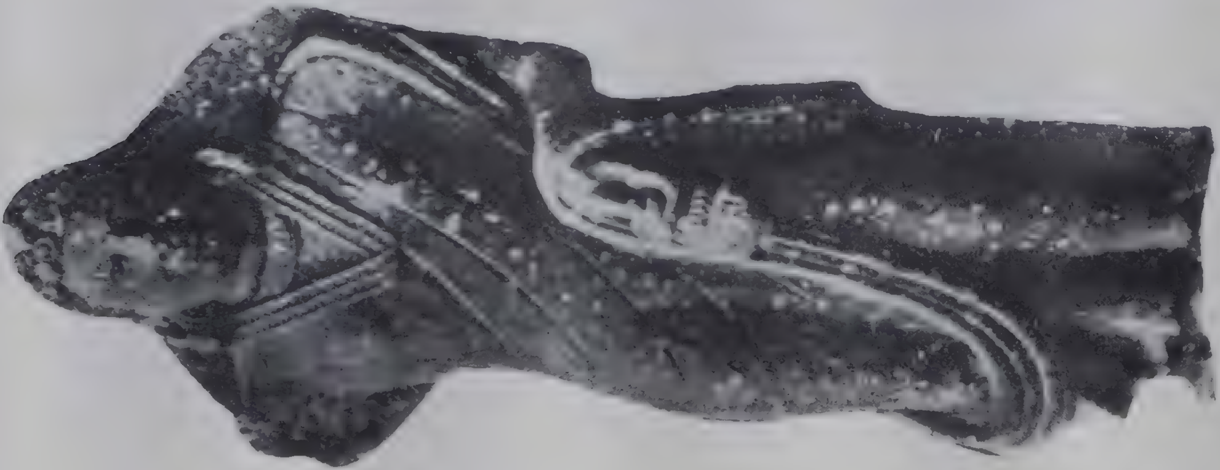


Fig. 61. Mathurā: Maitreya
Bodhisattva.

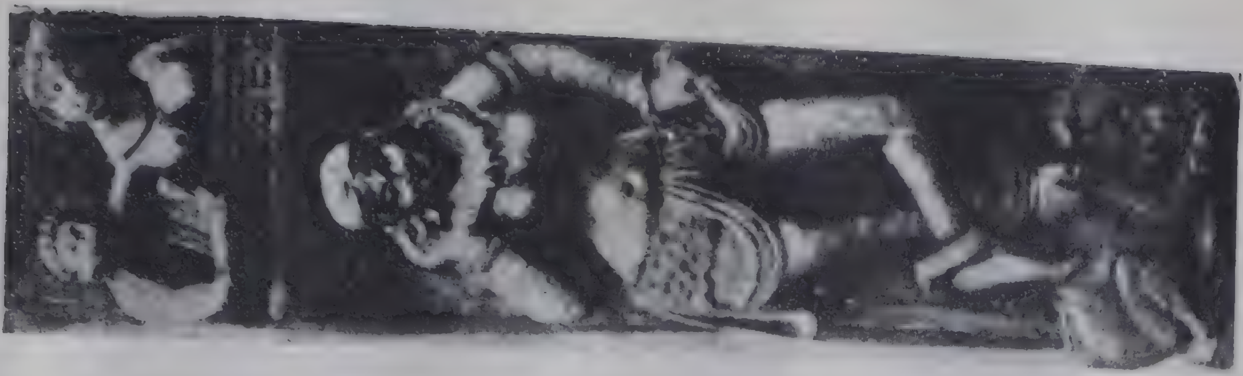


Fig. 62. Mathurā,
Bhutesar pillar:
Yakshiṇi.

PLATE XXV

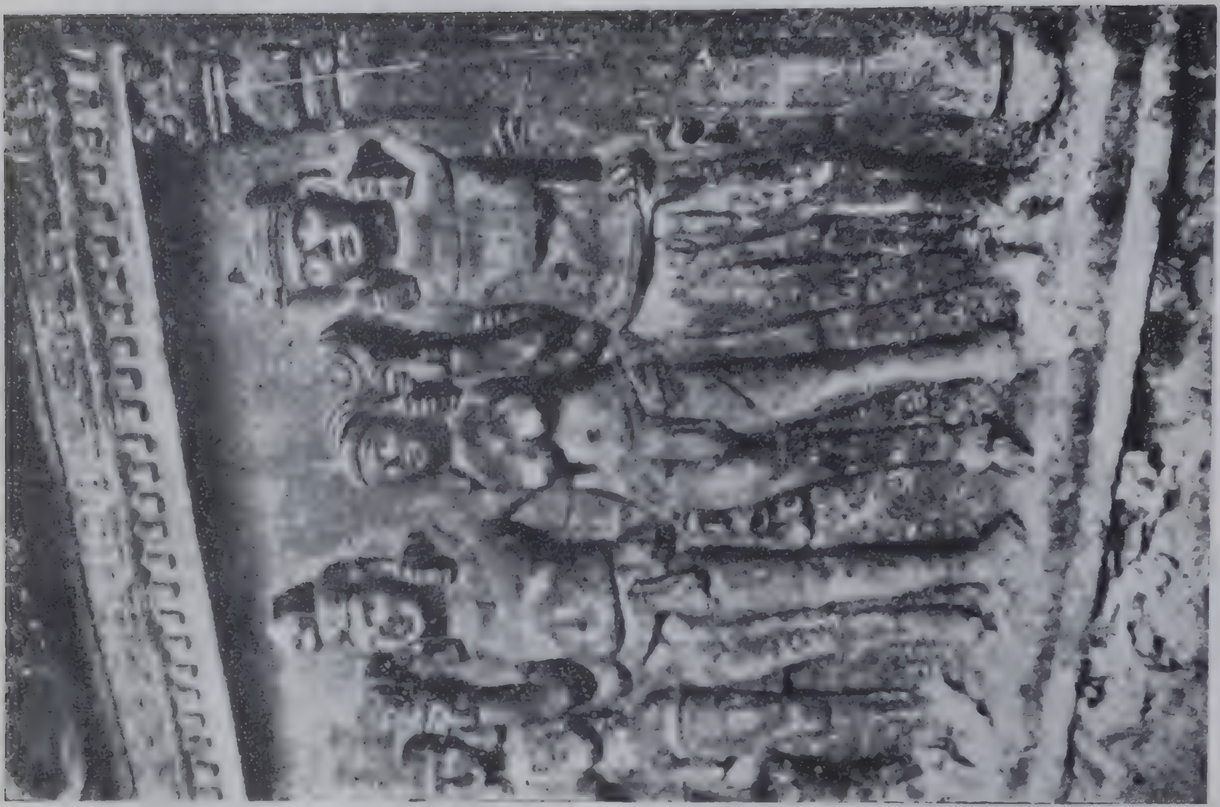


Fig. 64. *Kārle: Donors.*

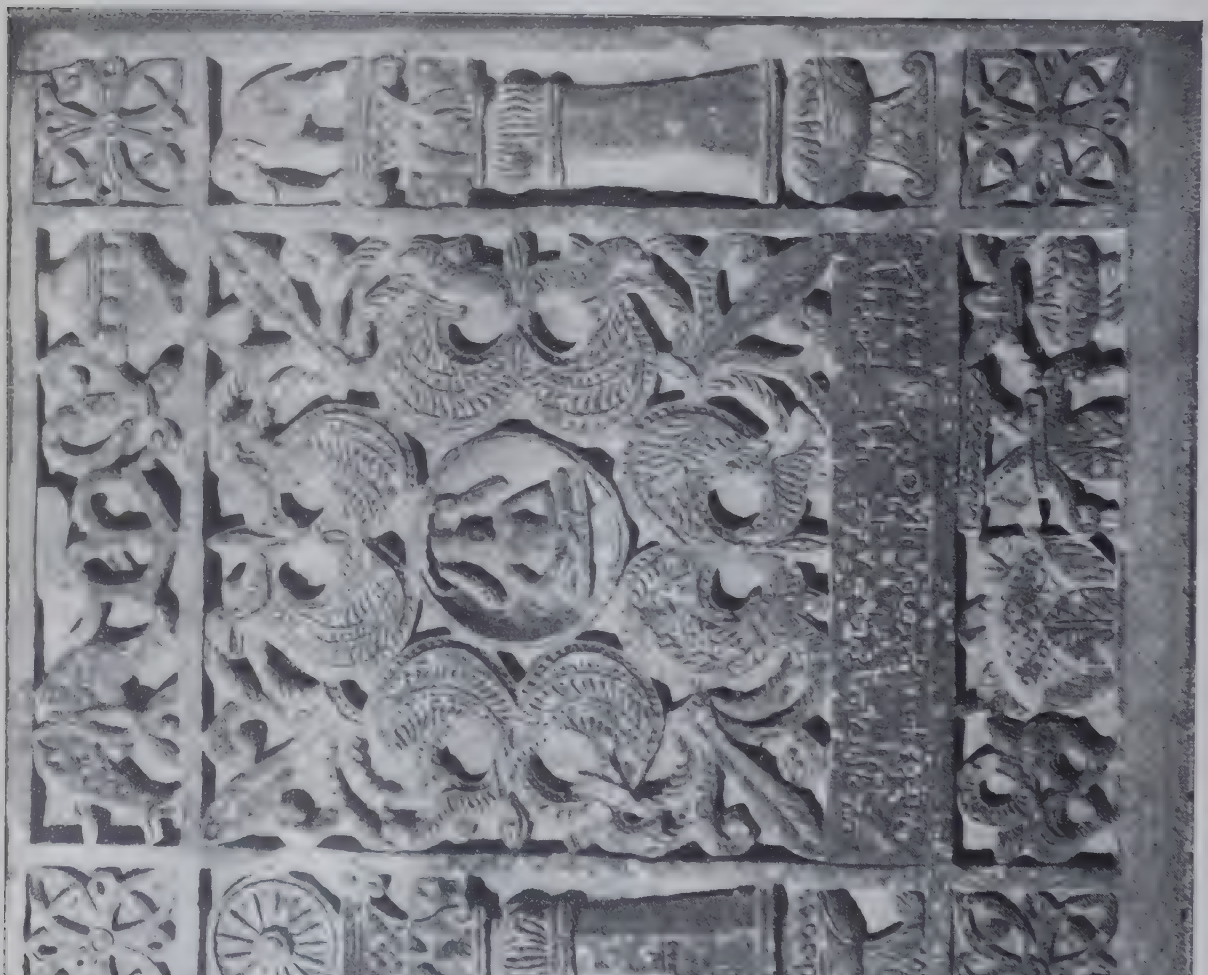


Fig. 63. *Mathurā: Jaina Ayagapaṭṭa.*

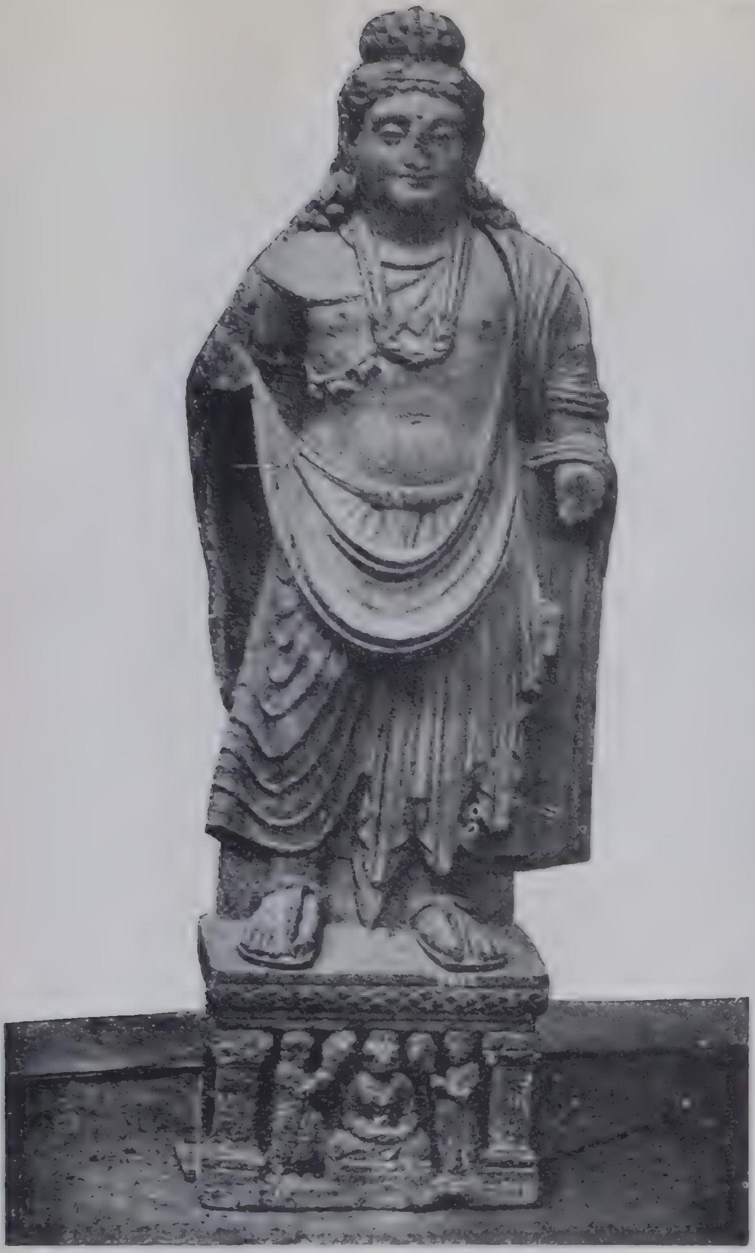


Fig. 65. *Loriyan Tangai: Buddha.*

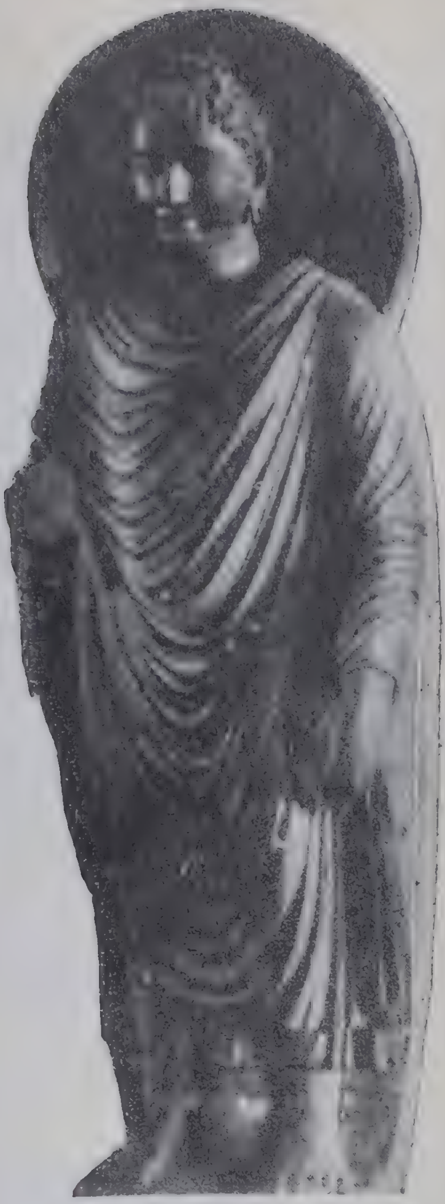


Fig. 66. *Gandhāra: Buddha.*

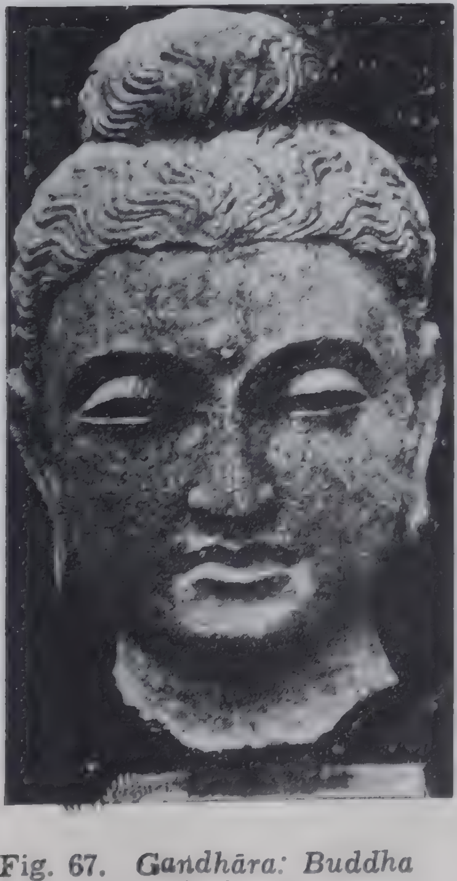


Fig. 67. *Gandhāra: Buddha head—front.*

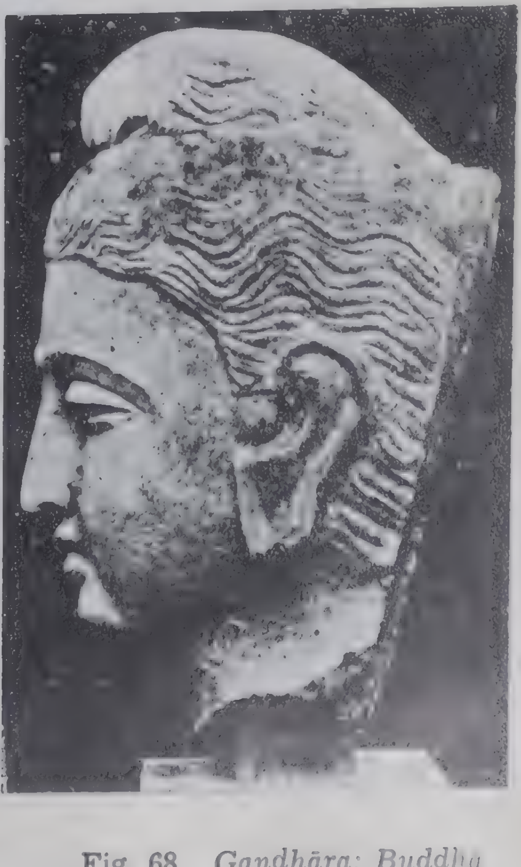


Fig. 68. *Gandhāra: Buddha head—profile*

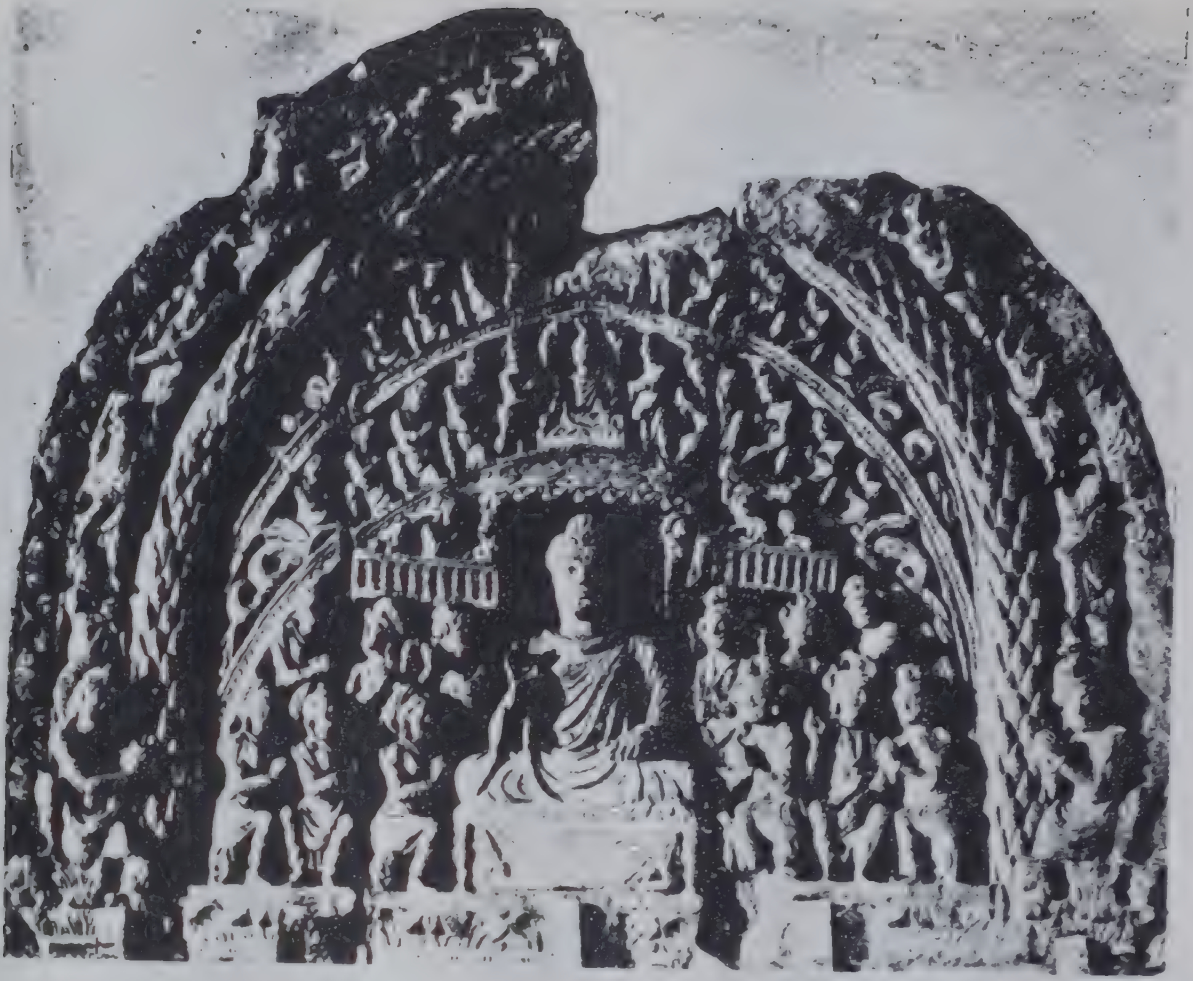


Fig. 69. *Gandhāra: Buddha among disciples.*

Fig. 70. *Udayagiri, Rāṇī gumphā: Sculptures in upper storey.*

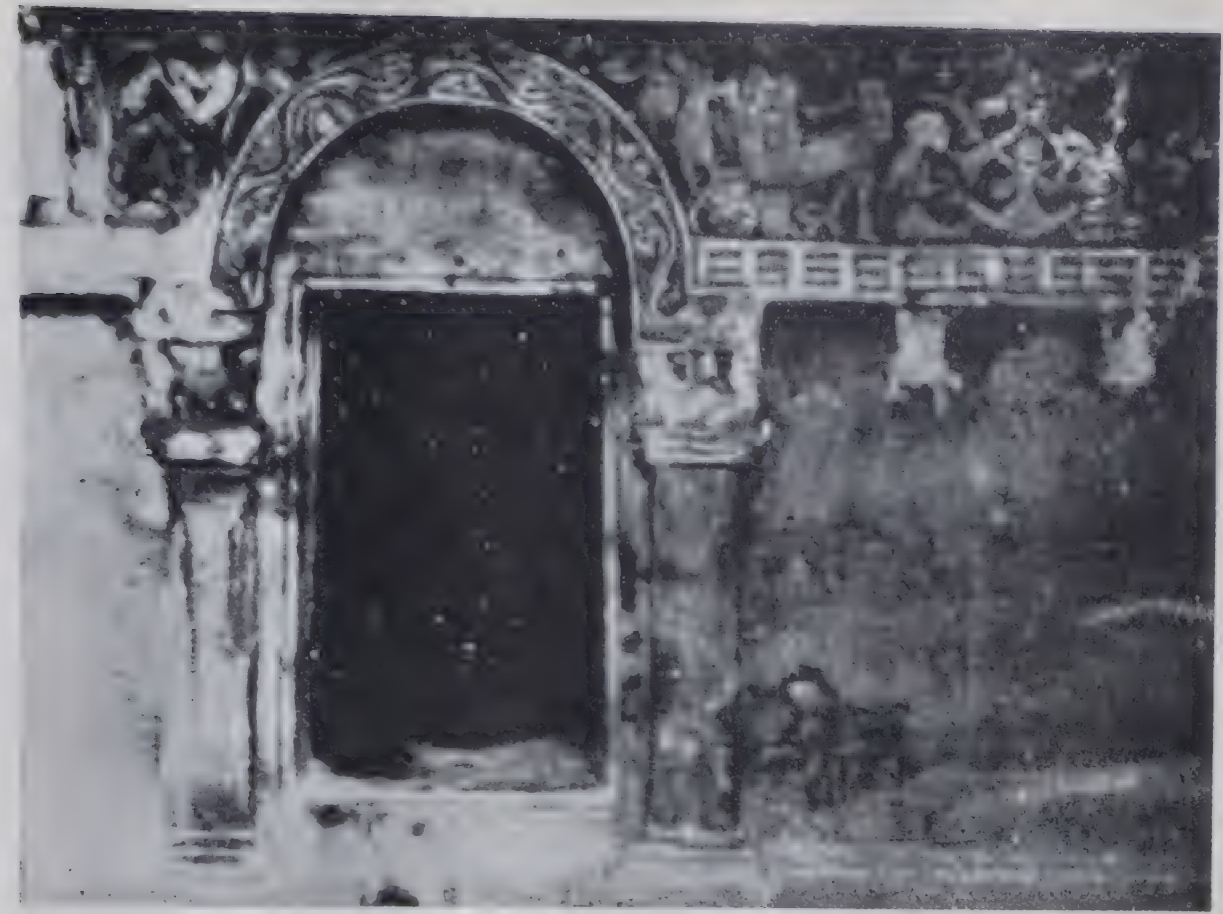


Fig. 71. *Udayagiri, Rāṇī gumphā: Sculptures in upper storey.*

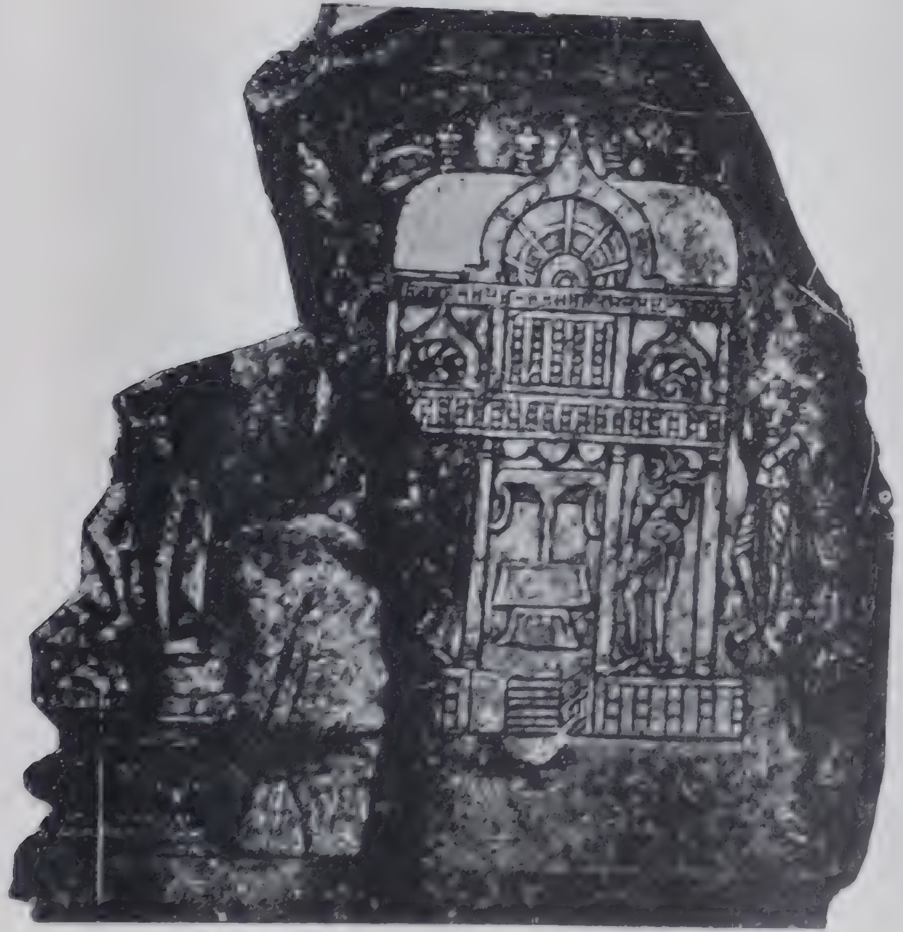


Fig. 72. *Jaggayyapeta: Relief carvings.*

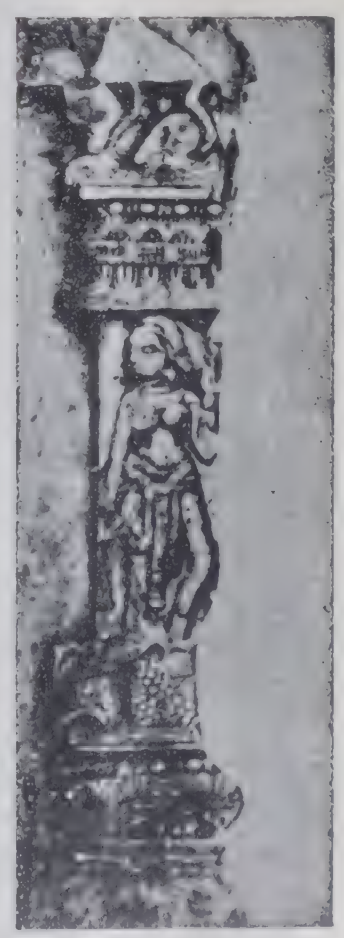


Fig. 73.
Jaggayyapeta:
Pilaster figure.

PLATE XXIX

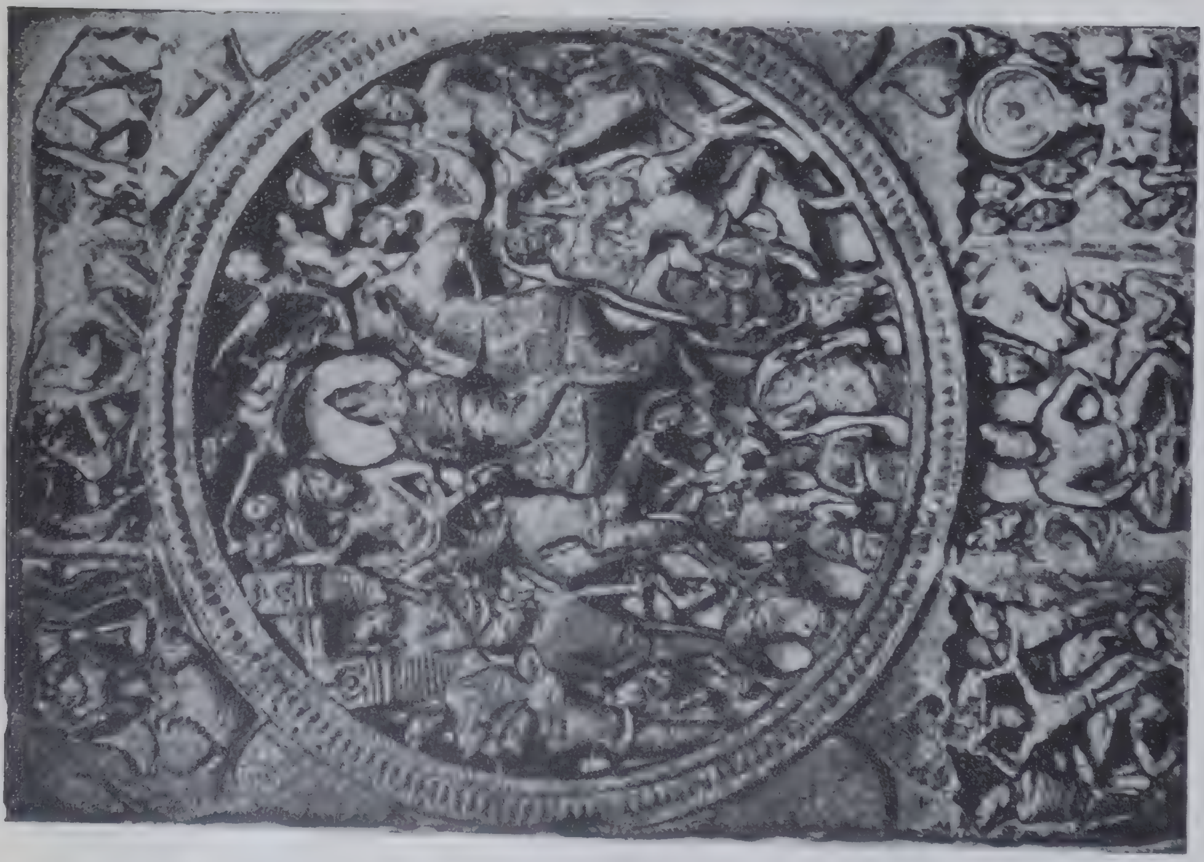


Fig. 74. *Amarāvatī: Sculptured jamb.*

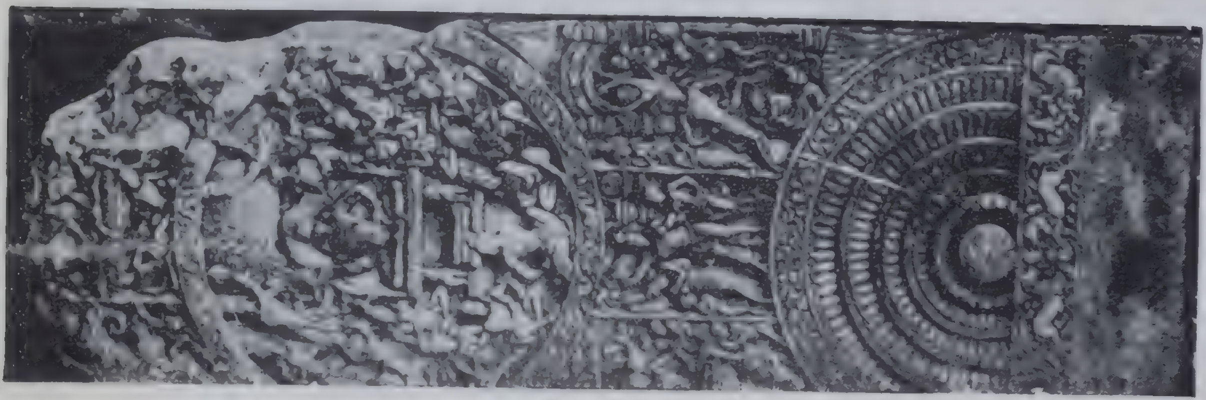


Fig. 75. *Amarāvatī: Sculptured jamb—outer side.*

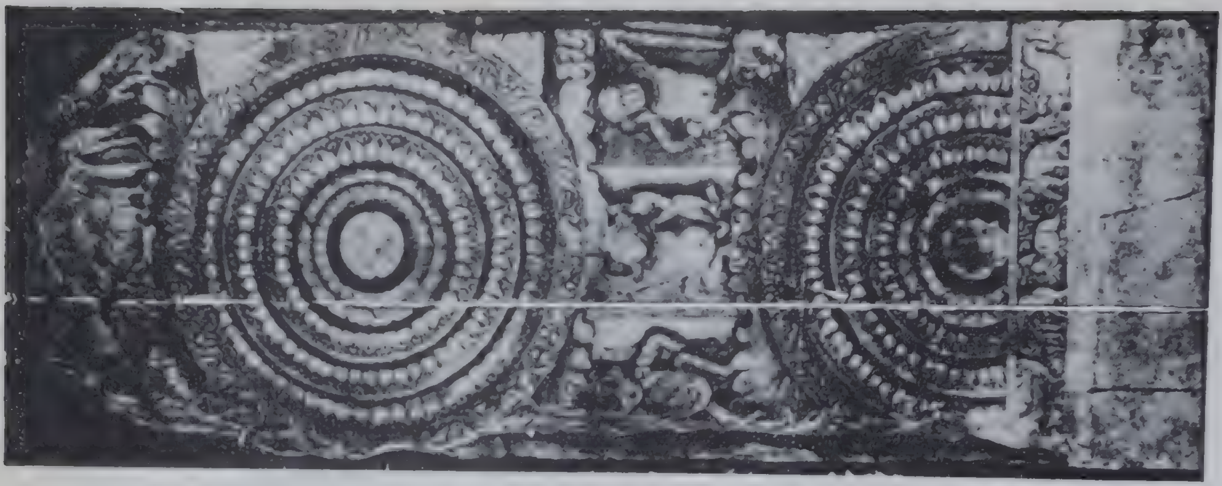


Fig. 76. *Amarāvatī: Sculptured jamb—inner side.*

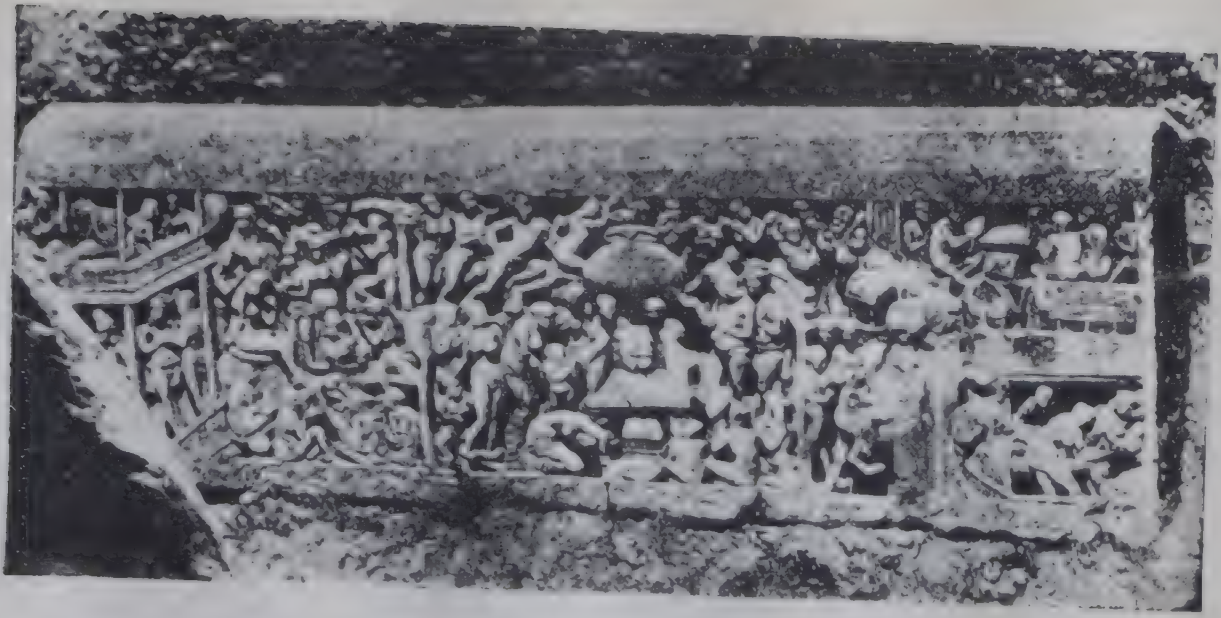


Fig. 77. *Amrāvatī:* Coping stone.

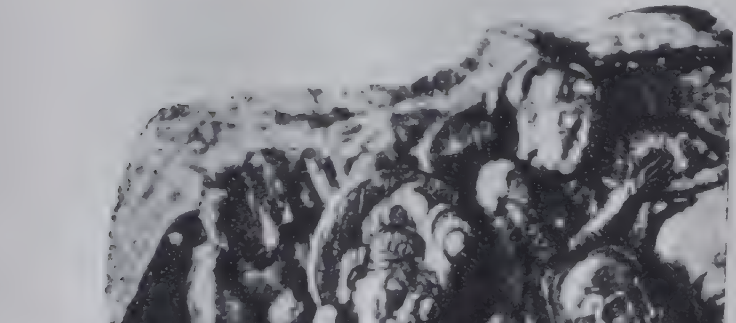


Fig. 78. *Amarāvatī: Fragment of a sculptured jamb.*

PLATE XXXI

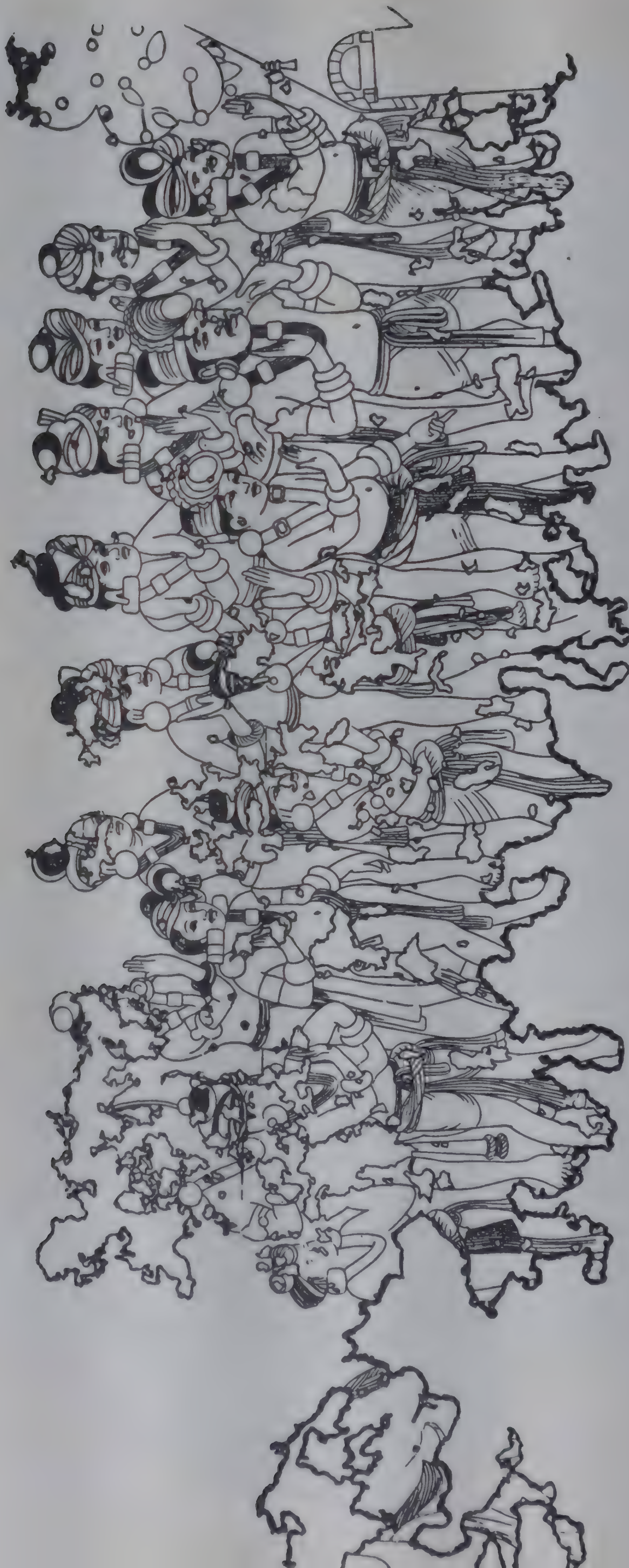


Fig. 79. *Ajaṇṭā, Cave IX: Group of votaries approaching a stūpa.*

PLATE XXXII

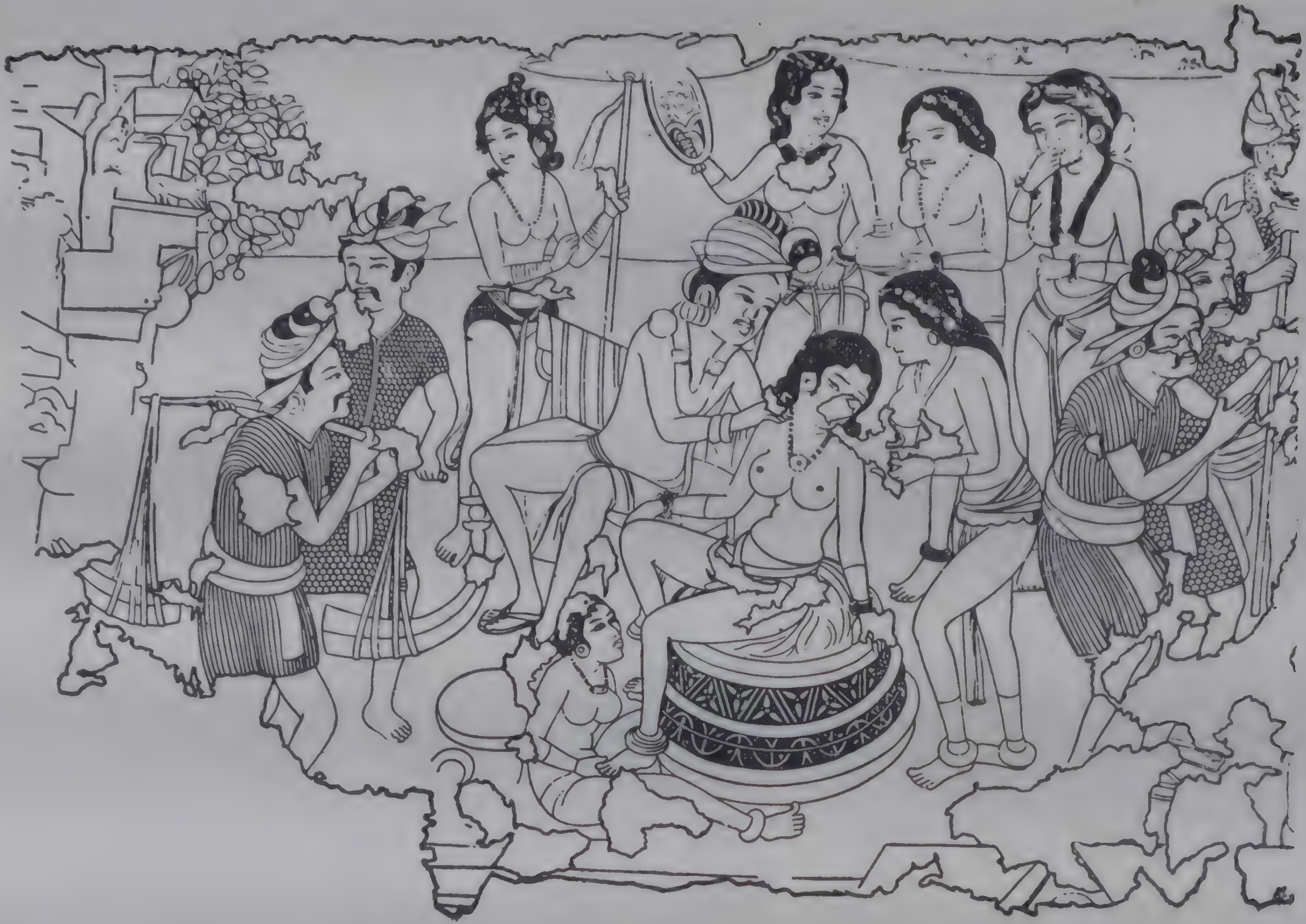


Fig. 80. *Ajaṇṭā, Cave X: Shaḍ-danta Jātaka—the fainting of the queen at the sight of the tusks.*

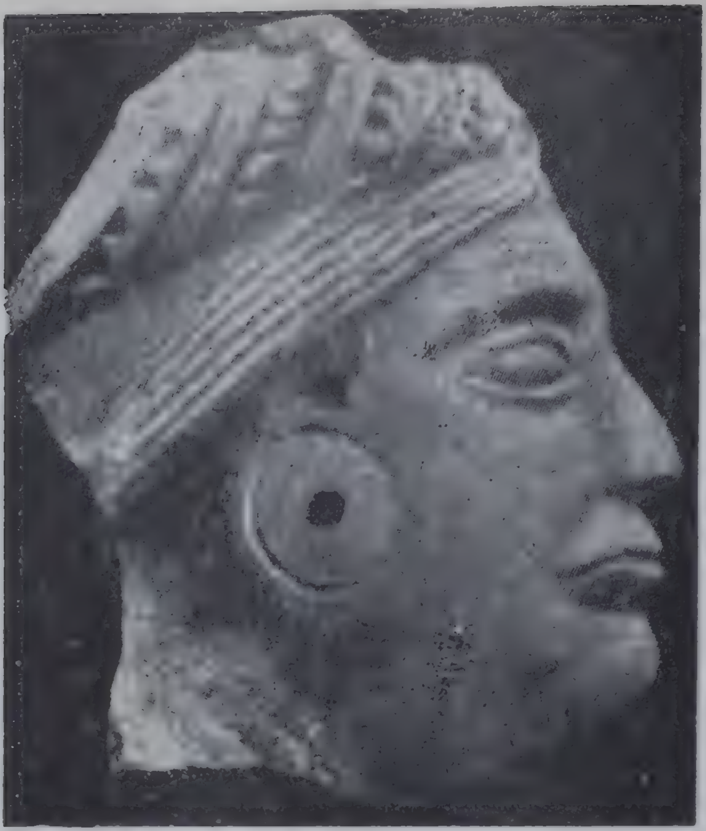


Fig. 81. *Sārnāth: Male head.*

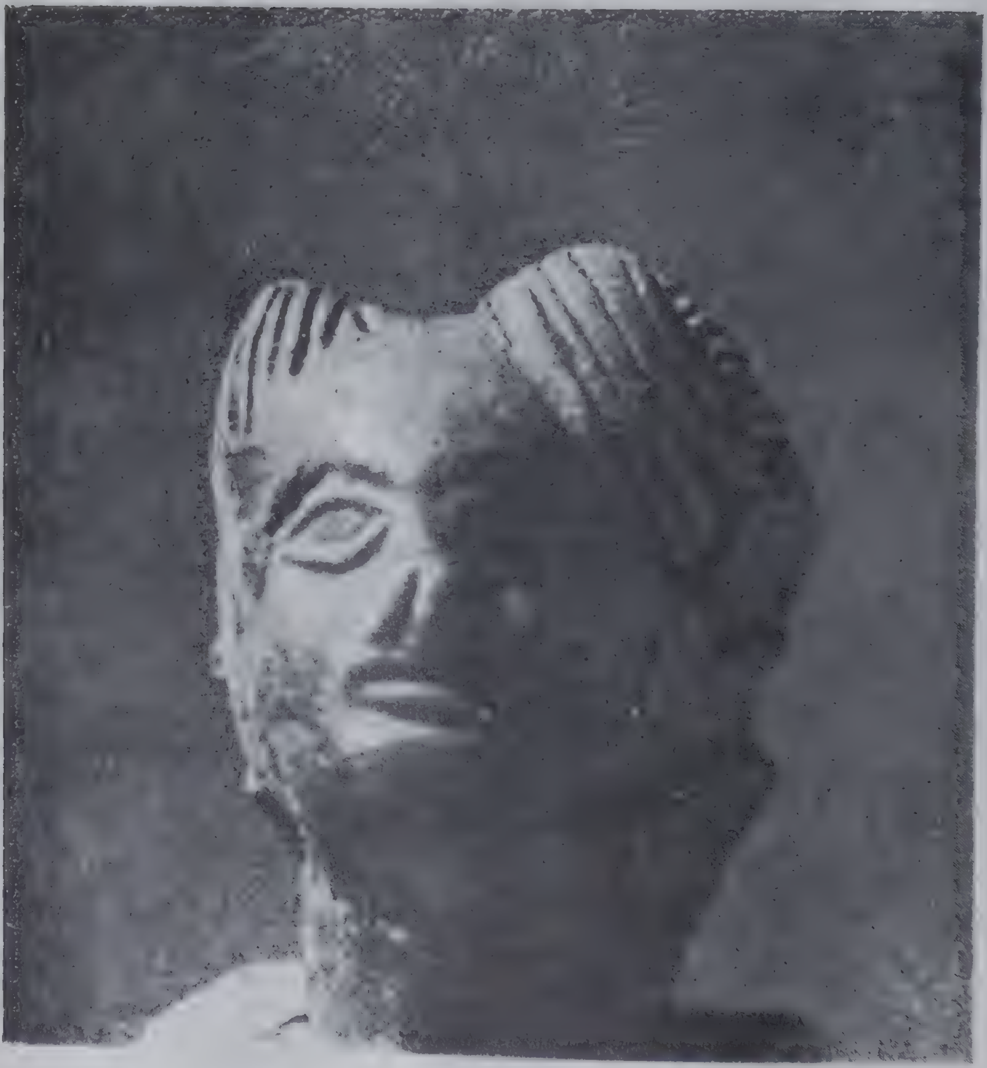


Fig. 82. *Birol: Terracotta head.*

PLATE XXXIV

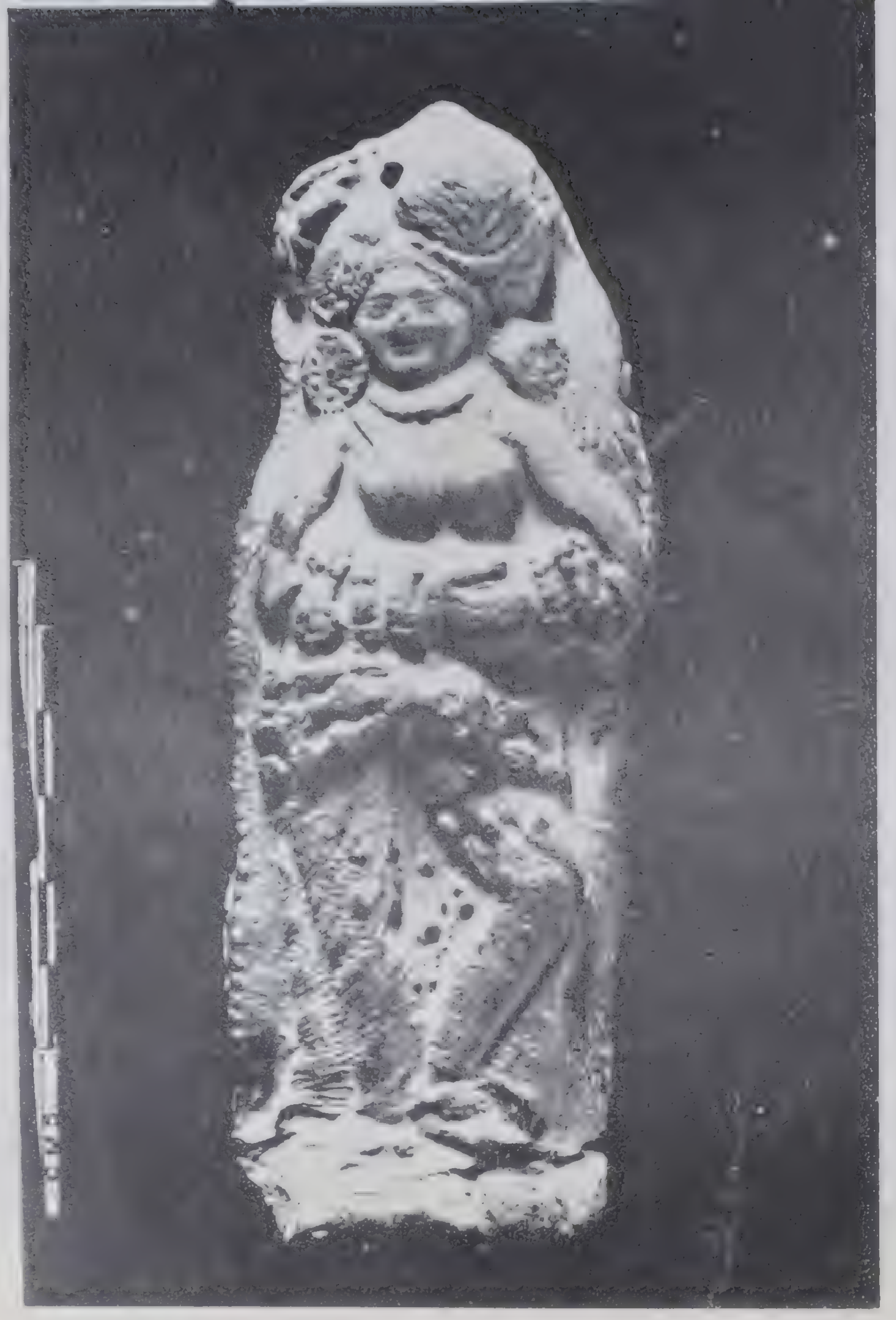


Fig. 83. *Kauśāmbi: Terracotta figurine.*

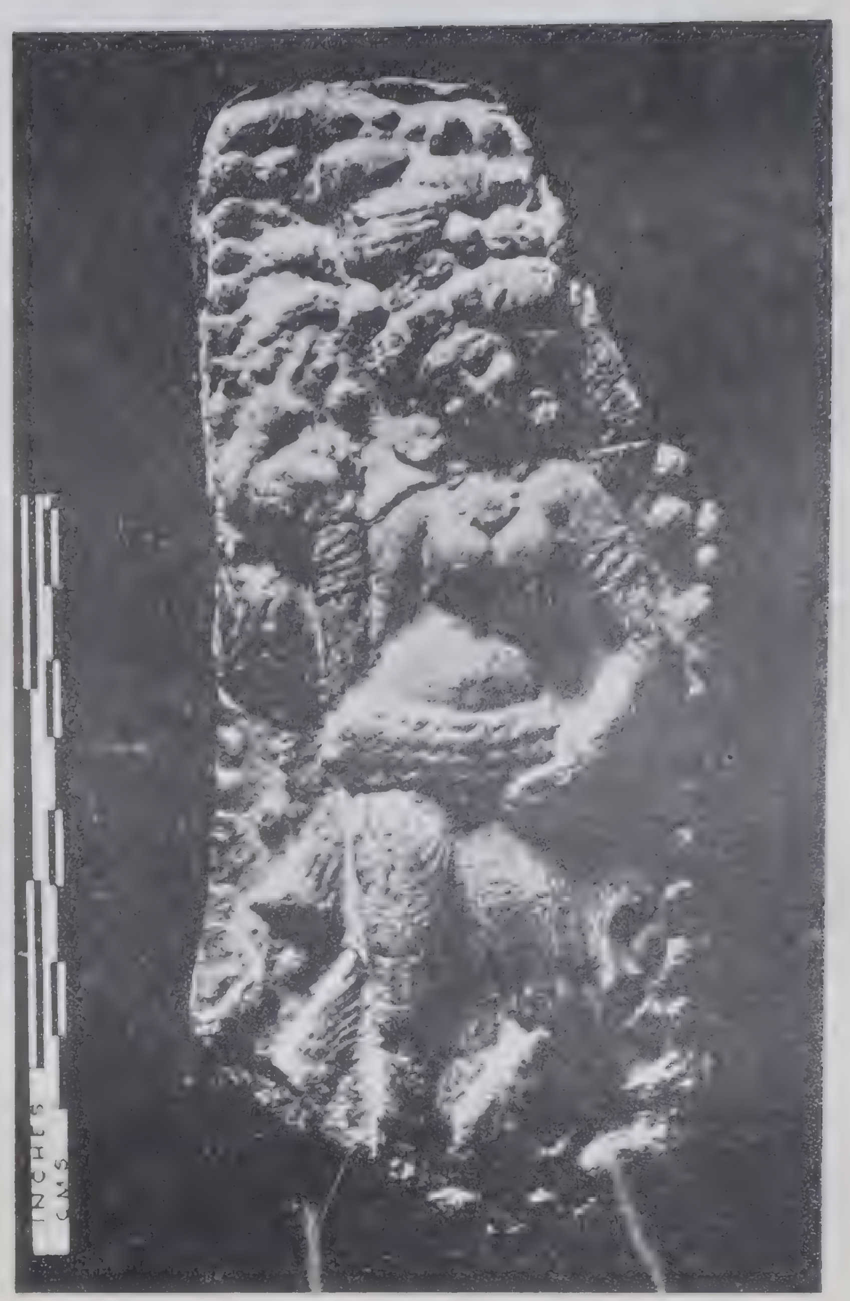


Fig. 84. *Bangarh: Terracotta figurine*

PLATE XXXV

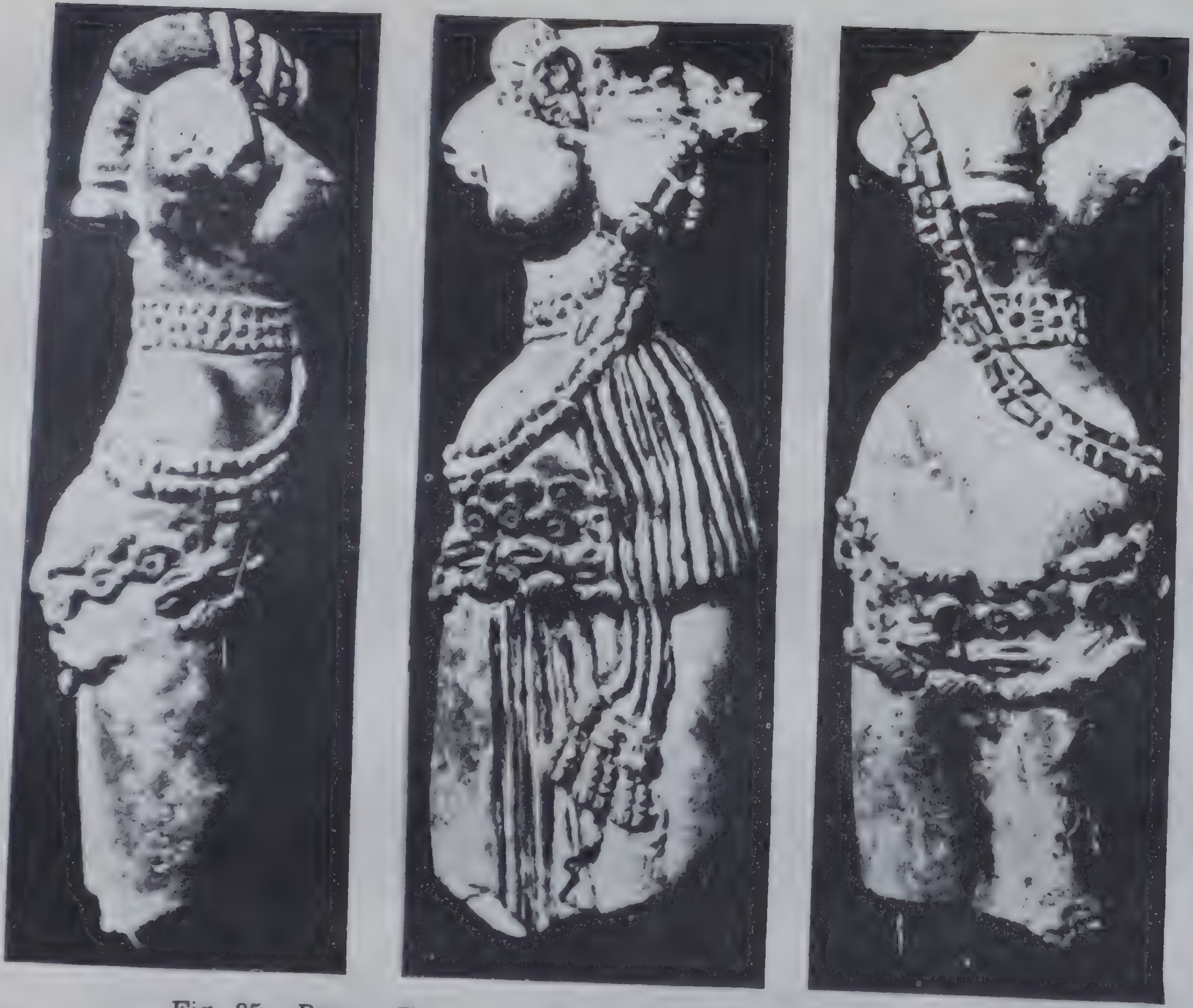


Fig. 85. *Patna: Terracotta figurine. Profile, front and back.*

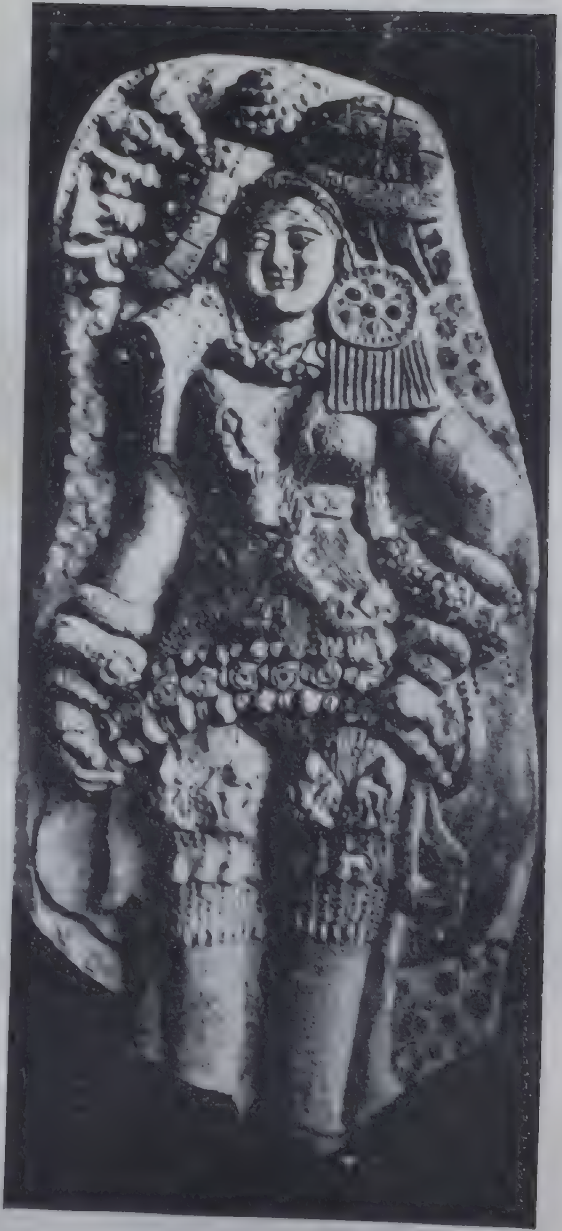


Fig. 86. *Tamluk: Terraco*

PLATE XXXVI

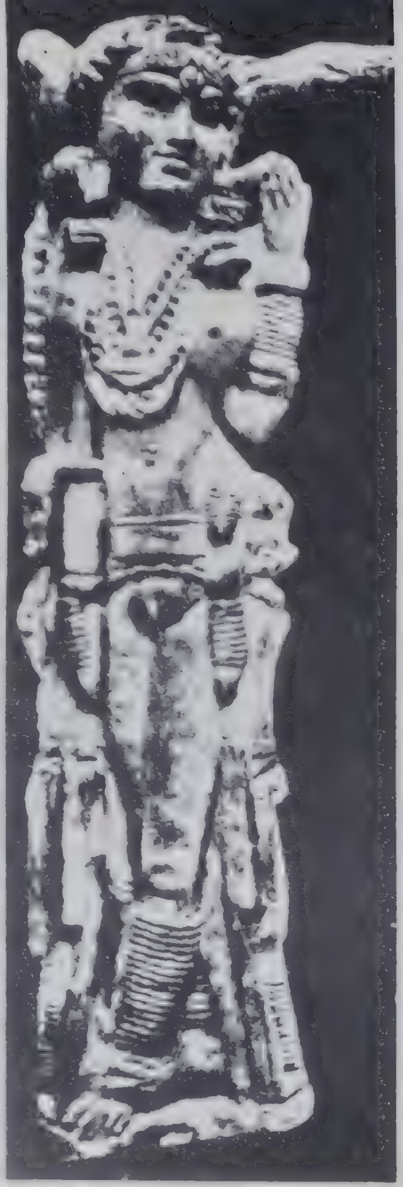


Fig. 87. *Pompei: Indian ivory figurine—front.*

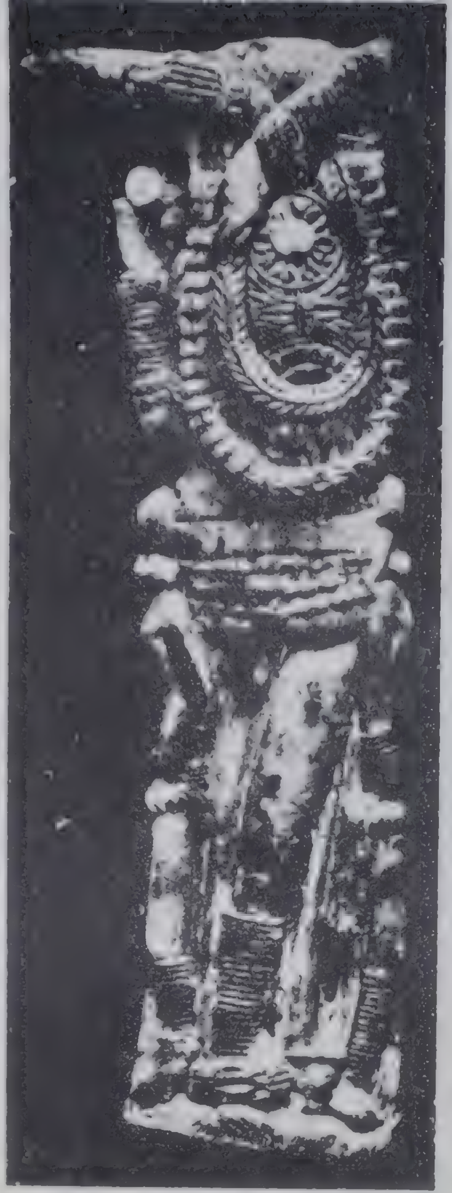


Fig. 88. *Pompei: Indian Ivory Figurine: Back.*

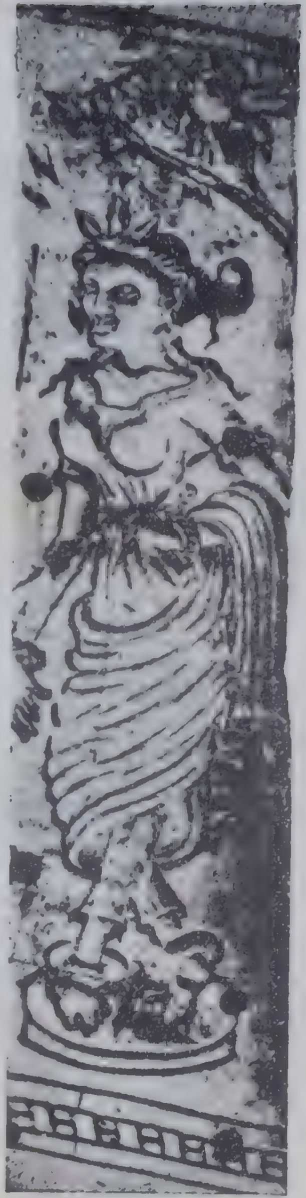


Fig. 89. *Begram. Indian Ivory relief carving.*

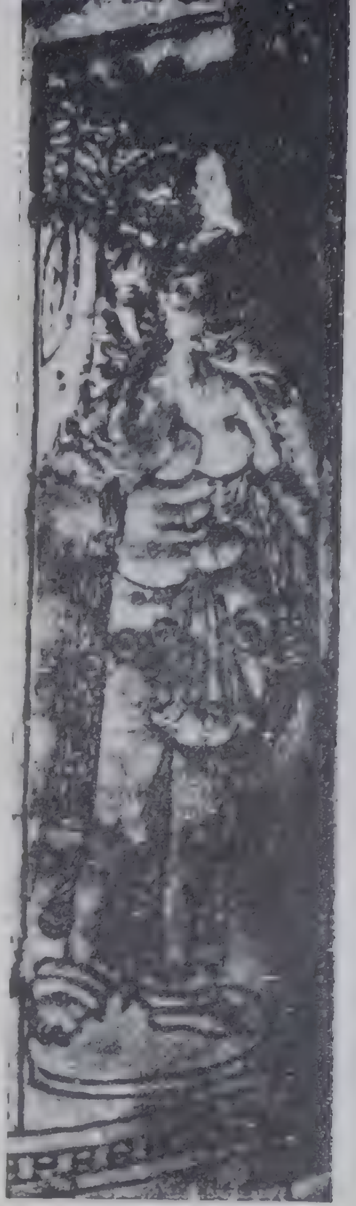
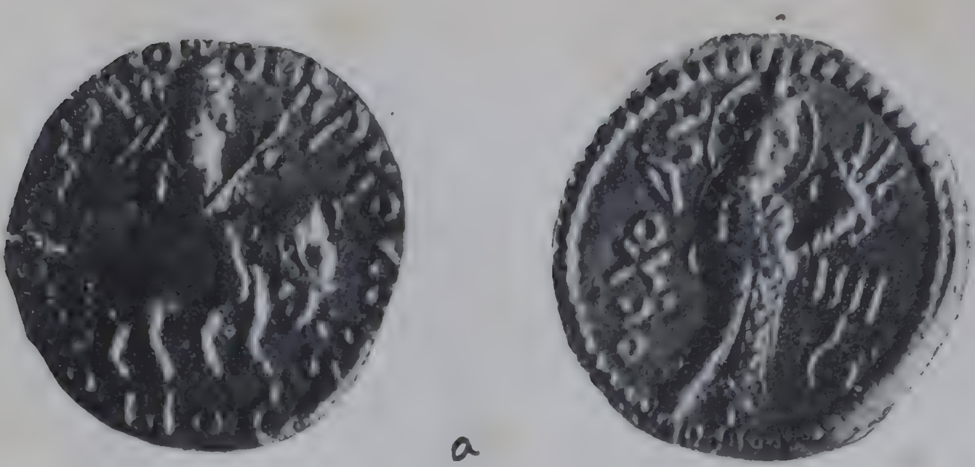


Fig. 90. *Begram: Indian Ivory relief carving.*

PLATE XXXVII



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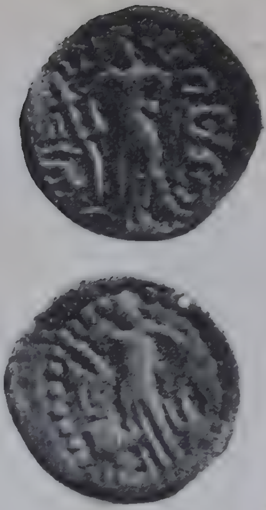

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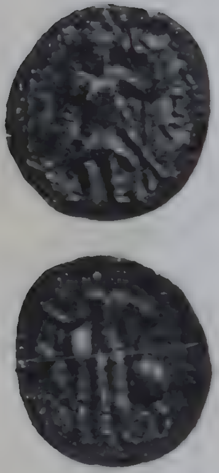

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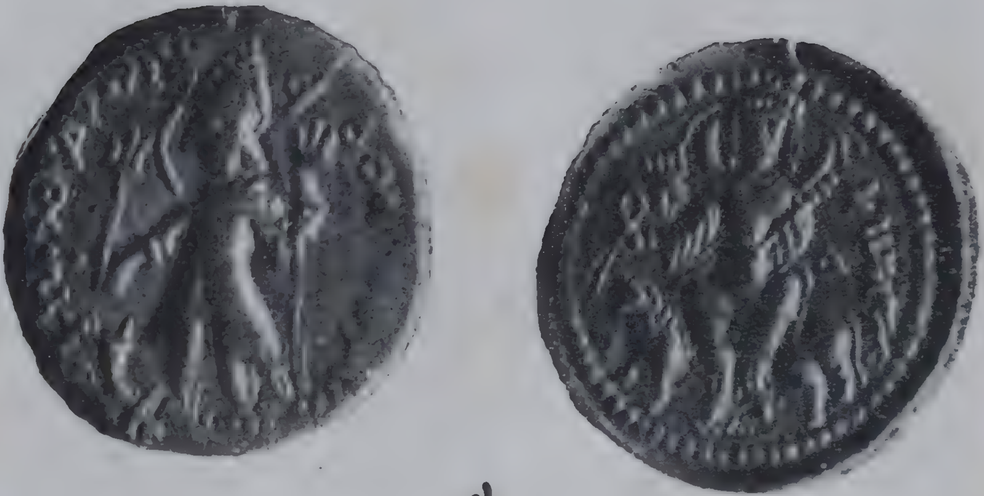

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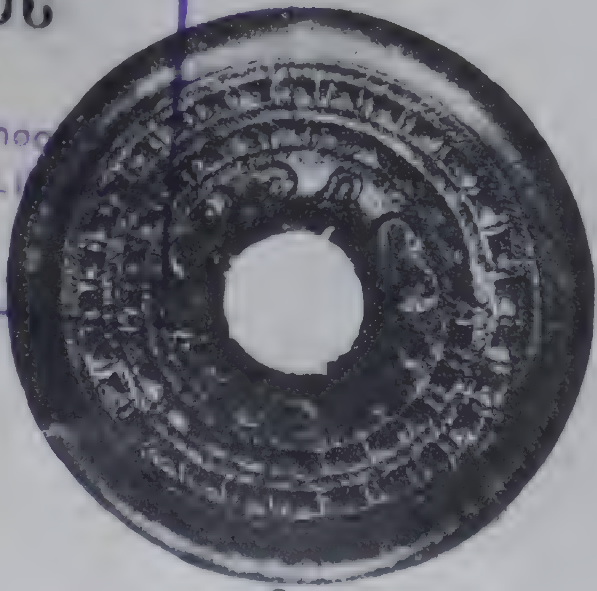

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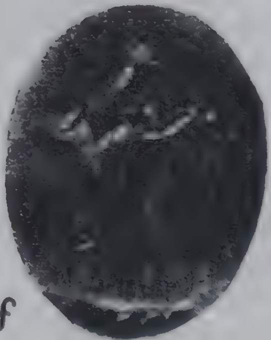

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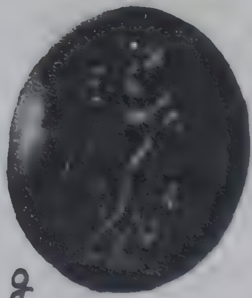

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Fig. 91. *Coins and Intaglios.*

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